

129/2.12
Last

A N

Universal HISTORY

O F

ARTS and SCIENCES:

Or, A comprehensive

Illustration, Definition, and Description

O F

All SCIENCES, Divine and Human;

AND OF

All ARTS, Liberal and Mechanical.

The Origin and Progresses of all RELIGIONS, SECTS,
HERESIES and SCHISMS:

The Description of all COUNTRIES; their Government, Ecclesiastical, Civil and
Military; their different Climates, Soils, Products, and the Manners of the Inhabitants;

The different Systems of PHILOSOPHERS, curious and accurate Observations of
ASTRONOMERS, both Antient and Modern:

The History of all ORDERS, Religious and Military:

WITH

Curious and entirely new Treatises on the Duties of Embassadors and Plenipotentiaries,
the Education of Princes and their Subjects, and the Manner of travelling into Foreign Parts.

The Whole extracted from

The best AUTHORS in all Languages, and enriched with the new Systems, Hypotheses, Maxims, and
Reflections of the AUTHOR.

By the Chevalier DENNIS DE COETLOGON, *Knt. of* St. Lazare, M.D.

AND

MEMBER of the Royal Academy of *Angers*.

VOLUME the Second.

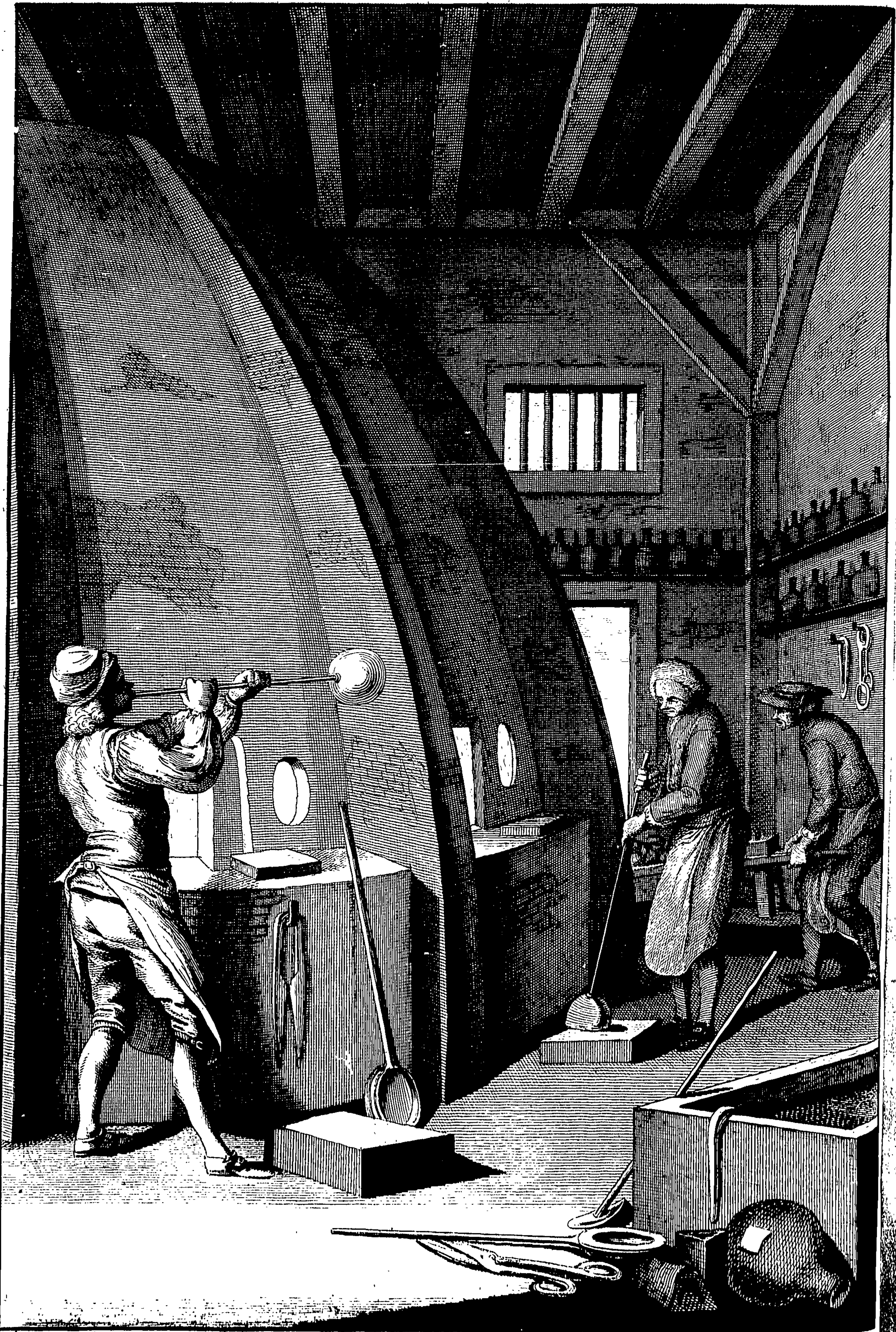


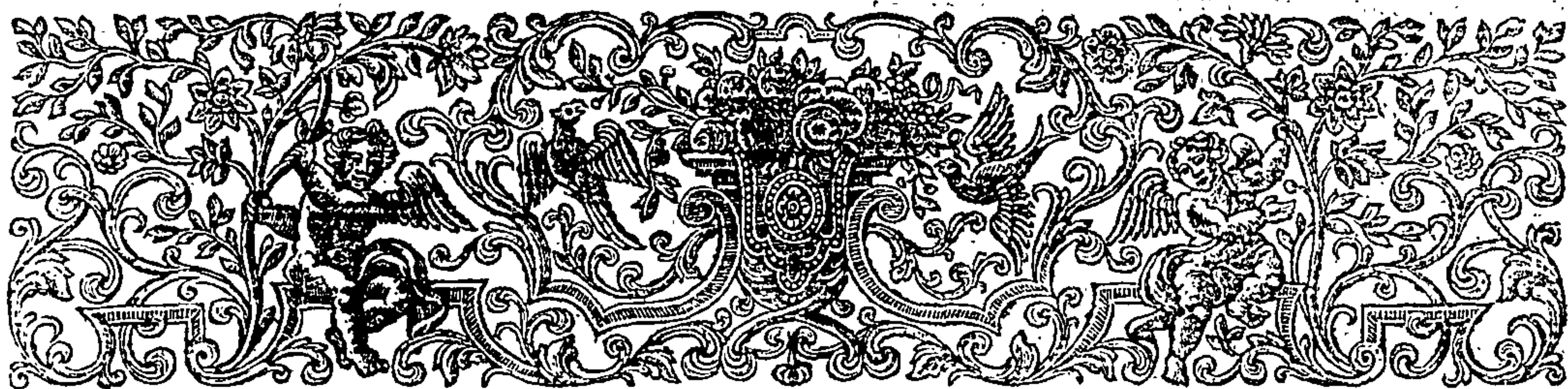
L O N D O N:

Printed and Sold by JOHN HART, in *Popping's-Court, Fleet-street*.

M DCC XLV.

A GLASS HOUSE

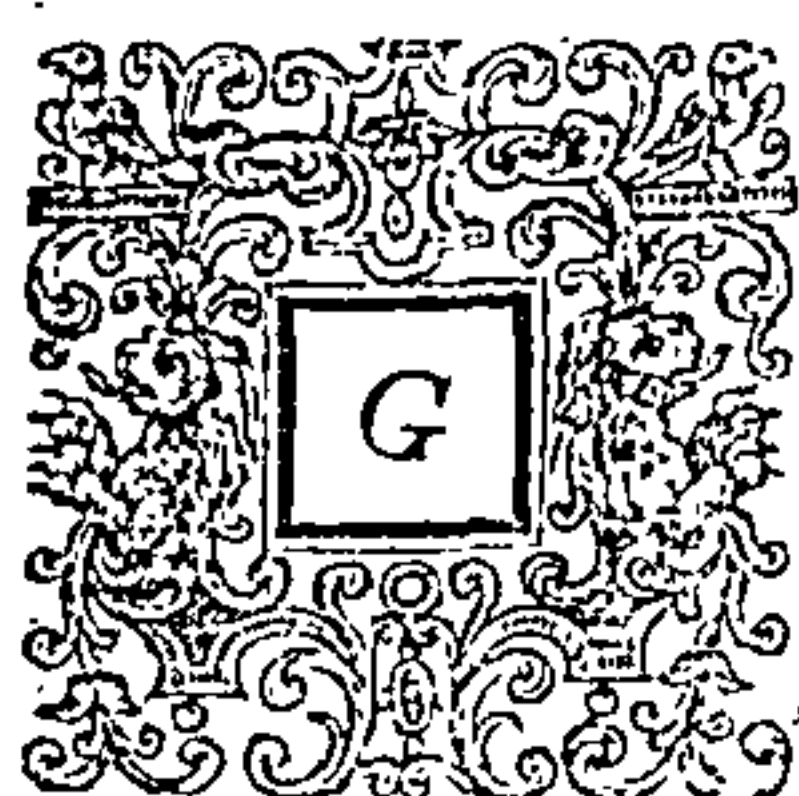




A N
Universal HISTORY
 O F
ARTS and SCIENCES.

V O L. II.

G L A S S - M A K I N G.



G L A S S - M A K I N G, is the Art of reducing Salt, Sand, or Stone, by the Action of the Fire into a transparent, brittle, and factitious Body, called *Glass*.

Note, That before I proceed further, it is necessary we should enquire into the Nature and Characters of *Glass*, that we may be well versed in all the Secrets and Mysteries of our Art, and be capable to speak pertinently of it, when Occasion offers; and not appear like a vast Number of other Artifts, who know nothing of their Profession, but merely the mechanical Part.

Naturalists are divided in what Class of Bodies to rank *Glass*. *Agricola* considers it as a concrete Juice; *Bellovacensis* as a Stone; *Fallopian* ranks it among the *Media Mineralia*; and the Workmen, when in Fusion, call it *Metal*. But Dr. *Merret* sets aside all these Opinions, from this Consideration, that all the foremention'd Bodies are naturally Concretes, whereas *Glass* is a Compound made by Art, and never found in the Earth as the others are. *Fallopian*, indeed, contends, that *Glass* is no more artificial than a Metal, and that they are both equally extracted and educed from other Bodies; the one from Sand, the other from its Ore. He adds, that though Ashes be added to Sand, for the making of *Glass*, yet it is false, that they contribute to the Composition of *Glass*; their Use, according to him, being only for the better extracting of the *Glass* from the Mineral Stone. This Dr. *Merret* confutes, by observing, that if *Glass* were extracted from the Stones, or Sand only, the Weight of the Metal must be much less than that of the Stones alone; whereas it is much greater, an hundred Weight of Sand sufficing for one hundred and fifty of *Glass*. He is therefore of Opinion, that the Ashes contribute a deal of Salt to the Composition of *Glass*; for in Pieces of old *Glass*, one may sometimes pick out Grains of Salt, easily discoverable to the Taste; besides that, the finest *Glass* standing long in a subterraneous Place, will moulder or resolve into its first Ingredients, Salt and Sand, by the Decay of the U-

Vol. II.

nion thereof; whence he concludes, that the Salt remains in the *Glass* in Specie. To support this Sentiment of Dr. *Merret*, the following Experiment of *Van-Helmont*, on *Glass*, *cap. de Terra*, is quoted. Melt *Glass-Dust* with Sandever and Water, pour on *Aqua-Regia* enough to saturate the Sandever, and the Sand will precipitate to the Bottom in the same Quantity and Weight, as was first used. I am neither of *Fallopian* nor of Dr. *Merret*'s Opinion; for I really believe that *Glass* is a Sort of Metal, not extracted from Sand by a simple Separation, as *Fallopian* imagined, but form'd of Sand both naturally and artificially. That *Glass* is naturally form'd of Sand, or rather that the Sand is an imperfect *Glass*, appears from this, that all Sorts of Sands are not proper to make *Glass* with, but only a particular Sand; and even in that particular Sand, are found several different Species, some fit for one Sort of *Glass*, and others for another Sort; according to their Fineness or Coarseness; or rather, according as the Parts the Sand is composed of, have been better elaborated in their respective Matrices, and better prepared to undergo those Changes, and be susceptible of the different Positions they acquir'd in the Furnace, so as to suffer that violent Extension given by the Artift, without the least Disunion, or Laceration of those Parts. It is true, that *Glass* cannot be called properly a Metal, till it has undergone this last Operation, no more than all other Metals, before they are purg'd of all their Impurities. The Objections of Dr. *Merret*, against its being a Metal, seem to me frivolous. 1. As to its not being a natural Concrete like other Metals, is false; for the other Things added to the Sand in the Furnace, are not to make with it an artificial Concrete, but only to help towards the new Configuration of its Parts, and free them from the heterogeneous Particles, which could obstruct their closer Coadunation; as Antimony, &c. are mix'd with Gold to free it of its Impurities, and render it more perfect. 2. *Glass*, exceeding in Weight the Matter it is made of, does not proceed from the Addition of other Matter, but only from the closer Coadunation of its Particles. 3. It cannot be more surprising, that *Glass* is subject to those Mutations

B

tations mention'd by *Van Helmont*, than Lead, and other Metals, which are crystalized when put in some humid, or damp Place, and suffer other Alterations, according to the different Qualities of the other Bodies added to them; all these Objections seem rather to prove that *Glass* is a Metal like them.

Note also, That the Characters and Properties of *Glass*, whereby it is distinguished from all other Bodies, are,

1. That it is fusible by a strong Fire; 2. When fused, tenacious and coherent; 3. It does not waste or consume in the Fire; 4. When melted it cleaves to Iron; 5. Ductile when red-hot, and fashionable into any Form, but not malleable; and capable of being blown into a Hollowness, which no Mineral is; 6. Frangible when thin, without annealing; 7. Friable when cold; 8. Always diaphanous, whether hot or cold; 9. Flexible and elastick; 10. Dissoluble by Cold and Moisture; 11. Only capable of being graven, or cut with Diamond and Emery; 12. Receives any Colour or Dye, both externally or internally; 13. Not dissoluble by Aqua-fortis, Aqua Regia, or Mercury; 14. Neither acid Juices, nor any other Matter, extract either Colour, Taste, nor any other Quality from it; 15. It admits of polishing; 16. Neither loses of Weight nor Substance by the longest and most frequent Use; 17. Gives Fusion to other Metals, and softens them; 18. The most pliable Thing in the World, and that which best retains the Fashion given it; 19. Not capable of being calcined; 20. An open Glass, filled with Water in the Summer-Time, will gather Drops of Water on the Outside, so far as the Water on the Inside reaches; and a Man's Breath blown upon it will manifestly moisten it; 21. Little Glass Balls filled with Water, Mercury, or other Liquor, and thrown into the Fire; as also Drops of green Glass broken, fly asunder with a loud Noise; 22. Neither Wine, Beer, nor any other Liquor, will make it musty, change its Colour, nor rust it; 23. It may be cemented as Stones, and other Metals; 24. A Drinking Glass partly filled with Water, and rubbed on the Brim with a wet Finger, yields musical Notes, higher or lower, as the Glass is more or less full, and makes the Liquor frisk and leap.

To these general Notions of the Subject we are to work upon; we must add these particular Observations; that there are several Sorts of *Glass*, and different Methods of making them, viz. *White*, and *Crystal Glass*, *Round Glass*, *Window*, or *Table Glass*, of which there are several Kinds, as *Crown Glass*, *French Glass*, *German Glass*, *Dutch Glass*, *Newcastle Glass*, *Looking Glass*, &c.

All these Sorts of *Glass*, are made, as we have already observed, of several Ingredients, viz. *Salt*, *Sand*, or *Stone*. The *Salt* is the first Kind, such as will not evaporate with the most intense Heat. The *Sand*, or *Stone*, must be such as will melt easily, and is what gives Firmness and Consistence to the *Glass*, or is rather *Glass* itself.

Note, That this *Salt* is procur'd chiefly from a Kind of Ashes, called *Polverine*, or *Rochetta*, brought from the *Levant*, and particularly from *Alexandria*, and *Tripoli*. The Ashes are those of a Vegetable, frequent in the Country, commonly called *Kali*; sometimes *Kalli*, *Kallu*, *Cali*; by *Gesner*, *Alkali*; by *Lobel*, *Soda*; by *Dodonæus*, *Salsola*; and by *Camer*, *Cordus*, *Fuchs*, &c. *Anthyllis*. Dr. *Merret* calls it *English Salt-wort*, from its saline Taste; and *Glass-Weed*, from the Use made of its Ashes in making of *Glass*. *Bauhin* mentions ten Species of this Plant, whereof there are four used by the *Alexandrians*, &c. for the making of *Polverine*, and Soap, viz. *Kali*, *Geniculatum*, *Kali Secunda Species*, *Kali Aegyptiacum*, and *Kali Spinosum*. The first and last the *English* Coasts afford, where they are called by the People *Trog-Grass*, and *Sea-Grass*; but they are of no Use for making of *Glass*: Being laid on a hot Iron, they fly off almost wholly in Pumes, leaving no Ashes at all; whereas the *Kali's* brought from the *Levant*, applied on the

same Iron, are soon converted almost wholly into *Polverine*, i. e. very saline Ashes, of a dark Colour. To get the Salt from this *Polverine*, they pulverize, and sift it very fine; then boil it in a Brass Copper, with fair Water and Tartar, till a third Part of the Water is consumed; taking Care to stir it from Time to Time, till half be consumed: This done, they have a Lee impregnated with Salt. To get the Salt from the Lees, they boil them till the Salt shoots at the Top, which they skim off as it rises. A hundred Pounds of Ashes, this Way, usually yields eighty or ninety of Salt; which, when dry, they beat grossly, and put it into a Furnace, to dry it further with a gentle Heat. When sufficiently dry, they pound, and sift it very fine, and lay it by to make Frit.

Note also, That instead of the Ashes of the Plant *Kali*, those of Fern will also yield a Salt, which makes excellent *Glass*, nothing inferior to that of *Polverine*; which I can answer for, for our *Glass* in *Britanny* is made of no other. The Method of Preparation is the same; add that the Ashes of Cods, and Stalks of Beans, as also those of Coleworts, Bramble Bush, Millet Stalks, Rushes, Fern Rushes, and many other Plants, may be used for the like Purpose, and after the same Manner.

Note besides, That for *Stone*, the second Ingredient in *Glass*, the best, we have observed, is that which will melt, is white, and transparent. This is found principally in *Italy*, being a Sort of Marble, called *Tarso*; the next is *Puocoli*, or *Cuogolo*, a Sort of Pebbles found at the Bottom of Rivers. Indeed nothing makes fairer and clearer *Glass* than Flint, but the Charge of preparing it deters the *Glass-Men* from using it. The Preparation necessary for *Stone*, is to calcine, powder, and fierce.

Ant. Nari observes, that all white, transparent Stones, which will not burn to Lime, are fit to make *Glass*; and that all Stones which will strike Fire with Steel, can be employ'd in making of *Glass*. But this latter Rule, Dr. *Merret* observes, does not hold universally.

Where proper *Stone* cannot be had, *Sand* is used; the best for the Purpose, is that which is white and small; for *Green Glass*, that which is harder and more gritty: It is to be well washed, which is all the Preparation it needs. *English Glass Houses* are furnished with white Sand, for their *Crystal Glasses*, from *Maidstone*; and with the coarser, for *Green Glass*, from *Woolwich*.

Some mention a third Ingredient in *Glass*, viz. *Manganese*, or *Syderca*, a Kind of *Pseudo-Loadstone*, dug up in *Germany*, *Italy*, and even *Mendip Hills* in *Somersetshire*, but the Proportion hereof to the rest, is very inconsiderable; besides that it is not used in all *Glass*. Its Office is to purge off the natural greenish Colour, and give it some other Tincture requir'd.

Being thus provided with the necessary Ingredients of *Glass*, we proceed to the Building our Furnaces; which are of three Sorts, one to prepare the Frit, called the *Calcar*; a second to work the *Glass*; and a third called the *Leer*, to anneal it.

The first Furnace, called the *Calcar*, is made in Fashion of an Oven, ten Foot long, seven broad, and two deep. The Fuel, which in *England* is Seacoal, is put in a Trench, on one Side of the Furnace, and the Flame reverberates from the Roof back upon the Frit, in order to calcine it.

The second is the working Furnace, serving to melt the Metal in, or make the *Glass*; its Figure is round, three Yards in Diameter, and two high, being arched over. Round the Inside, are eight or more Pots placed, and piling Pots on these. The Number of Pots is always double that of the Bocca's or Mouths, or that of the Workmen, that each may have one Pot refin'd, to work out of, and another for Metal to refine in, while he works out of the former.

The Furnace has two Partitions, the lower, separating the

the Pots from the Fire-place, has a circular Hole in the Centre, covered with a Grate, through which the Flame passes from the Fire-place into the *Furnace*; from the arched Sides and Roof whereof it is reverberated into the melting Pots. The second Partition divides this from the *Leer*, or *Annealing Furnace*. Through the *Bocca's* or working Holes, the Metal is taken out of the Pots, and the Pots put in the *Furnace*. These *Bocca's* are stopp'd with moveable Covers, made of Lute and Brick, to screen the Workmens Eyes from the Fire. On each Side the *Bocca* is a *Boccarella*, out of which coloured *Glass*, or the finer Metal, is taken from the Piling Pots to the *Furnace*; likewise Ovens, or Holes near the *Leer*, for the calcining of Tartar, Iron, &c.

The *Leer*, which serves to anneal and cool the Vessels, and which *Agricola* makes a particular *Furnace*, consists of a Tower besides the *Leer*. The Tower lies directly over the melting *Furnace*, with a Partition betwixt them a Foot thick; having an Aperture called *Occhio* or *Lumella*, through which the Flame or Heat ascends out of the *Furnace* into the Tower: On the Floor, or Bottom of this Tower, the Vessels fashioned by the Masters are set to anneal. It has also two *Bocca's*, or Mouths, by which the *Glasses* are put in with a Fork, and set on the Floor.

The *Leer*, is an Avenue five or six Yards long, continued to the Tower: Through this the *Glasses*, when annealed, are drawn in Iron Pans called *Frasbes*; by which they come to cool by degrees: Being quite cold by that time they reach the Mouth of the *Leer*, which enters the *Sarofel*, or Room where the *Glasses* are to be set.

The third is the *Green Glass Furnace*, which is a kind of Compound of all the former. It is made square (the two former being circular) having an Arch at each Angle thereof, for annealing and cooling the *Glasses*. The Metal is wrought on two opposite Sides; and on the other two they have their *Calcars*, into which are made Linnet Holes, for the Fire to come from the *Furnace* to bake the Frit, and also to discharge the Smoak. Fires are made in the Arches to anneal the Vessels, so that the whole Process is done in one *Furnace*.

Note, That the Stones wherewith the Insides of these *Furnaces* are built, are not Brick (which would soon melt into Glass, as also all the softer Stones) but hard and sandy, by *Imperatus* called *Pyromachia*.

The Utensils to these *Glass-Houses*, are *Pots* made of Tobacco-pipe Clay, capable to sustain not only the Heat of the Fire, but also the Effect of the Pulverine, which penetrates every Thing else: *Blowing Irons*, which are hollow Tubes, about two Foot and a half long; *Passaga's*, an Iron Instrument to make the first Aperture; *Procello's*, another Iron Instrument, to widen the Aperture; *Shears*, &c.

Our *Glass-House* being thus fitted with all its Implements, we'll proceed next to prepare the Matter for making *White* and *Crystal Glass*, which must be of the whitest *Tarso* (pounded small, and sifted as fine as Flour) two hundred Pounds; and an hundred and thirty Pounds of the Salt of *Polverine*: These are mixed together, and put into the *Furnace*, call'd *Calcar*, first heating it; for an Hour keeping a moderate Fire, and stirring continually the Materials, that they may incorporate, and calcine together: Then increasing the Fire for five Hours; after which the Matter must be taken out, which, being now sufficiently calcined, is called *Frit*; and which from the *Calcar*, is to be put in a dry Place, and cover'd up from the Dust, for three or four Months.

The *Glass*, or *Crystal*, is made, by taking of this *Frit*, called also *Bollito*, and setting it, in Pots, in the *Furnace*; adding to it a due Quantity of Manganese. When the two are fused, the *fluor* is cast into fair Water, to clear it of the Salt, call'd *Sandever*, which, otherwise, would make the *Crystal* obscure, and cloudy. This Lotion must be repeated again, and again, as often as needful, till the *Crystal* be fully purged. Then it must be set to boil four, five, or six Days; which done, it must be seen if it has Manganese enough; if not, and it be greenish yet, more Manganese is to be added to it at

Discretion, by little and little at a Time; taking Care not to overdose it, by reason the Manganese inclines it to a blackish Hue. Then the Metal is set to clarify, till it becomes of a clear and shining Colour; which done, it is fit to be blown, or formed into Vessels at Pleasure.

Our Materials thus prepared, we'll begin the Operation, by *blowing round Glasses*; and presupposing that our *Furnace* is heated as it should be, and the Matter in the two of the six Pots, placed in it, sufficiently vitrified, we'll take our *blowing Iron*, and dipping it in one of these two Pots, turn it about in it; the Metal will stick to the Iron like a glutinous, or clammy Juice, much like Turpentine. For each *Glass* we'll dip it four Times, and at each Dip roll the End of our blowing Iron, with the *Glass* thereon, on a Piece of Iron, over which is a Vessel of Water, the Coolness whereof helps to consolidate the *Glass* more readily, and disposes it the better to bind with the next to be taken out of the Pot. After we have dipped a fourth Time, and there is now Matter enough on the Instrument, we begin to blow gently thro' the Iron; by which we rise, or lengthen it nearly a Foot, the same as we do by blowing in a Bladder, or Globe; and to give it a Polish, we roll it to and fro on a Stone, or Marble. This done, we blow a second Time, and thus form the Bunch, or Belly of the *Glass*: The Matter, by this second Blast, assumes the Figure of a Gourd, or Calabash, eighteen or twenty Inches in Diameter. As often as we blow into the Iron (which must be very often) we must remove it hastily from our Mouth to our Cheek, lest we should draw the Flame into our Mouth, when we re-apply it to the Iron.—We must whirl our Iron-Rod many Times round our Head, to lengthen and cool the *Glass*; sometimes the *Glass*, thus blown round, is returned to the Fire, where it flattens a little of itself; when flatten'd, it is taken out, and cooled; and, if needful for the Design, we must flat its Bottom, by pressing it on the Marble, or mould it in the Stamp-Iron, and thus deliver it to the Master-Workman to break off the Collet; which *Collet* is the narrow Part, which clave to the Iron.

To set the *Glass* at Liberty, we must lay a Drop of cold Water on the Collet; which by its Coldness will cut, or crack about a Quarter of an Inch: After which giving it a slight Blow, the Fracture is communicated all around the Collet. We'll throw the waste Piece by to make *green Glass*.

This done, we dip an Iron-Rod, or *Ponteglo*, in the melting Pots, and with the Matter that sticks thereto, we'll apply and fasten it to the Bottom of the Vessel, opposite to the *Collet*.—The Vessel thus sustained by the Iron Rod, is carried to the great *Bocca* to be heated, and scalded; and while another Person takes Care thereof, the former Operator rests, and prepares himself for the Branching, or making the Bowl, which is done by thrusting in an Iron Instrument, call'd *Passago*, whereby the Aperture is opened, and afterwards augmented further, and widened with the *Procello*: In turning this Instrument about, to form the Bowl, the Edge becomes thickned; the *Glass* being, as it were, doubled in that Part; whence the Hem observed on the Circumference of our *Glasses*. What is superfluous, is cut off with the Shears.

The Vessel thus opened is returned to the great *Bocca*, where being sufficiently heated a second Time, the Workman gives the Bowl its finishing, by turning it about with a circular Motion; which it increases in Proportion as the Bowl opens, and enlarges by means of the Heat and Agitation.

The *Glass* thus finished, they carry it from the *Bocca* still turning it round, to a kind of earthen Bench covered with Brands, or Coals extinguished: Here they let it cool a little, and come to its Consistence; having first detached it from the Iron Rod, by a Stroke or two with the Hand. Thus with blowing, scalding, amplifying, and cutting the *Glass*, is framed into the Shape, preconceived in the Workman's Mind. If need be he proceeds to put on a Foot and Handle, and with the *Spici* puts on Rigarines and Marblings.

When the Master has finished a Number of them, a Servitor takes them with an Iron Fork, and speedily places

places them in the Tower or *Leer*, to anneal and harden.

Note, That *Annealing*, or *Nealing* of *Glass*, is the baking of *Glass* to dry, harden, and give it the due Consistence, after it has been blown and fashioned in the proper Works. Nealing is also used for the Art of staining *Glass* with metal Colours.

Note, also, That what has been here said, of white or crystal *Glass*, holds equally of common or green *Glass*; the working being the same in all, and the Difference only in the Salt or *Polverine*.

Note, besides, That so many Masters as there are, so many Pots at least, and so many Bocca's there must be; each Man having his proper Station, where they receive those scorching Heats fallying directly into their Faces, Mouths, and Lungs; whence they are forced to work in their Shirts, like the *Cyclops*, and *Nudi-membra Pyracmones*, with a Straw broad-brimmed Hat on their Heads, to defend their Eyes from the excessive Heat and Light. They sit in large wide wooden Chairs, with two long Elbows, to which their Instruments are hung. They work six Hours at a Time, measured by a single *Glass*; after which they are relieved by others for the like Time, so that the Furnaces are never idle.

From *Round Glasses* we'll pass to the blowing *Window*, or *Table-Glasses*, for which Operation the Furnace, Melting-Pots, Materials, and Fire, are the same as for *round Glass*, and the Difference only commences after the Operator has dipped his *Blowing-Iron* the fourth Time in the melted Metal: The *Glass* then being in this Condition, they blow it; but instead of rounding, or forming it into a Bunch, the particular Motion the Workmen gives it in the directing and managing the Wind, and the Way of rolling it on the Iron, makes it extend in Length two or three Foot, and form a Cylinder, which at first is but two Inches in Diameter; but which by being recommitted to the Fire, and blown afresh when taken out, becomes of the Extent required for the Table of *Glass* to be formed. With this Circumstance however, that the Side which is fastened to the Iron, goes gradually diminishing, and ends in a kind of Cone or Pyramid. To render the two Ends nearly of the same Diameter, after adding a little *Glass* to that opposite to the Iron, they draw it out with a Pair of Iron Pincers; then they incide or cut off the same End with a little Water; and carrying the Cylinder back to the Bocca, they incide it likewise with Water in two other Places, one eight or ten Inches from the Iron, and the other the whole Length.

The *Glass* Cylinder thus abridged of both its Extremities, is next heated on a kind of earthen Table, somewhat raised in the Middle, in order to promote its opening at the Place incided longitudinally. The Workman here makes use of an Iron, wherewith he alternately lowers and raises the two Sides, or Halves of the Cylinder, which now begin to open and unfold like a Sheet of Paper, and at length grow perfectly flat. The Table of *Glass* is now in its last Perfection, and needs nothing further but to be heated over again: When taken out they lay it on a Table of Copper; when after it has cooled and come to its Consistence, they carry it on Forks to the Tower of the Furnace, where they leave it to anneal for twenty-four Hours.

Note, That the Number of Tables annealed at a Time, which sometimes amount to a hundred, with the perpendicular Situation they are set in, occasioned antiently that those set in first, sustaining in some measure the Pressure of all the last, were bent, and thus rendered inconvenient for Use: But this Inconvenience is now remedied by separating them into Tens with an Iron Shiver; which diminishing the Weight by dividing it, keeps the Tables as flat and even as they were put in.

Note, also, That the Method of making Crown Window *Glass*, now practised in *England*, is borrow'd from the *French*. An *English* Glais-maker went over to work in *France*, on Purpose to get into the Secret;

which when he had attained to, he returned, and set up a *Glass* Work.

The last, and most curious Operation perform'd in a *Glass-House*, is that of *Blowing*, and *Casting* LOOKING-GLASS PLATES; which tho' made of much the same Materials as other *Glasses*, viz. of an alkali Salt and Sand; it must, however, be observed, that the Salt should not be that extracted from *Polverine*, or the Ashes of the *Syrian Kali*, but that from *Barillia*, or the Ashes of a Plant of that Name, of the Genus of *Kalies*, but growing about *Alicant* in *Spain*. This *Barillia* is seldom to be got pure; the *Spaniards*, in burning the Herb, making a Practice of mixing another Herb along with it, which alters its Quality, or of adding Sand to it, to increase the Weight; which is easily discovered, if the Addition be only made after the boiling of the Ashes; but next to impossible, if made in the Boiling: It is from this Adulteration, that those Threads, and other Defects in *Plate-Glass*, arise.

To prepare the Salt, it must be well purged of all foreign Matters; pounded, or ground with a Kind of Mill, and sifted pretty fine.

The Sand is to be sifted, and washed, till such Time as the Water comes off very clear; and when it is well dried again, it is to be mixed with the Salt, passing the Mixture through another Sieve. This done, they are laid in the annealing Furnace for about two Hours; in which Time, the Matter becomes very light, and white, and in which State they are called *Frit*, or *Fritta*, and are to be laid up in a dry clean Place, to give them Time to incorporate, for at least a Year.

When this *Frit* is to be employed, it must be laid for some Hours in the Furnace; adding to some the Fragments, or Shards, of old and ill-made *Glasses*; taking Care, first, to calcine the Shards, by heating them red-hot in the Furnace, and thus casting them into cold Water: To the Mixture must likewise be added Manganese, to promote the Fusion, and Purification; the Matter thus prepared, is equally fit for *Plate Glass*, to be formed by *Blowing*, or by *Casting*.

Note, That the Furnaces for melting the Materials of this Manufacture, are of enormous Size; and those for annealing the *Glasses*, when formed, much more so. Round a melting Furnace there are, at least, twenty-four annealing Furnaces or Ovens, each from twenty to twenty-five Foot long: They are called *Carquasses*, each *Carquasse* has two *Tissarts*, or Apertures, to put in Wood, and two Chimneys. Add, that besides the annealing Furnaces, &c. there are others for the making of *Frit*, and calcining old Pieces of *Glass*. All these Furnaces are covered over with a large Shed, under which are likewise Forges and Workhouses for Smiths, Carpenters, &c. continually employed in repairing and keeping up the Machines, Furnaces, &c. as also Lodges and Apartments for these and other Workmen employed about the *Glass*; and in keeping up a perpetual Fire in the great Furnace; so that the *Glass-House*, as that in the Castle of *St. Gobin*, in the Forest of *Fere*, in the *Soissonois*, in *France*, appears more like a little City, than a Manufactory.

The Inside of the Furnaces is formed of a Sort of Earth proper to sustain the Action of Fire; and the same Earth for the melting Pots, Cisterns, &c. which are Implements of this sort of *Glass-Houses*. The Furnaces seldom last above three Years; after which they are to be rebuilt from Bottom to Top: And to keep them good even for that Time, the Inside must be refitted every six Months.

As *Looking-Glass* PLATES are made in two different Manners, viz. by *Blowing*, and by *Casting*; we'll begin with the most easy Manner, which is that of *Blowing*; and which is performed thus:—The Materials to be blown, are fused in melting Pots, thirty-eight Inches in Diameter, and thirty-five Feet high. After those Materials are vitrified by the Heat of the Fire, and the *Glass* is sufficiently refined, the Master-Workman dips in his blowing Iron once and again, till he has got Matter enough thereon.—This done, he mounts on a Kind of

Block, or Stool five Foot high, to be more at Liberty to ballance it, as it lengthens in the blowing. If the Work be too heavy for the Workman to sustain on his blowing Iron, two or more Attendants assist him, by holding Pieces of Wood under the *Glass*, in Proportion as it stretches, for Fear it should fall off the Iron by its own Weight.

When after several repeated Heatings and Blowings, the *Glass* is at length brought to the Compass proper for its Thickness, and the Quantity of Metal taken out; they cut it off with Forceps, at the Extremity opposite to the Iron, in order to point it with the *Pointil*, which is a long firm Piece of Iron, having a Piece going across one of its Ends in manner of a T. To point the *Glass* they plunge the Head of the T into the melting Pot, and with the liquid *Glass* sticking thereto, they fasten it to the Extremity of the *Glass* before cut off. When it is sufficiently fastened, they separate the other Extremity of the *Glass* from the blowing Iron, and instead thereof make use of the *Pointil* to carry it to the Furnaces appointed for that End; where by several Heatings they continue to enlarge it, till it be equally thick in every Part.

This done, they cut it open with the Forceps; not only on the Sides, by which it stuck to the blowing Iron, but likewise the whole Length of the Cylinder: After which, giving it a sufficient Heating, it is in a Condition to be entirely open'd, extended, and flatten'd: The Manner of doing which is much the same as for *Table Glass*, and need not be here repeated. Lastly, the *Glass* being sufficiently flatted, is laid to anneal for ten, or fifteen Days, according to the Size and Thickness.

Note, That *Looking-Glasses* thus blown, should never be above forty-five, or at most fifty Inches long, and of a Breadth proportionable. Those exceeding these Dimensions, as we frequently find among the *Venice Glasses*, cannot have the Thickness sufficient to bear the Grinding; and, beside, are subject to warp, which prevent them from regularly reflecting Objects.

The next Operation, the most curious and most valuable, is that of *running*, or *casting* large *Looking-Glass Plates*.

Note, That the Utensils of the *Glass-Houses* for this Operation, consist in *melting Pots* as big as Hogsheds, and capable to contain above two thousand Weight of Metal; in Cisterns, which serve for the Conveyance of the liquid *Glass*, which is drawn out of the Pots, to the casting Tables; of a Table made of Pot-Metal, about nine Foot long, and broad in Proportion, whereon the *Glass* is to be run, of Iron Rulers or Reins, &c.

The first Thing to be done in this Operation, as in all others of this Kind, is to heat the Furnace red-hot, which is done in this Manner: The *Tisor*, or Person employed for that Purpose, quite naked to his Shirt, runs round the Furnace without making the least Stop, with a Speed scarce inferior to that of the lightest Courier: As he goes along he takes two Billets, or Pieces of Wood cut for that Purpose, which he throws into the first *Tiffart*; and continuing his Course does the same for the second: This he holds on without Interruption, for six Hours successively; after which he is relieved by another, &c. It is surprising that two such small Pieces of Wood, and which are consumed in an instant, should keep the Furnace to the proper Degree of Heat; which is such, that a large Bar of Iron laid at one of the Mouths of the Furnace becomes red-hot in less than half a Minute.

Note, That it is computed that a Furnace, before it be fit to run *Glass*, costs above 3500 *l*. That at least six Months are required for the building it anew, and three Months for the refitting it; and that when a Pot of Matter bursts in the Furnace, the Loss of Matter and Time amounts to above 250 *l*.

When the Furnace is red-hot, the Pots are filled with Materials at three different Times, to facilitate the Fusion. When the Matter is sufficiently vitrified, refined,

and settled, which usually happens in twenty-four Hours; the Cisterns are filled, which are in the same Furnace, and which are left there about six Hours longer, till such Time as they appear all white, through the excessive Heat.

To get the Cisterns with the Metal out of the Furnace; they make use of a large Iron Chain, which opens and shuts with Hooks and Eyes; from the Middle whereof, on each Side, arise two massive Iron Pins, whereby, with the Assistance of Pullies, the Cisterns are raised upon a Kind of Carriage of a proper Height, and thus conducted to the Place where the *Glass* is to be run: Here slipping off the Bottom of the Cistern, there rushes out a Torrent of Matter, all on Fire, where-with the Table, prepared for that Purpose, is presently covered. This Table is supported on a wooden Frame, with Trussles, for the Convenience of removing from one *Carquasse*, or annealing Furnace, to another; in Proportion as they are filled.—To form the Thickness of a *Glass*, there are two Iron Rulers, or Reins, placed around the Edge of the Table; and on these rest the two Extremes of a Kind of Roller, which serves to drive the liquid Matter before it, to the End of the Table, or Mould. The Iron Rulers being moveable, and capable of being set closer, or further apart, at Pleasure, determine the Width of the *Glasses*, and retain the Matter, that it does not run off at the Edges.

As soon as the Matter is arrived at the End of the Table, and the *Glass* is come to a Consistence, which is in about a Minute, they shove it off into the annealing Furnace, where it slides with Ease enough, by reason of the Sand strewed thereon. What is the most surprizing throughout the whole Operation, is the Quickness, and Address, wherewith such massy Cisterns, filled with so flaming a Matter, are taken out of the Furnace, conveyed to the Table, poured therein, the *Glass* spread, &c. the whole is inconceivable to such as have not been Eye-Witnesses of that surprizing Manufacture.

As fast as the Cisterns are emptied, they carry them back to the Furnace, and take fresh ones, which they empty as before: This they continue to do, as long as there are any full Cisterns; laying as many Plates in each *Carquasse* as it will hold, and stopping them up as soon as they are full; to let them anneal, and cool again, which requires at least ten Days.

The first Running being dispatched, they prepare another, by filling the Cisterns anew, from the Matter in the Pots; and after the second a third, and even a fourth Time, till the melting Pots are quite empty.—The Cisterns, at each Running, should remain, at least, six Hours in the Furnace to whiten; and when the first annealing Furnace is full, the Casting-Table is to be carried to another. It need not here be observed, that the *Carquasses*, or annealing Furnaces, must first have been heated to the Degrees proper for them. When the Pots are emptied, they take them out, as well as the Cisterns, to scrape off what *Glass* remains, which otherwise would grow green by the Continuance of Fire, and spoil the *Glasses*.

The *Glass*, when taken out of the melting Furnace, needs nothing further than to be ground, polished, and foliated.

Note, That this Art of *casting*, or *running* large *Looking-Glass Plates*, is a *French* Invention, and not above fifty-five Years old. It is owing to the *Sieur Abraham Thevert*, who proposed it to the Court of *France* in 1688: That Court applied itself with a laudable Industry, to cultivate and improve that Manufacture. A Company of *Glass-men* was established by Letters Patent; and it was provided by an Arret, not only that the working in *Glass* should not derogate any Thing from Nobility, but even that none but Nobles should be allowed to work therein. The *French* continued sole Masters of this curious and very advantageous Secret, till four perfidious Men employed to work in the Manufacture, avaricious of Gain, fled into *England*, and proposed to establish a semblable one in that Kingdom. They met at first with the Encouragement they could reasonably expect; but as it was impossible they

they could work without discovering their Secret to those with whom they had associated themselves, in the working Business; those Associates were no sooner Masters of their Secrets, but they informed the others who were to defray the Expences, that they could do without their *French* Masters, who in a very short Time found themselves so entirely neglected, that some of them returned back into *France*, where they met with the Reward due to their Perfidy, for if I am not mistaken, they were both hang'd.

Before the *French* had found this excellent Secret, *Venice* for many Years had excelled all *Europe* in the Fineness of their *Glasses*. The great *Glass* Works were at *Muran*, or *Mouran*, a Village near the City; which furnished all *Europe* with the finest and largest *Glasses*.

Note also, That for the Origin of *Glass* in general, *De Neri* will have *Glass* as antient as *Job*; for that Writer, Chap. 28. Ver. 17. speaking of Wisdom, says, Gold and *Glass* shall not be equal'd to it. This we are to observe in the Reading the Septuagint, Vulgate *Latin*, *St. Jerom*, *Pineda*, &c. for in the *English* Version, instead of *Glass*, we read *Crystal*; and the same is done in the *Chaldee*, *Arias*, *Montanus*, and the King of *Spain's* Edition. In other Versions, &c. it is read *Stone*; and in others, *Beryl*; in the *Italian*, *Spanish*, *French*, *Higb* and *Low Dutch*, &c. *Diamond*; in others, *Carbuncle*; and in the *Targum*, *Looking-Glass*.

Most Authors will have *Aristophanes* to be the first Author who mentions *Glass*. That Poet, in his Comedy call'd the *Clouds*, *Scen. i. Act. 2.* uses the Word *Hyalus*, ὑαλός, which is now ordinarily rendered *Glass*. He there introduces *Streptiades*, teaching *Socrates* a new Way to pay old Debts, viz. ' by placing a transparent Stone, sold by the Druggists, ' from which the Fire is struck, between the Sun and ' the Writing; and so melting away the Letters thereof.' This Stone *Socrates* calls ὑαλός; which the Scholiast on *Aristophanes*, derives from *υἱ*, to rain, from the Likeness it bears to Ice, which is Rain, or Water congeal'd; though it must be own'd the Word ὑαλός is ambiguous, and signifies *Crystal*, as well as *Glass*; and *Goræus* observes, that the Antients had a Kind of yellow Amber, transparent as *Glass*, called by some ὑαλός.

Aristotle has two Problems upon *Glass*; the first, why we see through it? the second, why it cannot be beaten? If these Problems be *Aristotle's*, which the Learned doubt very much, this would probably be the earliest Piece of the Antiquity of *Glass*. But the first Author who makes unquestion'd Mention of this Matter, is *Alexander Aphroditæus*, who uses it in a Simile: ' As the Florid- ' ness of a Colour is seen through *Glass*, &c.' After him the Word occurs commonly enough; *Lucian* mentions large *Drinking Glasses*; and *Plutarch* in his *Symposium* says, that the Fire of Tamarish Wood is the fittest for the making of *Glass*. Among the *Latin* Writers, *Lucretius* is the first that takes Notice of *Glass*. *Nisi reſta foramina tranant, qualia ſunt Vitri.* Dr. *Merret* however, adds, that *Glass* could not be unknown to the Antients, but that it must be as antient as Pottery itself, or the Art of making Bricks; for scarcely can a Kiln of Bricks be burnt, or a Batch of Pottery Ware be made, but some of the Bricks and Ware, will be at least superficially turn'd to *Glass*; and therefore, without doubt it was known at the Building of *Babel*. Hence *Ferrant Imperatus*, *Lib. 25. c. 7.* ' *Glass*, like the artificial Kind, is found under Ground, in Places where ' great Fires have been. Other *Glasses* are found in ' round Clods like Firestone, some brittle, others firm, ' &c. This fossil *Glass* is wrought by the *Americans*, ' and used instead of Iron.' And no doubt but Virrifications were more common in antient Bricks than ours; as they tempered their Earth two Years together, and burnt them better.

Pliny relates the Manner of the Discovery of *Glass*. It was found, according to that Author, by Accident in *Syria*, at the Mouth of the River *Belus*, by certain Merchants, driven thither by the Fortune of the Sea; being

obliged to live there, and dress their Victuals by making a Fire on the Ground; and there being Store of the Plant *Kali* upon the Spot, this Herb being burnt to Ashes, and the Sand, or Stones of the Place, accidentally mix'd with it, a Vitrification was undesignedly made; from whence the Hint was taken, and easily improv'd.

Indeed, how old soever *Glass* may be, the Art of making and working it appears of no great Antiquity. The first Place mention'd for the making hereof, is *Sidon* in *Syria*, which was famous for *Glass* and *Glass-Houses*, as observed by *Pliny*, *Lib. 26. c. 26.* The first Time we know of *Glass* made among the *Romans*, was in the Time of *Tiberius*, when *Pliny* relates that an Artist had his House demolished for making *Glass* malleable, or rather flexible. Though *Petronius Arbitrator*, and some others, assure, that the Emperor order'd the Artist to be beheaded for his Invention.

Note, That there is an Operation made upon *Glass*, which I find no proper Place to take Notice of but in this, and which is *Painting upon Glass*, for *Glass Windows* of Churches, Chapels, Colleges, &c. This Operation, being likewise perfected in a Furnace, or Oven, where the Colours are baked or annealed; which Colours are very different from those used in Painting in Oil, or Water: For the *Black* is made of two Thirds of Flakes, or Scales of Iron, beaten up and mixed with another Third of Rocaille, or little *Glass* Beads. *White*, with Sand or little white Pebbles, calcin'd, pounded in a Mortar, and afterwards ground on Marble; with one fourth Part of Salt-Petre added thereto, and the Mixts are calcin'd, and pulveriz'd over again; to which, when ready to use it, is added a little Gypsum, or Plaister of *Paris* well ground, &c. For *Yellow*, they use Leaf Silver ground, mixed up in a Crucible with Sulphur, or Salt-Petre; then well beaten and ground on a Porphyry Stone; and at length ground over again with nine Times as much red Oker. *Red*, is made of Litharge of Silver, and Scales of Iron, Gum-arabick, Ferreta, *Glass* Beads and Blood Stones, nearly in equal Quantities. This is one of the most difficult Colours, and the Preparation only to be learn'd by Experience. *Green*, is made of *Æsustum*, one Ounce; as much Black Lead, and four Ounces of white Sand, incorporated by the Fire. After Calcination, they add a fourth Part of Salt-Petre; after a second Calcination, a sixth Part more; after which they make a third Coction before it is used. *Azure*, *Purple*, and *Violet*, are prepar'd like *Green*, only leaving out the *Æsustum*, and in lieu thereof using Sulphur, for *Azure*; Perigueux, for *Purple*; and both those Drugs for *Violet*. *Carnations* are made of Ferretta and Rocaille. And lastly Colours for the Hair, Trunks of Trees, &c. are made of Ferretta, Rocaille, &c. though all Painters on *Glass* do not use these Colours, for which we are indebted to M. *Felibien*, who gives this Account of them in his excellent Work *Des Principes d'Architecture*, &c. but most of them invent particular Ones, of which they make great Secrets. Notwithstanding which, these, above described, are sufficient for the best Painting upon *Glass*; provided a Person has but the Skill to manage them.

Note also, That the first Thing to be done, in order to paint on *Glass*, in the modern Way, is to design, and even colour the whole Subject on Paper. Then they make Choice of Pieces of *Glass*, proper to receive the several Parts, and proceed to divide, or distribute the Design itself, or the Paper it is drawn on into Pieces suitable to those of *Glass*; having always a View that the *Glasses* may join in the Contours of the Figures, and Folds of the Draperies; that the *Carnations* and other finer Parts may not be damaged by the Lead wherewith the Pieces are to be join'd together. The Distribution made, they mark all the *Glasses*, as well as Papers, with Letters or Numbers, that they may be known again. Which done, applying each Part of the Design on a *Glass* intended for it, they copy, or transfer the Design upon this *Glass*, with

with the black Colour, 'diluted' in Gum-Water, by tracing and following all the Lines and Strokes, as they appear through the *Glass* with the Point of a Pencil. When these first Strokes are well dried, which happens in about two Days, the Work being only in Black and White, they give it a slight wash over, with Urine, Gum-arabick, and a little Black; and this several Times repeated, according as the Shades are desir'd to be heightened; with this Precaution never to apply a new Wash, till the former is sufficiently dried. This done, the Lights and Rifings are given, by rubbing off the Colour in the respective Places, with a wooden Point, or the Handle of the Pencil. As to the other Colours above-mention'd, they are used with Gum-Water, as much as in Painting in Miniature; taking Care to apply them lightly, for fear of effacing the Out-lines of the Design; or even for the greater Security, to apply them on the other Side, especially yellow, which is very pernicious to the other Colours, by blending them therewith. And here too, as in Pieces of Black and White, particular Regard must be had, not to lay Colour on Colour, or Lay on Lay, till such Time as the former are well dried. It may be added, that the Yellow is the only Colour that penetrates through the *Glass*, and incorporates therewith by the Fire: The rest, and particularly the Blue, which is very difficult to use, remaining on the Surface, or at least penetrating very little.

When the Painting of all the Pieces is finished, they are carried to the Furnace, or Oven, to anneal, or bake the Colours. The Furnace here used, is small, built of Brick, from eighteen to thirty Inches square: At six Inches from the Bottom is an Aperture to put in the Fuel, and maintain the Fire. Over this Aperture is a Grate, made of three square Bars of Iron, which traverse the Furnace, and divide it into two Parts. Two Inches above this Partition is another little Aperture, through which they take out Pieces to examine how the Coction goes forward. On the Grate is placed a square earthen Pan, six or seven Inches deep; and five or six Inches less each Way than the Perimeter of the Furnace. On one Side hereof is a little Aperture, thro' which is made the Trials, placed directly opposite to that of the Furnaces disposed for the same End. In this Pan are the Pieces of *Glass* to be placed in the following Manner: First, the Bottom of the Pan is cover'd with three Strata, or Layers of Quicklime, pulverized; those Strata's being separated by two others of old broken *Glass*; the Design whereof is to secure the painted *Glass* from the too intense Heat of the Fire. This done, the *Glasses* are laid horizontally on the last, or uppermost Layer of Lime. The first Row of *Glass* they cover over with a Layer of the same Powder, an Inch deep; and over this lay another Range of *Glasses*; and thus alternately till the Pan is quite full: Taking Care that the whole Heap always end with a Layer of the Lime Powder.

The Pan thus prepar'd, they cover up the Furnace with Tiles; on a square Table of Earthen Ware, closely luted all round, only having five little Apertures, one at each Corner, and another in the Middle to serve as Chimneys.

Things thus disposed, there remains nothing but to give the Fire to the Work; which Fire, for the two first Hours must be very moderate; and be increased in

Proportion as the Coction advances, for the Space of ten or twelve Hours; in which Time it is usually completed. At last the Fire, which at first was only of Charcoal, is of dry Wood; so that the Flame covers the whole Pan, and even issues out at the Chimneys. During the last Hours they make Essays from Time to Time; by taking out Pieces laid for the Purpose, through the little Aperture of the Furnace and Pan, to see whether the Yellow be perfect, and the other Colours in good Order. When the annealing is thought sufficient, they proceed with great Haste to extinguish the Fire, which otherwise would soon burn the Colours, and break the *Glasses*.

Note besides, That this modern Way of Painting upon *Glass*, is not comparable to that which immediately preceded it; nor the Colours near so beautiful and lively as those we see in the Windows of divers antient Churches, Chapels, Colleges, &c. not that the Secret of making those Colours is lost, as vulgarly supposed; but that the Moderns would not go to the Expence of them; nor take all the necessary Pains; by Reason this Sort of Painting is not so much esteemed as formerly.

These beautiful Works, which were made in the *Glass-Houses*, were of two Kinds: In some, the Colour was diffused through the whole Body of *Glass*; in others, which were the more common, the Colour was only on one Side, scarce penetrating within the Substance above one Third of a Line, though more or less, according to the Nature of the Colour, the Yellow being always found to enter the deepest. These last, tho' not so strong and beautiful as the former, were of more Advantage to the Workmen, by Reason, on the same *Glass*, tho' already colour'd, they could shew other Kind of Colours, where there was Occasion to embroider Draperies, enrich them with Foliages, or represent other Ornaments of Gold, Silver, &c. In order to this, they made Use of Emery; grinding or wearing down the Surface of the *Glass*, till such Time as they were got through the Colour, to the clear *Glass*: This done, they applied the proper Colours on the other Side of the *Glass*; by this Means the new Colours were prevented from running and mixing among the former, when the *Glasses* came to be exposed to the Fire.

Note again, That this excellent Method of Painting upon *Glass*, was invented by a French Painter of *Marseilles*, upon going to *Rome* under the Pontificate of *Julius II.* and was much improv'd afterwards by *Albert Durer*, and *Lucas of Leyden*; though the Antients had had a Notion of that Art, but their Manner of Painting was very simple; for it consisted in the meer Arrangement of Pieces of *Glass*, of different Colours, in some Sort of Symmetry; and constituted a Kind of what we call *Mosaick Work*. Afterwards when they came to attempt more regular Designs, and even to represent Figures with all their Shades, their whole Address went no farther than to the drawing the Contours of the Figures in Black, with Water Colours, and hatching the Draperies after the same Manner, on *Glasses* of the Colour of the Object intended to be painted. For the Carnations they chose *Glass* of a bright Red; upon which they design'd the principal Lineaments of the Face, &c. with Black.

G O D, and His ATTRIBUTES.

GOD is an immaterial, intelligent, and free Being, of a perfect Goodness, Wisdom, and Power, who made the Universe, and continues to support it, as well as to govern and direct it by his Providence.

Note, That the *Divine Essence* being the inexhaustible Source of all the Perfections and Personalities which are in *God*; and essential or absolute *Attributes* in our

Manner of conceiving those sublime Things, prior to the personal relative Properties, I design to speak first in this sublime Treatise, which is the Foundation of all Sorts of Religions in general, and of Christianity in particular; 1. Of *God's Existence*, and *Essence*; 2. Of the *Divine Attributes* in general; 3. Of each of those *Attributes* in particular; 4. Of the *Passive Vision of God*; 5. Of the *Supreme Intelligence of God*; 6. Of the

the *Will of God*; 7. Of the *Providence of God*; 8. Of the *Omnipotency of God*.

Note also, That as I have already proved *God's Existence*, in my Treatise of *Atheism*, under the Letter *A*, and said there all that could be said on that Subject, capable to cover with Confusion and Shame, those who have the sacrilegious Folly to deny that Existence; I think it needless to repeat here all the Arguments used in that Place: Therefore I'll begin this by enquiring, with all the awful Respect becoming a Christian Theologian, into the Essence of *God*.

Before any Thing can be defined concerning *God*, we must first inform ourselves what he is, *i. e.* what is understood by the Name of *God*: For I understand a true, not a false *God*. Therefore I say that *God* is a *Being essentially existing*, since he depends on no other for his actual Being; so that the true Idea of the divine Essence, or the divine Essence himself, consists in that essential and actual Being, because it denotes an Independence; not that the *divine Essence* is thereby formally established, because this is positive, and that admits of a Negation; neither is that *Essence* by a Being from himself, because that *Being from*, admits of a Relation; but there is no Relation to oneself: Add, that the *divine Essence* is a *Being* intirely absolute; therefore it must not be established formally, by a relative Attribute, and not even by *Infinity*, because Infinity imports a Negation, as supposed to be something adventitious to the divine Essence, and to his Attributes; for *God* is infinite because he is *God*; therefore that divine Being is presupposed to Infinity; neither by being the Origin of all Beings, because he is not the Origin of himself, and therefore he is not the Origin of all Beings: Add, that to be the Origin admits of a Relation, because if he be the Origin it must be of another.

I even go further and say, that the *divine Essence* is not placed formally in the divine Understanding; for this admits likewise of a sort of Relation, since it supposes some Subject, or Object of the Understanding. And we conceive the Intellective before the Intelligent: Neither is the *divine Essence* constituted by the Concourse of all the divine Perfections, because thereby the *Essence* is not so justly distinguished from the Attributes; a Collection, beside, being a sort of Relation, and what is collected being different from the Collection, and the Collection different from him who collects; but *God* assembles within himself all Sorts of Perfections; therefore the *Essence of God* is supposed previously to all Perfections: Therefore the *divine Essence* consists in an actual essential Being, abstracted from all Ideas of any other Beings, and conceived as if all others, and all that has the least Relation to them, either created or uncreated, spiritual or corporeal, had neither Essence nor Existence.

From this Consideration of the *divine Essence*, I'll pass to that of his divine Attributes in general.

Note, That *God's Attributes*, taken in general, may be consider'd in two Manners: 1. In a wide Sense. 2. In a strict Sense.

God's Attribute, taken in general, and even in a wide Sense, is all that is affirmed of *God*, as of a Subject, let it be in what Manner it may be affirmed. Thus the *Predicates* constitutive of the *divine Essence*, such as Deity, Substance, Spirit, and the like, may be called *God's Attributes*, as well as the relative Names affirmed of *God*, such as that of Creator, and the like.

Divine Attribute taken in general, but in a strict Sense, can be defined an essential, positive, and absolute Name, belonging to *God* as a Propriety.

1. It is called a *Name*, *i. e.* *predicate*, because what the modern Theologians call at present *God's Attribute*, the ancient Fathers used to call *divine Name*.

2. It is called *essential*, not that it must be constitutive of the divine Essence, precisely considered; but must be common to the Essence of *God*, and to the three Persons. Whence a quidditative Name, *i. e.* a Name constitutive of the divine Essence, if there was any, ought not to be ranked among the divine Attributes.

3. It is called *Positive*, *i. e.* signifying formally some real Perfection existing in *God*, and not a simple Negation of Imperfection.

4. *Absolute*, *i. e.* admitting of no real Relation within, as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; or of Reason without, as Lord, Creator, First Cause, &c.

5. *Which belongs to God*, *i. e.* to the divine Essence, and the three Persons.

6. *Properly belongs*, to exclude a metaphorical Name, as that of Lion, Shepherd, and the like, which are sometimes attributed to *God*.

7. *As a Propriety*, *i. e.* as a Perfection flowing from the Essence of *God*. From this Definition of *God's Attribute* taken in a strict Sense, it must be inferred, that there are several Names not to be ranked among those *Attributes*, viz. 1. Those which are personal and notional, such as the Names of *Father*, *Son*, *Innascible*, and the like. 2. Those which are *Negative*, as *Infinite*, *Increated*, &c. 3. The *relative*, whether they import a Relation *ad intra*, as the Names of *generating*, &c. or *ad extra*, as those of *Lord*, *Creator*, and the like. Whence it is not surprising if St. Thomas, p. 1. *Quest.* 39. art. 7. distinguishes *God's Attributes*, from those which are proper to the divine Persons. 4. Those which are metaphorical, as the Names of Lion, Husbandman, and the like. 5. Those which are quidditative, or constitutive of the divine Essence, such as the Names of Spirit and Substance.

Note, That those Names I have excluded from among *God's Attributes*, taken in a strict Sense, can, notwithstanding, be ranked among those *Attributes*, taken in a wide Sense.

Note also, That it is not requisite that *God's Attributes* should be something common, between him and the Creatures, otherwise Eternity, Immensity, and Immutability, would not be *God's Attributes*; neither is it necessary that those Attributes should be demonstrated; the Reason why not, is apparent of itself.

God's Attributes, taken in general, can be divided in these two Manners: 1. Into *affirmative*, and *negative*. 2. Into *essential*, or *absolute*; and into *notional*, or *relative*.

First, The *divine Attribute* can be divided into *affirmative*, and *negative*, because it signifies some certain Perfection (expressed by Word) existing in the divine Essence, in the Manner of some Form added to it, and thus is *affirmative* or *positive*, as *Goodness*, *Justice*, *Clemency*; or by Word, it denotes so great a Distance from Imperfection, that in the Intention of those who have given that Name, it marks some Perfection existing, formally, in *God*, and in that Sense it is *negative*, as the divine Immensity, which by a Negation of Ubiquity, denotes a certain Perfection, whereby the divine Essence is diffused throughout infinite Spaces. This Division is founded on the Doctrine of St. Denis, who says, *Lib. de divin. Nom. c. 7.* that *God* is known by us in two Manners, viz. by Science, and Ignorance; by Science, inasmuch as we know his *affirmative Attributes*; and by Ignorance, inasmuch as we know his *negative ones*. The first Member of this Division is compared to the Art of Painting, and the other to that of Statuary.

Secondly, The *divine Attribute* is also divided into *relative*, or *notional*; or into *absolute*, or *essential*; for the *Attribute* either imports some Relation, or not: If the first, it is *relative*; if the second, it is *absolute*, or *essential*, and is common to the three Persons; and affects in some Manner the divine Essence itself; such are *Justice* and *Mercy*.

The next Thing we are to consider is, in what Manner the *divine Attributes* are distinguished, either between themselves, or from the divine Essence.

To resolve that Question, we must observe, in few Words, that the *divine Attributes* can be consider'd in two Manners: 1. As they are in themselves. 2. As they are conceived by us.

These pre-observed, I'll say that the *divine Attributes*, as they are in *God*, are not really distinguished, either between

between themselves, or from the Essence. They are not really distinguished between themselves, because that essential Distinction is entirely repugnant to the Simplicity of the divine Essence; it being repugnant to it, to include several essential Predicates, which would be really distinct between themselves; for then the divine Essence would be composed of several Things, really distinct between themselves.

It may be objected to this, that tho' the divine Relations are identified, really, with the divine Essence, they nevertheless admit of a real Distinction between themselves; and therefore, tho' the *divine Attributes* be identified, really, with the Essence, they could be likewise distinguished really between themselves.

I answer, that there is a very great Disparity between the divine Attributes, and the divine Relations; because the divine Relations are the same Thing with the *divine Essence*, in such a Manner, that notwithstanding they are relatively opposed, and consequently are by that Opposition, really distinguished, as I'll observe more at large, in my Treatise of the *Blessed Trinity*; but the *divine Attributes* are not thus opposed between themselves, nor consequently distinguished.

Neither are those *Attributes* really distinguished from the divine Essence; because a Distinction is repugnant to the divine Essence: For, as the divine Essence is infinitely perfect, it must include, and includes in fact, all Sorts of Perfections, all as well created, as increated, tho' by a Reason of Disparity, it includes the Created, virtually, only, and the Increated, formally. Whence St. *Augustin*, Lib. 5. de *Trinit.* c. 8. *Non est aliud Deo esse, & magnum esse: Sed hoc idem est esse, & magnum esse*, i. e. It is not a Thing different in God to be, and to be great: But it is the same in him to be, and to be great.

Neither are God's *Attributes* as they are in himself, distinguished formally from the Essence, nor between themselves. For if they were thus distinct from the Essence, it would follow hence, that the divine Essence were not infinitely perfect, because it would be supposed rendered perfect by the Attributes: And if they were distinguished between themselves, such Distinction would be repugnant to the Simplicity of the divine Essence, since it imports a Composition in God of several essential Predicates formally distinct between themselves.

But God's *Attributes* are distinguished virtually, as well from the Essence precisely taken, as between themselves; because tho' God's *Attributes*, and his divine Essence, be one simple, and undistinct Entity, the human Understanding cannot precisely conceive it of a single formal Conception, but wants several adequate Conceptions, by one of which he conceives the Essence, and by the other the Attributes; and that with Foundation in the Thing, because all those Things, in God, are according to the Idea we form of them; for the Notion we have of the divine Essence, precisely taken, is not the same with that we have of his Attributes, viz. his Justice, or Mercy; neither is the Idea we form of an Attribute, viz. of his Justice, the same with that we form of another Attribute, viz. his Mercy.

Note, That Distinction, in general, is a Negation of Identity; or that whereby one is not another. *Distinction* is divided into *real*, *formal*, and *virtual*; and the *real* is subdivided into *greater*, and *lesser*.—The *greater real Distinction*, is that which happens between two Things, really separated from one another, as between Peter and Paul; and between those Things which are not actually separated, but can be separated, as between the Soul and Body; and lastly, between those which neither are separated, nor can be separated, but can, notwithstanding, be produced from one another; v. g. between the heavenly Father and his Son.

The *lesser real*, is that which happens between those Things, one of which can very well be without the other, but not *vice versa*; as that between the Finger and its Inflection.

Formal Distinction, is that happening between those Things which have a distinct Entity, though they be

VOL. II.

really the same Thing in some individual, and one cannot exist without the other; such is the Distinction between an external Quantity, and the Figure, which are inseparable from one another; which notwithstanding the Entity of the one, is distinct from that of the other.

Virtual Distinction, is that happening between Things, which tho' they have but one simple Entity, that Entity is notwithstanding equivalent to several, because of its Eminency, which offers itself to the Understanding in its entire Perfection, but according to partial and inadequate objective Conceptions; e. gr. The human Soul, which though it be one and the same Soul, can notwithstanding be conceived as rational, sensitive, and vegetative.—All this should be known, before any Body can pretend to understand, our different Distinctions of the divine Attributes.

Having thus spoke of the *divine Attributes* in general, Order requires that I should treat of every one of them in particular, beginning by the Simplicity of God; in which I'll consider chiefly four Things: 1. If God be simple in such a Manner as to admit of no Composition real and actual. 2. If that Simplicity be such in God as to exclude even a virtual Composition. 3. If God can enter into the Composition of something else. 4. If that Simplicity be a positive divine Perfection, and so well appropriated to God, as to be impossible of its being communicated to the Creature.

Note, 1. That by the Name of Simplicity is understood a Negation of Composition and Potentiality; whence, as Unity is opposed to Multitude, so Simplicity is opposed to Composition, and Potentiality; especially in God, whose Simplicity is founded on its supreme Actuality. 2. For the Intelligence of the following Articles, we must know what Simplicity be in general, which is commonly defin'd the *Union of several Things* distinct; and know, likewise, how it be divided. 3. *Composition*, in general, is divided into *real* and *rational*; the *real* is that consisting of Parts distinct really between themselves, and meeting in the Entity of a sole Composite; and the *rational Composition*, is that which consists of Parts only distinct by our Manner of conceiving them.—The *real Composition*, is subdivided, besides, into *substantial* and *accidental*: That is *substantial*, whose Extremes are Substances, substantially united between themselves; and that *accidental*, one of the Extremes whereof is an Accident; or if they be both Substances, are not however joined together by a substantial Union; as it appears by the Example of an Angel, and of Heaven: For those two Substances are only united accidentally, viz. by Motion, or a local Presence. That Composition which is substantial, can be subdivided, besides, into *physical*, and *metaphysical*; for this consists of Parts purely metaphysical, viz. either of the Genus and Difference, or of Essence and Existence, or of Nature and Substance. And that results from physical Parts, viz. either from Matter and Form, or from entitative integrant Parts: Therefore,

1. God is so simple as to admit in himself neither a real, nor actual Composition, either metaphysical or physical: Which can be proved by the Scripture, the Councils, and the Fathers. By the Scripture *Exod.* 3. where Moses speaks of God in this Manner, *He who is, has sent me to you*. For by that Manner of speaking he gives us to understand, that God is a Being very pure, and very simple. By the Councils, particularly that of *Lateran*, under *Innocent III.* Cap. *firmiter de Sancta Trinitate*, & *sede catholica*, where it is said, that there are three Persons, and but one Essence, Substance, or Nature entirely simple. From the holy Fathers, particularly St. *Augustin*, who says, Lib. 11. de *civit.* c. 10. *That there is a simple and incommutable Good, which is God himself; and what's generated from that simple Good is likewise simple; and another who is neither Father nor Son; and this is likewise simple, and likewise good, incommutable, and co-eternal; and that Trinity is one God, and the Trinity does not binder the Simplicity.*

D.

This

This *Simplicity* of God is also proved by Reason; because *God* is an Act so sovereignly pure, and so sovereignly perfect, as to exclude from himself all sort of Potentiality, and consequently all sort of Imperfection, and all Defect of Perfections; which would not be excluded, if he was to admit in himself any real Composition, either physical or metaphysical: For every actual and real Composition imports the Union of several Things distinct between themselves, one of which is accounted a Power, and the other an Act, and consequently imports some Imperfections, since Potentiality imports a Defect of Perfection, in that it denotes a Regard to an Act which can give it the Perfection it wants.

It may be objected to this, that three Persons constitute one *God*, and that consequently *God* is not so simple as to exclude a real Composition.

I answer, that the three Persons do not constitute one *God* otherwise than by being identified to the divine Essence, which Identification is not a Composition, because a Composition is not formed of Things identified to one another, but from Things which are distinct.

Note, That from what I have said it may be inferred,

1. That *God* is not a Body, as the Antropomorphites have falsely imagined, witness *St. Epiphanius, Heres. 70.* For does not the Scripture say, *John 4. God is a Spirit?* Does not the Council of *Frejus*, assembled in the Year 791. in their Confession of Faith, say that *God is incorporeal?* Does not *St. Thomas*, p. 1. *Quest. 3. art. 1.* prove, That *God* is the first Being, always in the Act, and never in the Power; and that a Body being a Composite, has something before itself, viz. the Parts it is composed of. Add to this, that a Body, because composed, has in itself the Principle of Combat; the Combat, the Principle of Disunion; and Disunion, the Principle of Dissolution; and that Dissolution is foreign to *God*, as proved by *St. Gregory Nazianz. Orat. 24.* whence it easily appears, he is not composed of Matter and Form. Notwithstanding what several others have believed, among whom they rank *Tertullian*, tho' *St. Augustin* endeavours to excuse him, by insinuating that he believed that *God* was a Body, inasmuch as he is opposed to nothing, but not as opposed to a spiritual Being; and notwithstanding what is objected, that corporeal Parts are attributed to *God* in the Scripture; which is only said metaphorically.—It may be infer'd, 2. That there is no Composition, in *God*, of Essence and Existence, because a Composition of distinct Parts admits of an Union; but Essence, and Existence in *God* are not two Things distinct, but only one and the same Thing; whence *God* is an Act sovereignly pure.—3. That in *God* there is no Composition, properly said, of supposite and Essence, since *God* and Deity is the same Thing as proved by *St. Thomas, art. 3.* against the Abbot *Joachim*, who admitted a *Quaternity* in *God*.—4. That there is no Composition in *God*, of Genus and Difference; because then *God* would be a Specie, under a Genus, which is false; because *God* is the Principal of every Genus.—5. Neither a Composition of Substance and Accident; because there is no Accident in *God*, who is a pure Act, and a Being sovereignly perfect, having no Potentiality in himself. Notwithstanding what *St. Augustin* says, *Lib. 5. de Trinit. c. 5.* That all that's said of *God*, is not said according to his Substance; whence some have the Temerity to infer, that something is said of him according to the Accident, which is false; for the Word *Substance* is taken in that Place, not as its being opposed to Accident, but as opposed to a relative Being. So that the true Sense of this Passage is, that something is said of *God*, in the Manner of a relative Being, and according to the personal Property; and all Things said of *God*, are not said according to his Essence; for besides the essential and absolute Attributes, there are in him some Relations, and personal Properties.

I'll examine next, if the Simplicity which is in *God* be such as to admit, or to exclude from him even a *virtual Composition*, either physical, or metaphysical? Which

Question I answer in the Affirmative; and which I prove, both by the Fathers, and by Reason.

Among the antient Fathers, *St. Anselmus, Proslog. c. 18.* says that Things which can be separated, or dissolved by our Understanding, are foreign to *God*.

By Reason, because the extremely perfect Simplicity of *God*, does not less exclude all Sort of Composition whatever, even virtual, than the Being excludes from himself Dependance; and Immutability, Mutation even virtual; for those Perfections being infinite, the Simplicity which is in *God* must likewise be infinite, since no greater nor better can be imagined.

To this it may be objected, that a virtual Distinction may be in *God*, together with Unity, though opposed to it; and consequently a virtual Composition with Simplicity, to which it is opposed.

I answer, that there is a very great Disparity between virtual Distinction, and virtual Composition; since a virtual Distinction does not suppose any Imperfection in the Object, since that Distinction proceeds in Part from the supreme Perfection of *God*, and in Part from the Imbecility of our Understanding, which cannot conceive, at once, all the Perfections of *God*: But Composition, of any Kind whatever, carries always along with it some Imperfection.

Another Objection is, that Eternity does not less remove Priority and Posteriority from *God*, than Simplicity removes Composition; but Eternity does not remove a virtual Priority, and Posteriority from *God*, since one Person is prior to the other, and some Attributes prior to others, therefore, &c.

To answer this Objection, I say, that Eternity does not less remove from *God* a Priority, and Posteriority of Duration or of Time; but not a Priority of Origin and Beatitude. That there is no Priority or Posteriority of Time, is confirmed by the Symbol of *St. Athanasius*, and by *St. Augustin, Lib. 3. c. 14. cont. Maximin.*

It may be asked next, if *God* can enter into the Composition of another? Which I answer in the Negative; because it would follow hence, that *God*, then as a Part, would be less perfect than the Whole, into whose Composition he would enter; since a Part, considered as a Part, is less perfect than the Composite whereof it is a Part; because it has, besides the Perfection of that Part, that of the other Compartment; and therefore has a sort of Dependency from that Compartment.

It is objected, 1. That *St. Augustin, Serm. 38. de verb. Dan.* says, that *God* is said to be a certain Form, not formed, but the incommutable Form of all that's formed; and that therefore he is a Part, properly said, of some Composite.

I answer, that *God* is in fact the exemplary Form of all Things, but not a Form which is a Part, properly said, of any Composite.

It is urged further from *St. Denis, Lib. de celest. Hier. c. 4.* That *God* is said to be the Being of all; and is consequently a Part, properly said, of some Composite.

I answer, that he is exemplarily and efficiently the *Esse*, or Being of all Things, not formally.

A second Objection is, that the Divine Word enters into the Composition of *Christ*; since *Christ* is composed of the Word, and of the human Nature; and therefore *God* can enter into the Composition of another.

I answer, that he enters into a numerical Composition, but not in one made of Parts. I call *numerical Composition*, that where the Parts undergo no Mutation in themselves, and remain always distinct from one another, as Units in a Number: And that made with Parts, properly so called, i. e. of Parts, ordered of themselves, and by Nature, to compose a Whole, and have a mutual Dependency on one another: Though it must be observed, that *God* can enter into the Composition of another, made of Parts improperly so called.

If it be asked, if the Simplicity which is in *God*, be a positive Perfection, and so proper to *God*, that it can not be communicated to the Creature? I'll answer, 1. That that Simplicity by the Strength of the Signification, is not a positive Perfection; but it presupposes a *Perfection simply simple*. It is not a positive Perfection, by the Strength of the Signification, because, as such, it

is only the Negation of any true and real Composition. It supposes a *Perfection simply simple*, because it presupposes a supreme and infinite Actuality of the divine Essence, or, which is the same, it presupposes that *God* is an Act extremely pure; and that Actuality is a *Perfection simply simple*.

I answer, 2. That that perfect Simplicity is so proper to *God*, that it cannot be communicated to the Creature; because *God's* Simplicity, as to his Signification, says, at least fundamentally, an entire Actuality, with the Negation of all Sorts of Compositions; but such Actuality cannot be communicated to the Creature; therefore, &c.

From this I'll pass to the Consideration of *God's Perfection*.

Note, That as in the Creatures the best Things are composed of single Individuals, because their Perfection is not found in one alone, but in the Union of several; for that Reason it is ask'd why *God*, who is so pure, and so simple an Act, as to admit of no Composition whatever, can be perfect? Which Difficulty I'll endeavour to resolve, observing previously to it, what *Perfection* is, and how many Sorts of *Perfections* there are. *Perfection* in general, is the Complement of Things requir'd for the Integrity of another; whence it is inferr'd, that *that* may be call'd properly perfect, which has all Things requisite for its Complement, and wants nothing to be perfect in its Manner. What's perfect is either so simply, or in Part; for what is perfect, either contains entirely all Sorts of Perfections, so as to want none, and that is simply perfect; or is only perfect in a certain Sort of Good, and this is but perfect in Part: Therefore *Perfection* can be divided into *Perfection simply simple*, and into *Perfection in Part*. Which is also the Division of St. *Anselmus*, *Lib. 1. Monolog. c. 14.* but for a greater Elucidation of this Proposition, I must define here the one and the other *Perfection*; therefore, a *Perfection simply simple*, is commonly defin'd that which can agree with an equal, or greater Perfection; such are Wisdom, Justice, and the like. 1. It is called *Perfection*, to assign some Genus. 2. It is said, *which is itself best than not itself*, as well to assign some Difference, as to insinuate thereby, that it is requir'd for it, that it should be better than the Being, individual itself of a Being, and not as such Being. Which to understand, it must be observed that there are some Perfections, which though they be better themselves, than not themselves to some Being, as a Being, *i. e.* as abstracted from such and such Being; are notwithstanding better themselves than not themselves, to a certain particular Being, as a particular Being; for Example, to understand without a Discourse, though it be better to a Being, as a Being, than to understand with Discourse, or Ratiocination; nevertheless, to understand thus without Discourse, or Ratiocination, is not better to Man, or to such particular Being called Man, whose Property is to be a rational Animal. 3. It is said, *than not itself*, *i. e.* not only better than its Negation, but better than any other positive Perfection, with which it is incompatible. Whence it is inferr'd, that these Particles *not itself*, must be taken not only privatively, or contradictorily, but contrarily; otherwise Rationality Irrationality, would be said a *Perfection simply simple*, because greater than its Negation; but it is not a *Perfection simply simple*, because it is not better than rationally opposite to it, and with which it has an Incompatibility. 4. It is said, which can agree with an equal or greater Perfection, in the same Subject; because for Want of this Condition, it is not a *Perfection simply simple*. The Paternity, for Example, is not a *Perfection simply simple* in the divine Persons, because it cannot agree with Filiation in the same Subject, which Filiation is a Perfection equal to Paternity.

Perfection in Part, is that which has either a mixt Perfection, or has an Opposition, with an equal, or greater Perfection. Thus are corporeal, sensible, and such like created Perfections, which, as created, admit necessarily of a Dependency and Limitation.

These Things previously observ'd, I'll proceed to the following Questions.

1. If it be asked if *God* be so perfect as to contain in himself all the Perfection of all the Creatures; and in what Manner? I'll answer, by observing that something can be contain'd in another in different Manners. But the Question is here, if every Perfection of the Creatures be formally in *God*, or *virtually* only, or *eminently*?

A *Perfection* is said to be contain'd formally in another, which is contain'd in him according to its proper and adequate Quiddity; thus Heat is contain'd in Fire, and Understanding in Man. But that Perfection is contain'd eminently in another, which is not contain'd according to its proper Quiddity, but according to the noblest Form whereby the Effects of the Things contain'd are produced; and even in a nobler Manner than they had been produc'd by the Thing contain'd itself. Thus the vegetative Soul is said to be contain'd eminently in Man, for though it be not in him, according to its Quiddity, it is there according to its noblest Form, *viz.* the rational Soul, from which the vegetative Soul is not produced, but only the Effect of the same vegetative Soul, and even without those Imperfections, with which they are produced by the vegetative Soul itself. Lastly, that Perfection is said to be contain'd in another virtually, which though not contain'd in it, according to its proper Quiddity, can nevertheless be produced by it, though the aforesaid Conditions be wanted, *viz.* the noblest Form containing, and the noblest Manner of producing. In that Manner the Body is said to be contain'd in the Seed. These previous Observations being necessary for the Elucidations of the following Questions. I'll answer the first, and say;

That *God* is sovereignly perfect, and contains in himself all the Perfections of all the Creatures, whether *simple* or *simply simple*, but in a different Manner; which I'll prove by the Scripture, the Councils, Fathers, and by Reason. By Scripture, *Matt. v. Be perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect.* By the Councils, especially that of *Lateran*, under *Innocent III. cap. Damnamus; de sanct. Trinit. Be perfect of a Perfection of Grace, as your heavenly Father is perfect of a Perfection of Nature.* By the Fathers, especially St. *Denis, Lib. de Divin. Nom. c. 13.* and St. *Augustin, Tract. 14. in Joan.* By Reason, because he is actually a supreme Being, free from all passive Power of receiving any Thing which he wants as due to the Perfection of his Nature. He is even a Being so actually supreme, and so necessarily perfect, that he cannot be divested of his Perfections, neither by himself, nor by another. Lastly he is so perfect, that it is impossible he could be render'd more perfect; by the Accession of any other Perfection; at least intensively, since he possesses either formally or virtually, all the Perfections of the Creatures, which last Proposition; that he contains all the Perfections of the Creature, I'll prove, likewise, by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Exod. xxxiii. I'll shew thee all that is good*, *i. e.* myself, says *God* to *Moses*, *Psaln 1. The Fertility of the Field is with me. Psaln xciv. He that planted the Ear, shall he not hear? or he that made the Eye, shall he not see? Prov. viii. With me are Riches, Glory, and Opulence. Jobn, i. What is made in him, i. e. God, was Life. Rom. xi. In him are all Things.* By the Fathers, particularly St. *Augustin*, in several Places; especially *Lib. 2. de gen. ad. Lit. c. 10.* and *Lib. 4. de Trinit c. 6.* and *Serm. 4. de verb. Dom.* By Reason, because *God* is the Cause of all the Creatures, as mentioned by St. *John, i. All Things have been made by him, and nothing has been made without him*; therefore he contains all their Perfections, since nothing is in the Effect, which is not in the Cause. *God*, besides, contains the Ideas of all Things; the Creatures being only Imitations or Participations of those Things which are in *God*.

I have said, in a different Manner, to give to understand; that the *Perfections simply simple*, are in a different Manner in *God*, than the Perfections in Part, as I'll shew in the following Propositions.

Perfections

Perfections simply simple, are formally in God. Which I prove, likewise, by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.—By the Scripture, in that the Perfections *simply simple*, such as Wisdom, Justice, Mercy, and the like, are, there, formal Predicates of God; *v. gr.* Psal. 98. *My God, my Mercy.* The Reason of this may be taken from the second Chapter of the Epistle to the *Colossians*, where it is said, that *in God are hidden all the Treasures of Wisdom and Science.*—By the Fathers, especially St. *Anselm*, Menolog. c. 14. *It is necessary that the supreme Essence should be living, wise, powerful, and omnipotent, true, just, happy, eternal, and all that is better itself, than not itself.*—By Reason, because all that's a formal Predicate of God, are proper to him, and are in him formally, *i. e.* according to his Essence: Notwithstanding what St. *Denis* says, *Lib. de divin. Nom. c. 1. and 5. viz.* that the divine Essence is abstracted from those Perfections; because St. *Denis* does not design to deny that those Perfections are absolutely formally in God; but wants rather to show, that they are in him without a Mixture of those Imperfections, which they meet with in a created Being; for several of those, as they are in the Creatures, are accidental, but not as they are in God; where they are according to themselves, and abstracted from all created Beings.

My third Proposition is, that the Perfections, which are only Perfections in Part, or *secundum quid*, are not formally in God, but only eminently: The first Part thereof, *viz.* that they are not formally in God, I prove by the Councils, the Fathers, and by Reason.—By the Councils, particularly that of *Lateran*, c. *Damnamus. de Sanctiss. Trinit.* where such a Thing is defined against *Amalarius*, who was of Opinion, that all the Creatures could be true, and proper Predicates of God.—By the Fathers, particularly St. *Augustine*, *Lib. 5. de Genes. ad Lit. c. 14. Deus nihil eorum quæ fecit, existens, & omnia primitus habens sicut ipse est.*—By Reason, because what is finite, and imports some Imperfection, or Dependency, is not in God formally; and such is that Perfection, which is only a Perfection *secundum quid*. For is not a Stone, *v. gr.* a finite, material, and inanimated Being? Does not Matter involve, essentially, Imperfection? Is not Man himself a finite, and dependent Being? Add, that of those Perfections, which are only Perfections *secundum quid*, some exclude Perfections simply simple; a Brute, *v. gr.* excludes, or denies the Degree of Understanding, &c. therefore those Perfections, which are only *secundum quid*, are not formally in God.

I prove the second Part, *viz.* that the Perfections which are only Perfections, *secundum quid*, are eminently in God; for suppose that they be in him, because he contains all the Perfections of all Creatures, as learned from St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Orat. 42.* where he says, that God comprehends all that is, as an immense Sea of Essence; they are not in him formally, *i. e.* according to his Essence, and Quiddity; it follows hence, that they are in him eminently, *i. e.* according to the noblest and most eminent Form. It is in this Sense, that the Words of St. *John*, Chap. 1. are to be understood, that in God all Creatures are Life. Which is beautifully explained by St. *Augustin*, *Lib. 5. de Genes. ad Litt. c. 5.* where he says, that the Things which have been made are best, where they are truest, where they are eternal, and where they are incommutable.

It may be asked in this Place, if God's Perfection be one of his Attributes, properly so called, and a particular one distinct from all others?

Which Question I answer in the Negative, because the Manner of *Being*, in which the divine Perfection consists, is not to be considered as a distinct or particular Form, or as something adjacent to the Essence of God, but as included in it, under a precise Consideration.

The next Question is, *If a Creature can be semblable to God in Perfection?*

Which to answer we must observe, 1. That by the Name Similitude is understood the Report of several in the same Form: Thus two white Walls are semblable, because they agree in Whiteness: But however, the Foundation of a strict Similitude is Quality, as the Foun-

dation of Equality taken in a strict Sense, is Quantity.—

2. That Similitude in general is of two Kinds, one *univocal*, and the other *analogous*.—The *univocal* is found between those Things which agree together in some Form, according to the same Report: Thus a Man is said to have an *univocal Similitude* with another Man, because they both participate of the same Form of Humanity, according to the same Report.—And the *analogous Similitude*, is found between those which likewise agree together in the same Form, but according to a different Report: Thus the Picture of a Man is said to be semblable to him analogically, because the Picture of a Man, and the Man himself participate of the same Form of Humanity, according to different Report.

This previously observed, I say, that all the Creatures are in some Manner semblable to God, not of an *univocal* but of *analogous Similitude*.

To prove the first Part, that they are in some Manner semblable to God, I say that all Effects are in some Manner semblable to their Cause. Otherwise how could that Cause impart any Perfection to the Effect, if he was not in some Manner, possessed of it himself? For, are not all Creatures Beings by Participation, who are the more semblable to God, the more perfect they are? For that Reason, Man, above all other Creatures is said, *Genes. 1.* to have been formed at the Image, and Similitude of God. And among Men, those who are possessed of a greater Share of Grace and Glory, approach the nearer to the Similitude of God, according to this of *John 3.* *when he'll appear (viz. in the State of Glory) we'll be semblable to him.*

I prove the 2d Part of the Proposition, *viz.* that none of the Creatures is semblable to God of an *univocal Similitude*, by the Scripture, the Councils, the Fathers, and by Reason.—By the Scripture, *Psalms 83.* O God who is semblable to thee? And *Psalms 89.* For who is he among the Clouds, that shall be compared unto the Lord?—By the Councils, particularly that of *Lateran*, c. *Damnamus.* between the Creator (say they) and the Creature there can be no such Similitude observed, but a greater Dissimilitude between them should be observed.—By the Fathers, especially St. *Augustin*, on *Psalms 84.*—By Reason, because no Creature can be participant of that Form with God, whereby he is a Being by Essence, a Being entirely necessary, a perfectly pure Act. Add, that the Effect of an equivocal Cause, is not semblable to its Cause of an *univocal Similitude*; but God is the equivocal Cause of all the Creatures; therefore, &c.

To prove the 3d Part, *viz.* that the Creatures are only semblable to God of an *analogous Similitude*; I say, that the Form of the acting Cause, is only participated according to some Analogy, but not according to the same Report of Species, for there is then only an analogical Similitude: But the Form of God is not participated by the Creature according to the same Report, but only according to some Analogy consisting in that as there is in God, Goodness, or Perfection, &c. The like may be in the Creature, but with a Desparity of Report; for in God it is primarily, and without the least Imperfection, as in the efficient, exemplary, and final Cause; but in the Creature it is only secondarily, and as an Effect of the said Cause.

It may be asked in this Place, *If as the Creature is said to be semblable to God; God can be said, likewise, semblable to the Creature?*

I answer this Question in the Negative. Because there is only a mutual, and reciprocal Similitude, where the Form, which is the Foundation of the Similitude, exists in both Extremes, under the same Report, as *v. gr.* in two Men; but not where such a Form is in one of the Extremes, primarily and principally; and in the other secondarily only. Thus *Alexander* is not said to be semblable to the Statue of *Alexander*, but the Statue of *Alexander* is said to be semblable to *Alexander*; but God and the Creature, though they participate of the same Form, which is the Foundation of the Similitude between both, they do not, nevertheless, participate of it, under the same Report; for that Form is principally in God, and only secondarily, and analogically in the

Creatures ; and therefore there is no reciprocal Similitude between God and the Creatures.

The next *Attribute* which falls under our Consideration, is the *Goodness of God*, both *absolute* and *relative* ; where I'll examine two Things, 1. If God be not only Good, but likewise sovereignly Good, and by Essence, as well of an *absolute*, as of a *relative Goodness*. 2. If all that's Good be of God's Goodness.

Let us ask then, *if God be not only simply Good, but sovereignly Good, and by Essence ; and of what Goodness he be Good ?*

Which to answer pertinently, we must observe, 1. That something may be conceived Good in two Manners, 1. Either in itself absolutely, and without any Relation to the other, to which it can be convenient ; in this Manner Good is the same as Perfect. 2. Relatively, viz. in as much as that which we call Good, is convenient to another ; in this Sense, that Act in Morality can be call'd Good, which is conformable to right Reason ; and in this Sense, in Physick, Heat is good to Fire, Health to the Body, and Beatitude to Man himself. 2. If it be asked here, *if God be not only Good, but sovereignly Good, and by his Essence, of a Goodness both absolute and relative ?*

These previously consider'd, I say first, *that God is not only Good of an absolute Goodness, but sovereignly Good, and by Essence, and the only one Good of such Goodness.*

I prove the first Part of this Proposition, viz. *that God is Good*, by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason ; by the Scripture, *Psalms lxxiii. Truly God is Good ; and Psalm cvii. Confess unto God because he is Good.* By the Fathers, particularly St. Denis, *Lib. de Divin. Nom. c. 4.* and St. Augustin. By Reason, because the absolute Goodness whereby any Thing is said to be Good in itself, is the very Perfection of that Thing ; whence it follows, that a Thing is no farther Good than it is perfect ; but God is perfect in himself, therefore he is Good in himself, i. e. Good of an absolute Goodness.

I prove likewise the second Part of the Proposition, viz. *that God is sovereignly Good*, by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason. By the Scripture, *Matt. xix. Quid me interrogas de bono ? unus est bonus, viz. God.* As if he would say, that God is good in a far more excellent Manner, than any Thing else that's called Good ; since God is very perfect by Essence, and the other Things are only good and perfect by Participation. By the Fathers, particularly St. Augustin, *Lib. 1. de Trinit. c. 2. the Trinity, God says he, is the sovereign Good, which is seen by purified Minds.* By Reason, because God is perfectly Perfect in himself, and therefore, sovereignly Good.

The third Part of the Proposition, viz. *that God is sovereignly Good by Essence, and the only one Good in that Manner*, is also prov'd by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason. By the Scripture, *Luke xviii. No Body is Good but God alone.* By these Words, Christ does not understand, that the Creatures formed by God are not Good, since it would be contradicted, *Gen. i. Vidit Deus cuncta quæ fuerat, & erant valde bona ;* but only that God is the only one Good by Essence, as the Creatures are Good by Participation. By the Fathers, particularly St. Augustin, *Lib. 8. de Trinit. c. 3. Tolle hoc & illud, & vide ipsum bonum si potes, ita Deum videbis non alio bono bonum : sed bonum omnis boni.* By Reason, because as he has his Being, he has likewise his Goodness, not from another, but from himself.

The second Proposition, viz. *that God is not only Good in himself, i. e. Good of an absolute Goodness ; but is, likewise, Good of a relative Goodness, is also prov'd by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.* By the Scripture, *Wisd. 12. How sweet and good, O Lord, thy Spirit is in all.* By the Fathers, particularly St. Denis, *Lib. de Divin. Nom. c. 46. Bonitas Divinitatis quæ supra omnia est, a supremis & perfectissimis Substantiis, usque extrema pervadit.* By Reason, because God is very convenient to all Beings, and gives them all their Beings, as the supreme Author of all Things, according to this of the *Psalms civ. When thou openest thy Hands, they are filled with Good.* Therefore, how can it be surprizing if

all the Creatures desire him, as most convenient to them ? The Irrational by an innate Appetite : The Rational by an elicit one, i. e. by an Appetite supposing a previous Knowledge.

I prove the third Proposition, *that God is also sovereignly Good, of a moral Goodness*, thus, because that is morally Good, which is agreeable to right Reason, without the least Defect ; but God, with Regard to his free Acts, is sovereignly conformable with his divine Understanding ; which, not only cannot deviate from Righteousness, but is himself the Rule of all moral Truth, without the least Defect ; therefore God is sovereignly Good of a moral Goodness.

At present we must examine our second Question, viz. *If all that's Good, is good of a divine Goodness ?*

Note, That it is asked in this Place, if the Creatures are good of a divine Goodness, in these four Manners, 1. *Efficiently*, 2. *Exemplarily*, 3. *Finally*, 4. *Formally*. What is for the Creatures to be Good in these four Manners, will be easily understood by what I am a going to say in my double Proposition.

Therefore my first Proposition is, *that all good Things are good efficiently, exemplarily, and finally of a divine Goodness.*

To prove the first Part, viz. *That all Things are efficiently Good of a divine Goodness*, I say that what is an Act of the divine Goodness, such as the Creatures are who have been form'd by God, is efficiently Good ; therefore, &c. which is still better elucidated by St. Fulgentius, *Lib. de Fide ad Petrum, c. 3. Because God, says he, is sovereignly Good, he has given to all Natures which he has formed, to be Good likewise.*

I prove the second Part, viz. *That all Things are exemplarily Good of a divine Goodness* ; by this Reasoning, that what is formed after the Similitude of some divine Perfections, is good exemplarily ; but all Things which God has made have been thus produced, according to St. Denis, *Lib. de Divin. Nom. c. 5. In Deo sunt rerum omnium exemplaria ;* therefore, &c.

To prove the third Part, viz. *that all Things are good finally of a divine Goodness* ; I'll say, that all is good finally, whose Production tends towards God, as towards its last End, and sovereign Good ; such are the Creatures form'd by God, who have not only been made by him, according to this of John i. *All Things have been made by him ;* but they have, likewise, been made by him, for himself, according to this other, *Prov. vi. The Lord has operated all Things for himself ;* therefore, &c.

The second Proposition, viz. *That none of the Creatures is good formally of a divine Goodness*, is proved by the Fathers, and by Reason. By the Fathers, particularly St. Augustin, *Lib. de nat. boni. Cont. Manich. Cætera omnia bona, non nisi ab illo sunt, sed non de illo.* By Reason, because all Things are good, in as much as they are, or exist ; but it is certain, that no Creature is, or exists by a divine Being, but only by its own proper Being, which it has received from God ; therefore, &c.

From this I'll pass to another of God's Attributes, which is his Infinity.

Note, That what we call properly *Infinite*, is that which cannot be circumscribed, by Limits, or Bounds ; or that which is extreme in its Genus, and cannot be carried farther, v. g. Wisdom and Power, is called *infinite*, because it cannot be increased in itself, nor surpassed by another. Thus a Being is said to be infinitely perfect, whose Perfections are not confin'd within any Limits ; or which cannot be perfected farther, or find any Thing more perfect than himself. But however, *infinite* is commonly taken in two Manners in the Schools, viz. *infinite actu*, which properly deserves the Name of *Infinite* ; and *infinite potentia*, to which the Appellation of *infinite* is but improperly adapted. The first is called *categorematical Infinite*, i. e. predicable ; because it imports alone, and without any Addition, its Signification ; as in this Proposition, *God is infinite* ; the last is called *syncategorematical*, because it cannot be attributed to any Thing without Addition, v. g. it can never be said that the Wisdom

of Man is *infinite*, unless these Words be added to it, *according to the Increase*; whereby is expressed, that Man's Wisdom can never be such, but that it may always receive some Increase *in infinitum*; just as a Number cannot be said *infinite*, unless these Words be added, *according to the Increase*; because there is no Number so great, but it may be augmented *in infinitum*.—But to come to our Purpose, I'll say, that:

God is *actu*, and categorically infinite. Which I prove thus: God is a Being sovereignly perfect; and a Being sovereignly perfect is *infinite*, or has infinite essential Perfections, otherwise his Nature could receive a greater Complement, and consequently could not be sovereignly perfect, which is repugnant to a Being sovereignly perfect. Whence *Baruch* iii. 25. speaks thus of God; *he is great, and has no End*. Therefore God is *actu*, or as they say, *categorically infinite*.

It may be asked, if God be so *infinite*, that every one of his Perfections, either attributal or essential, be likewise *infinite* in its Kind?

I answer in the Affirmative; because the Perfections follow the Condition of the Thing whose Perfections they are; and God being *infinite*, and his divine Being *infinite*; hence it may be infer'd, that the divine Understanding is infinite, with regard to the Principle of Knowledge; and God's Will, likewise *infinite*, with regard to the Principle of Appetency.

It may be asked further, if *Infinity* be something positive? To which I answer by a Distinction, *viz.* in the Affirmative, if it be consider'd fundamentally; *i. e.* with regard to itself; for the essential Perfection of God is itself consider'd in that Manner, as containing formally, or eminently within itself, all cogitable Perfection: But in the Negative, if it be consider'd formally; for thus it is only a mere Negation of Term, or Limitation.

It may be asked, besides, if *Infinity* be properly an Attribute of God? Which I answer in the Negative; either because if it be consider'd formally, it is only a mere Negation of Limitation; or because *Infinity* is with regard to divine Things, as *Finiteness* is to Things created, which is then only some transcendent Term; therefore, &c.

Lastly, it may be asked, if the Infinity of God can be known by the natural Light? Which I answer in the Affirmative; since the ancient Philosophers attributed *Infinity* to God, or to the first Principle.

Note, That God is not only *infinite*, but to him alone belongs actually *Infinity*; and to none of the created Substances, to no Quantity, or Quality; because it can never happen, that either a created Substance, or a Quantity, either continued, or discrete, or a Quality could be produced *infinite, actu*; which makes me affirm that,

No created Substance can be infinitely perfect; because a Creature *infinitely* perfect would be that whose Perfections could be contained within no Limits or Bounds, or which would have no End; which is not the Condition of any created Being; because the Creature thirsts always after a State of Independency, which it can never gain, otherwise it were not a Creature; and likewise because it cannot be adorned, by God, with so many Perfections, but several others may be communicated to it *in infinitum*; since God cannot exhaust the Treasure of his Perfections, nor has any Idea of a Creature so perfectly perfect, but that he sees that he can produce others more perfect, *in infinitum*: And therefore no created Substance can be infinitely perfect.

To this it may be objected, 1. That a Cause infinitely perfect, such as God, can produce an Effect infinitely perfect.

I answer in the Negative; because a Cause infinitely perfect has an inexhaustible Treasure of Perfections, which consequently cannot be exhausted, as it should be by an Effect infinitely perfect: Besides, if the Effect of an infinite Cause should be infinite, he would not be different from his Cause, *viz.* God: For he would be from himself, independent, omnipotent, eternal, &c.

Therefore a Cause infinitely perfect, *viz.* God, cannot produce an Effect infinitely perfect.

But say you, the Omnipotence of a Cause infinitely perfect, could not be better known but by his producing an Effect infinitely perfect.

I answer, likewise, this in the Negative; for the Omnipotence, or infinite Power of God, is well enough understood, by his being capable to produce more perfect Creatures *in infinitum*; or to add to the same Creature greater Perfections *in infinitum*: Add to this, that the Omnipotence, or infinite Power of God, appears much in his having produced all Things from nothing: For an infinite Being alone, can give an Existence to that which is entirely nothing.

It is urged further, that the second Act, or Effect, must be answerable to the first Act, or effective Power; and therefore, if the Cause be infinite, the Effect must also be infinite.

To this I answer, 1. That the second Act, or Effect, must be answerable to the first Act, or effective Power, if by the second Act is understood the Action, or Operation; but not if by the second Act is understood the Effect only. Therefore when it is said, that the second Act must be answerable, or sembable to the first Act, or effective Cause, that must be understood of the Action, or Operation; for if the Effect should be entirely sembable to the acting Power, God being spiritual, and infinite, could never have produced corporeal, and finite Effects. For the Operation of God, even when he produces finite Effects, can be said answerable to his *infinite* Power: For it is *infinite*, not with regard to the Term, or Effect, in which it is terminated, but with regard to the Principle, *viz.* God himself.

I answer, 2. That if the Power be *infinite*, the Effect should be *infinite, syncategorically*, or infinite by Power, *i. e.* it can be perfected *in infinitum*; but not *categorically*, or *infinite, actu*, so that no other Perfection could be added to it by an *infinite* Cause; for whatever Effect is produced, it is always unequal to God; and may always receive from him several other Perfections, and never arrive to the last.

Another Objection is, that if God should act necessarily without, then he should produce an Effect infinitely perfect; which he can also do, tho' he acts freely.

Which I answer, 1. In the Negative; for he could never give it *Independency*, since the Creature is essentially dependent. What is alledged by some, in Defence of this Objection, that the eternal Word is generated by the Father, without a Dependency, is quite wide from the present Question; for the Divine Word is not a Creature, but is God, consubstantial to the Father, co-eternal, and not made; but it is a Question, here, of the Creature, which can never arrive to such a State, or Condition, as to equal the divine Perfections.

I answer, 2. That from a supposed Absurdity, it is not surprising if another Absurdity ensues. For it is an Absurdity to suppose God as acting necessarily, *i. e.* that he should operate without necessarily; since that destroys his Essence, which being sovereignly perfect, cannot be deprived of the free Power of acting *ad extra*, which is a Perfection: Therefore it must not appear surprising, if from an absurd Hypothesis, whereby God is supposed a necessary Agent, another Absurdity follows, *viz.* that a Creature infinitely perfect can proceed from him. Though the more perfect is the Cause, the most perfect must be the Effect produced by it; provided, however, that Effect was possible, and does not involve a Contradiction; for he could have infinite Perfections, and Want, notwithstanding the *Independency*, which is the greatest Perfection: Then he would become equal to God, and unequal to him: He would exhaust his Perfections, which are inexhaustible: All which being so many Absurdities, nothing is clearer than that there can be no Creature infinitely perfect.

A third Objection which can be made, is, that in the Collection of all Things possible, God sees that which is the most perfect, so as none can be more perfect.

I answer in the Negative; for God sees in his Ideas, *i. e.* in his Nature, the Creatures possible, as far as those Creatures can participate from him, according to some Manner.

Manner of Similitude; but the divine Nature, or Essence, can be participated in infinite Manners, some of which are more perfect than the others, *in infinitum*; therefore God sees that there are infinite Species of Things possible; and that some of them can be more perfect than the others, *in infinitum*; and consequently, never can arrive to that Species, which admit of no other more perfect, and therefore, does not see that which is the most perfect of all.

To this it is objected, that God sees all the Creatures possible; and consequently sees that which is the most perfect.

It is true, that God sees all the Creatures possible, in his simple Ideas, *i. e.* in his Nature, as far as those Creatures can participate from him, in different Manners, *in infinitum*: But it is not true, that he sees all the Creatures possible, in their Assemblage, so as to see among them some who excel all the others. Therefore God sees in his simple Ideas, *i. e.* in his Nature, all the possible Creatures, either with regard to the Species, or to the Individuals.

For, first, he sees the Species, in his divers Ideas, as far as the Creatures can participate from him in different Manners; and since they can participate from him in an infinite Number of different Manners, some of which are more perfect than the other, *in infinitum*, no particular Species can be assigned, which is the most perfect of all.

Secondly, he sees also in the same Ideas, all the possible Individuals, *v. g.* he sees all the Men possible, in the single Idea of Man, which can exhibit an infinite Number of Men; as we see possible Circles in the Idea of a Circle, which represent an infinite Number of Circles; therefore if we understand clearly, that we cannot form so many Circles, according to that Idea, but what we may describe many more, *in infinitum*; certainly we must think, that God cannot produce so great a Number of Men, or of any other Creatures, but he can always produce more, *in infinitum*; therefore their whole Assemblage, either according to the Species, or the Individuals, cannot be taken together.

It may be urged, that a Creature more perfect than any other finite possible, would be infinitely perfect; and that God knowing that Creature more perfect than any other Finite possible, knows an infinite one; and therefore can produce such a one.

To this I answer, 1. That it is not necessary for something to be more perfect than another finite possible, that it should be infinite, but only the most perfect of all the Finites. 2. That God knows a Creature more perfect than any other Creature finite possible, in a *distributive Sense*, but not in a *collective one*. For God sees to the Utmost a Creature more perfect than any other finite possible, taken separately, and in a distributive Sense; but not more perfect than any other possible in a collective one, or considered in the whole Collection, or Assemblage of Things possible; either because, let any one be ever so perfect, others can be created still more perfect; or because the whole Collection of Things possible, cannot be taken at once; since God cannot produce so many Creatures, but can produce many more, and more perfect, *in infinitum*.

After I have shewed that God is infinitely perfect in his Essence, we must examine next if he be infinite according to Extension, or circumscribed in a Place.

Note, That to treat this Subject as it should be, we must consider previously to it, what is God's Immensity; if he be immense, and exists in all Things, not only by his Presence and Power, but likewise by his Essence, and in what Manner.

Note also, 1. That by the Name of Immensity, is understood commonly the unlimited Diffusion of the divine Substance, and his Aptitude of co-existing in Things, Places, and infinite Spaces, in which, however, he is not contained nor confined. And by the Name of Ubiquity, is understood the actual Presence of God, in all Things and Places; whence it appears, that Immensity is in the Manner of Aptitude, and Ubiquity in the Manner of Act. 2. When it is asked, in this Place, if God exists in all Things by his Essence;

we do not ask yet if the divine Essence or Substance be the *formal Ratio*, whereby God is in all Things; but only if the divine Substance be found in all Things? 3. If God exists, not only in Things actually existing, but likewise, in Things possible. All which Questions I'll answer in the following Manner.

1. *God is immense and every where*, which I prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason. By the Scripture, *Jerem. xxiii. I fill the Heavens and the Earth*. By the Fathers, and first by St. Athanasius's Symbol; *The Father is immense, the Son is immense, and the Holy Ghost is immense; yet they are not three Immensities, but one Immensity*. By St. Ambrose, *Lib. 1. de spiritu sancto. Who dares say that the Holy Ghost is a Creature, who is always in all Things, and every where*. By Reason, because the Ratio of Immensity and Ubiquity belongs to him.

2. *God is in all Things by his Presence, Power, and Essence*. He is in all Things by his Presence; because for God to be thus, in Things, is nothing else but for him to have all Things present; but all Things are present to God; since it is written in the Epistle to the Hebrews, Chap. 4. *That there is no Creature invisible before him, since all is naked, and discover'd to his Eyes*, therefore, &c. He is in all Things by his Power; since for God to be thus in Things, is nothing else but to have them all subject to his Power, and depending on his Operation, either Production, or Conservation; but all Things are thus subject to God, and depend thus of God, as prov'd by several Passages of the Scripture, *viz.* from the first to the *Corinthians*, Chap. xii. *God operates all Things in all Things*. *Heb. i. Carrying all Things by the Virtue of his Word*. And *Acts xiii. In ipso vivimus, movemur & sumus*, therefore, &c. He is in all Things by his Essence; or, which is the same, according to his Substance; which I prove by the Scripture, the Councils, Fathers, and by Reason. By the Scripture, *Psalms cxxxix. Whither shall I go then from thy Spirit? or whither shall I go then from thy Presence? If I climb up into Heaven thou art there; if I go down to Hell thou art there also*. By the Councils, especially that of *Lateran*, under *Innocentius III. c. firmiter. de sanct. Trinit.* and likewise from the Symbol of St. Athanasius. By the Fathers, particularly St. Augustin, *Lib. 7. de Trinit. c. 30. Deus ubique totus implens Cælum & Terram præsentè potentiâ, non absente naturâ*. And St. Bernard, *Hom. 3. de Adventu. Æqualiter ubique totus est, per suam substantiam*. Even the Pagan Philosophers have been of that Opinion, as witnessed by St. Augustin, *Lib. 4. de civ. Dei. c. 9*. By Reason, either because to be essentially in all Things, is a Perfection simply simple, and therefore to be attributed to God; or because the Power of God is always, and every where, since he is the immediate Principle of all Things. For God is every where his own Virtue, and not only, as the immediate Principle of Operation in all Things, but as immediately operating; therefore, and the Essence of God is also every where, because, according to St. Anselmus, *lib. de Incarn. verbi, c. 4. God's Being and his Power are the same*. Add, an infinite Quantity of Virtue, is no less every where, than a Body having an infinite dimension Quantity. Notwithstanding what is alledged against it, that Heaven is called the Seat of God. *Psalms cxv. All the whole Heavens are the Lord's; the Earth has he given to the Children of Men*. Because by these, and sensible Words, is given to understand only, that God is there operating in a more particular Manner, than he is in other Places. As witnessed by St. John Damascenus, *Lib. 1. de fide Orthodox. c. 26*.

It may be asked in this Place, in what Manner God exists in Things, either in those which exist actually, or in those which have no actual, but only a possible Existence?

To which I answer, 1. That he exists substantially in the Creatures actually existing, in the same Manner the Cause exists in the Effect. The Reason is, because in all those Things he exercises the Causality of an efficient Cause. 2. That he exists only aptitudinally in the possible Creatures.

If it be asked further, in what Manner God, whom we

consider *immense*, and consequently existing every where, exists every where? If *circumscriptively*, or *definitively*, or at least *repletively*? I answer, that he is in all Places *repletively*, but not *circumscriptively*, nor *definitively*.

I prove the first Part, *viz.* that he is *repletively* in all Places, *viz.* of a spiritual *Repletion*; because, for God to be thus in all Places, is for him to be all on the whole Place, and all in every Part of that Place; and hence, to not exclude a Body, nor be defin'd or circumscrib'd by the Place, but God is, in that Manner, in all Places; and is therefore *repletively* in all Places.

I prove the second Part, *viz.* that he is not in a Place *circumscriptively*; because to be thus in a Place, is to be in it so as for the whole located, to answer to the whole Place, and his different Parts to answer, likewise, to the different Parts of the same Place; but God cannot be thus in any Place, because his being a spiritual Substance, and consequently indivisible, he has not a quantitative Bulk of Parts, which could answer to the Parts of a Place; and therefore, &c.

I prove the third Part, *viz.* that he is not *definitively* in a Place, because to be thus in a Place, is to be present in it of a finite, and limited Presence, so that the Existence of the Thing placed, does not exceed the Place, tho' it wants Extension of Parts; but God neither is, nor can be thus in a Place, since there is no Place which can terminate, or confine his Presence: Therefore we can justly say with *Boetius*, that every Place is rather present to God, than God is present to a Place.

All the Parts of this Answer, are confirm'd by the Authority of St. *Augustin*, *Epist.* 112. c. 12. *Ubique totus est, & in nullo continetur loco.* And *Lib.* 7. de *Trinit.* c. 1. *Ubique est, sine ullo situ præsens, sine habitu omnia continens, sine loco ubique totus, sine tempore sempiternus.* And by the Authority of St. *Bernard*, *Serm.* 8. in *cant.* *Omnia continet loca, & quæque suis ordinat locis.* Whence it may be said, that God is in a Place, but not properly locally. It may also be said, that he is every where, and no where, in this Sense, that he is no where in the Manner of Bodies, or as circumscrib'd or defin'd by a Place: For this Reason, *Peter Damianus*, *Lib.* 1. *Epist.* calls the Place where God is, *illocal*. As if he would say a Place without Place.

Lastly it may be ask'd, if God would be in the *Vacuum*, if there was one?

I answer, that he would not be there actually, but only aptitudinally; because he does not operate there.

Our next grand Question is, if the external divine Operation, be the formal Reason why God exists in all Creatures; and if it be a sufficient Means to demonstrate, even *a priori*, that he exists in them?

Note, That to understand this Question well, we must observe, that it is not asked, if from God's Operation, his Presence, and Existence, in created Beings, can be infer'd; but only if his Presence can be demonstrated *a priori*, by his Operation towards Things, so that the transient Operation, whereby he either produces, or preserves them, or whereby he does some other Thing towards them, be a true and formal Reason why God is in those Things, and be not only something consequent to his Presence. These previously observ'd, I'll answer,

That the external Operation of God, is a formal Reason why God is present, and existent in all the created Things; which I prove from the common Manner of Speaking of the Scripture, attributing the Reason why God is present, and existent in all Things, to the external divine Operation; as it appears from *Acts* xviii. where, after the Apostle has said that God is not far from every one of us, adds the Reason why, *because*, says he, *we live, we move, and exist in him.* I prove it likewise by the Fathers, particularly St. *Damasceus*, *Lib.* *Orthodox.* *l'id.* c. 16. *Deus igitur*, says he, *ut qui materiae, & circumscriptiois expertus est, haudquaquam in loco est; ipse enim sibi locus est, omnia implens, ac supra omnia consistens, omniaque in se complectens, & tamen in loco esse dicitur, ibique Deus esse asseritur, ubi perspicua ejus operatio existit*, i. e. therefore God as a Being free from Matter and Circumscription, is not in a Place; for himself is his own Place, filling

up all Things, standing over all Things, and containing all Things in himself, and notwithstanding is said to be in a Place; but the Place of God is affirm'd to be, where his perspicuous Operation exists. *Tertullian* has insinuated the same Thing, *Lib. Cont. Prax.* c. 23. when he says, *Ceterum scimus, Deum etiam intra abyssos esse, & ubique consistere, sed vi, & potestate*, i. e. by Operation.

I prove it, likewise, by Reason; for that is a formal Reason why God is present substantially in created Beings, by which he is join'd to them, and indistant from them; but he is thus by the external Operation; therefore the external Operation of God, is the formal Reason why he is substantially present in the Things created; and there can be no other formal Reason of such Presence. For, not 1. Any modal Form, either because it ought not to be admitted in God, or because there is no Necessity of admitting it, even in the Creatures. Nor 2. A continued Quantity; since God is a Stranger to such Quantity, for God is a Spirit. Nor 3. The Substance of God itself, since there is no Conjunction of a Thing with another, but where there is a Contact; but there can be no Contact between God and the Creatures, but by Means of the Operation; for as there is no Contact between two Bodies, but by Means of a continued Quantity; likewise there can be no Contact between two spiritual Things, or between a Spirit and a Body, but by Means of the Power, or Operation; for the Contact of Power in spiritual Things, corresponds to the quantitative Contact of the Bodies.

Our next Question is, if God who is *Actu* in all Things created, exists likewise beyond the Heavens, and in what Manner? If, *v. g.* he exists there as in some imaginary Spaces?

I answer the first Part of this Question, *viz.* That God exists beyond this World, and beyond the Heavens, in the Affirmative, which I prove by the Scripture, and by the Fathers. By the Scripture, because in several Places of it, it is said, that God is higher than Heaven, and deeper than the Abyss. Whence it is not surprizing, if it is said in the 2 *Chronicles* ii. That Heaven cannot contain him. By the Fathers, particularly *Peter Damianus*, *Opusc.* 36. *Ipse Deus manet super omnia, ipse infra omnia, ipse intra omnia, ipse extra omnia; superior est per potentiam, inferior per substantiationem, interior per subtilitatem, exterior per magnitudinem.* St. *Denis* had already said the same Thing, though in different Terms, *Lib.* 2. de *Divin. nom.* c. 9.

I answer the second Part of the same Proposition in the Negative; for God, we have said in the first Part, to exist beyond Heaven, does not exist there positively, as in a Space, even imaginary. Because, beyond the World, and beyond the Heavens, there is properly no Space; whence it follows, that God exists no where beyond the Heavens actually, but only by Power and Aptitude, in that he can produce, by his infinite Virtue, several other real Spaces, where he would be apt to reside.

But if it be so, it may be ask'd, where can God be conceiv'd to exist beyond the World?

I answer, that God beyond the World, and beyond the Heavens, is in himself, as he was in himself before he had created the World. It was the Sentiment of the ancient Fathers, especially of St. *Augustin*, who on the *Psalms* cxxiii. *Qui habitas in Cælo*; speaks thus, *Antequam Deus faceret Cælum, & Terram ubi habitabat? In se habitabat Deus, apud se habitabat, & apud se est Deus.* Which had also been the Sentiment of *Tertullian*, *Lib. cont. Prax.* c. 5. *Ante omnia Deus erat solus*, says he, *ipse sibi mundus, & locus, & omnia solus.* Hence these two common Verses:

*Dic ubi tunc esset, cum præter eum nihil esset?
Tunc ubi nunc, in se, quoniam sibi sufficit ipse.*

It may be objected against this Part of our Proposition, that St. *Augustin*, disputing against the *Platonicians*, affirms, *Lib.* 11. de *civitate Dei*, c. 5. That God is in the Spaces which are beyond the World; but those Spaces are the same which we commonly call imaginary; therefore, &c.

To answer this Objection, we must observe that St. *Augustin*

Augustin speaks in that Place against some who though they admitted *God* for Creator of this World, were, notwithstanding, of Opinion, that the World had been from all Eternity; induced to it by this single Supposition, that if the World had not been from all Eternity infinite Spaces of Time had passed before the Creation of the World, in which *God* had been idle; but they thought that Sentiment a very gross Absurdity; whence they concluded that the World had been from all Eternity. But *St. Augustin*, disputing here against them, makes use of an Argument *ad hominem*, taken from the infinite Spaces. For if, says he, they imagine infinite Spaces of Time before the Creation of the World, in which it does not seem that *God* could have abstained from Work; let them imagine likewise beyond the World infinite local Places, in which *God* could not have abstained from Work, and the Consequence will be, that they'll admit with *Epicurus* an infinite Number of Worlds.

The next important Question which falls under our Examen, relating to the same Subject, is, if to be every where, is so much the Property of *God*, that it cannot be communicated to the Creature; and if Immensity be a positive Attribute of *God*?

Note, That to resolve this Question we must observe, 1. That something may be said to be every where in two Manners. First, simply; secondly, in Part, or *secundum quid*: To be every where simply, requires two Conditions; the first Condition is, that one should be every where by himself, and not by Accident; the second, that one should be all in all Spaces, and all in every Part of those Spaces: But to be every where *secundum quid*, is when one of these two Conditions is wanted.—2. That one is by himself every where, when his Nature requires he should fill up all Spaces, and there is no Space possible which he would not fill, if that Space was produced: That one is only by Accident every where; when he is there in one of the following Manners, *viz.* when there is nothing there but himself; or if he fills all the Spaces, his not filling them could notwithstanding happen, either because he could be annihilated, or because he could abstain from the Operation, whereby he fills all the Spaces: Thus that Angel whose Operation would be extended to all Spaces, would be said to be every where by Accident. These previously observed;

I say, 1. That to be every where simply, and by himself, belongs properly to *God* alone; which I prove by the Fathers, and by Reason.—By the Fathers, especially *St. Ambrose*, *Lib. 1. de spirit. sanct. c. 7.* *Quis*, says he, *audeat creaturam dicere spiritum sanctum, qui in omnibus semper, & ubique semper est, quod utique divinitatis est proprium.* And *St. Anselmus* in *Prolog. c. 13.* *Solus Deus ubique operatur, ubique esse potest.* By Reason, because *God* alone is all in all Spaces, and all in every Part of the Spaces, and thus by his Nature, requires to fill all Spaces, so that there is none possible which he would not fill, if it was produced; his being a necessary Being, from whom all other Beings depend for their Existence and Preservation. Whence *St. Augustin*, *Epist. 57.* *Non parti rerum*, says he, *partem suam presentem præbet, & alteri parti partem alteram, æquales æqualibus, minori verò minorem, majorique majorem: Sed non solum universitati creaturæ, verum cuilibet parti totus adest.*

I say, secondly, that the Creature may be every where *secundum quid* only; either because *God* can annihilate all Places, and preserve only one. In this Case a Body which was in that single Place could be said to be every where; because it could not be supposed that there was any other Place besides that: Or because *God* can produce a Creature, whose external Operation could be extended to all the Spaces which are in the whole World; thus it would happen that that Creature would be every where of the whole World.

It may be asked, if Immensity be a special Attribute of *God*?

I answer in the Affirmative; the same as *Quantity* is a special Accident in the Body. If it be asked if that Attribute is a positive one? I'll answer, that it is positive

if taken fundamentally, since taken in that Manner, it is the divine Essence itself, infinitely perfect; and by his infinite Perfection, requiring to be in all Spaces. But it is not positive if taken formally, for thus taken it is nothing but the Negation of Mensurability.

From this we must pass to the *Immutability of God*, since *Immutability* proceeds from Immensity, if not entirely, at least in Part, *viz.* with Regard to a Place: And as *Immutability* is the Root of divine Eternity, we must treat of it, after we have treated of *Immensity*, and before we treat of *Eternity*.

Therefore I'll examine first, if *God* be intirely immutable; secondly, if a perfect *Immutability* be so much the Property of *God*, that it cannot be communicated to the Creature.

Note, That the better to resolve these two important Questions, we must observe, 1. That by the Name of *Immutability* is understood here a certain Manner of *God's* Being, whereby he exists necessarily, and perseveres constantly in all Sorts of Perfections; whence it appears, that this *Immutability* imports the Negation of all Sorts of Mutations. 2. By the Name of Mutation is understood the Transition of a Being from one Term to the other: Which Transition is made either with Regard to the Term, or with Regard to the Subject. It is made with Regard to the Term, when, either by Creation a Transition is made from a not being simply to a being simply, or by Annihilation from being simply to not being simply. A Mutation is made with Regard to the Subject, when the same Subject remaining, it acquires or loses some Form, either substantial or accidental: By that accidental Form is commonly understood Quantity, or Quality, or Place, or the like. These previously observed;

I say, that *God* is entirely immutable; which I prove by the Scripture, the Councils, Symbols, Fathers, and by Reason. By the Scripture, *Num. xxiii.* *God is not like Man to be measured, nor like the Son of Man that he should change.* *Malach. iii.* *I am the Lord, and do not change.* *Psal. cix.* *They'll be changed, but thou art always the same.* *Jac. i.* *In whom there is no Transmutation, nor a Shadow of Vicissitude.* By the Councils, particularly that of *Nice* against the *Arians*, who said that the Son of *God* was created and convertible. By the Fathers, particularly *St. Augustin*, *Traët. 23. in Joan.* and *St. Gregory*, *Pope, Lib. 12. moral. c. 17.* *Ipsa*, says he, *mutabilitas umbra est, quæ quasi obscuret lucem, si eam per aliquas vicissitudines permutaret. Sed quia in Deo mutabilitas non venit, nulla ejus lumen umbra vicissitudinis intercudit.* By Reason, because it is impossible to imagine that any Mutation, or Change could happen to *God*.—1. Not that Mutation, which is terminated to a Cessation of Existence, since *God* is always necessarily existent, eternal, and immortal. 2. Not that which regards a Place; since *God*, who is every where, as already proved, cannot be moved from one Place to another. 3. Not that which regards Accidents, since there are no Accidents in *God*. 4. Nor that which regards Cognition, and which consists in that one thinks something true, what he thought false before; and *vice versâ*; since *God*, who is infinitely wise cannot deceive, nor be deceived. 5. Nor that which regards the Decree, or Determination of the Will, and which consists in that one is determined to do what he was before determined not to do.

To the second Question, *viz.* If all Sorts of *Immutabilities* be so much the Property of *God*, as not to be communicable to the Creature? I answer in the Affirmative: For *God*, alone, has within himself the Principle of *Immutability*; since he is, alone, a Being of himself, a Being supreme *actu*, and sovereignly necessary; a Being infinite in all Kind of Perfections, immense, eternal. For that Reason it is said of *God*, *1 Tim. vi.* *That he only hath Immortality*; and therefore *Immutability*; as *St. Augustin* explains it, *Lib. 1. de Trinit. c. 1.* *Non diceret* (says he) *solus habet; nisi quia vera immortalitas est, quam nulla potest habere creatura, quoniam solus est Creatoris.*

Whence I conclude, that it does not belong to the Creature,

Creature, to be entirely immutable; because all Creatures, without Distinction, have in themselves some Principle of Mutability; because they are either outwardly, or inwardly mutable. That they are outwardly mutable, is easily enough proved, from their having been formed, by God, from nothing; and therefore can be reduced, by him, to nothing, as proved by St. *Fulgentius*, *Lib. de fide ad Petrum*, c. 3. *Naturæ à Deo factæ idèd proficere possunt, quia esse acceperunt: idèd deficere quia ex nihilo factæ sunt. Ad defectum ducit eas conditio originis, ad profectum verò eas probevit operatio Creatoris.*

That they are also all inwardly mutable, if not entirely, at least of one of the different Manners of Mutability, heretofore mentioned, is proved from that there is no Creature but has one of these two passive Powers, viz. either to a substantial Being, or to an accidental Being.

As the *Eternity of God* proceeds from his Immutability, as from its Origin; after we have treated of the divine Immutability, we must treat next of his *Eternity*.

Note, That to understand well this Subject, we must observe, I. That *Eternity* can be taken in different Manners: 1. In a wide Sense, for any long Duration, tho' it has a Beginning and an End. It is taken in this Sense, *Genes. xvii.* where God promises *Abraham*, the Land in which he was to dwell to all Eternity; *I'll give thee*, says he, *and to thy Seed, the Land of thy Peregrination, and all the Land of Canaan, for an eternal Possession.* 2. In a narrower Sense, for a Duration, having a Beginning, but which is to have no End. Thus, the Beatitude and Damnation of Angels and Men is call'd Eternal, *Matt. xxv.* *They'll go into eternal Torments, and the Just into eternal Life*; or, also, for a Duration, which has neither Beginning nor End; but which is not entirely free from Mutability: Thus a Creature would be said eternal, which was from all Eternity. 3. In a strict and proper Sense, for that Duration, which has not only neither Beginning nor End, but is free likewise from all Sort of Mutability. It is only a Question here of that Eternity taken in the third Manner. — II. By the Name *Duration*, is understood a Thing persevering in his Being. Of this Sort of simple Duration, one is internal, which is nothing but the permanent Existence of a Thing; the other external, which is nothing but the Measure of the persevering Existence of a Thing, by the Motion of the first Mobile. These previously observed,

I say, that ETERNITY, properly so call'd, is commonly defined, *an entire, and, together, perfect Possession of an indeterminable Life*; or, which is the same, *an indeterminable, indivisible, and independent Duration*. Which I prove by the Explication of the Terms of which this Definition consists.

1. It is call'd *Possession*, or *Duration*; because it is a persevering Existence of a Thing, or a persevering, firm, and tranquil Permanation of a Thing, in its Being.

2. It is said of *Life*, i. e. of a *living Existence*; since in eternal Things, to be, and to live, is one and the same Thing; according to St. *Anselmus*, *Monolog. c. 24.* *quoniam idem est illis esse, & vivere.*

3. Of an *indeterminable Life*; i. e. which cannot be terminated by any Limits; viz. neither by a Limit from which, nor a Limit to which; or, which is the same Thing, which has neither Beginning nor End.

4. *All together, and indivisible*; because *Eternity*, properly so called, is not substantially, or accidentally, a successive Duration, and has not Parts succeeding one another; since it has neither preterite, nor future, but only a present, co-existent to all the Differences of Time; whence it is not surprizing if God, who is eternal, is call'd Rev. i. *who is, who was, and who is to come*. Therefore that Duration is like an Instant fixt and permanent; which existing within himself indivisible, is co-extended to all the Durations, even divisible ones.

5. *It is said, and perfect*; as well to exclude all Dependence, all Mutability, and generally all Imperfection; as to distinguish it from an instantaneous Duration, which though it be altogether, because free from all suc-

cessive Parts; its Being is notwithstanding imperfect, because it vanishes instantly.

Note, That from what we have said, it may be infer'd, that Eternity is an indeterminable Duration, indivisible, and free from all Succession, and Mutability. If, and in what Manner it differs, not only from Time, but also from Age, I'll explain here in few Words. Therefore,

It may be asked, first, If Eternity be distinguished both from continued and discreet Time? Which I answer in the Affirmative, as it appears from the Definition of both: For, 1. A continued Time imports with itself a Succession of Parts, which *Eternity* does not import; for a continued Time, according to *Aristotle*, is nothing else but the numerated Motion of the first Mobile, according to its prior or posterior Parts in the Succession; when as Eternity is the perfect Possession of an indeterminable Life. 2. A discreet Time, is nothing else but a Collection of several discreet Instants following one another; such as the Collection of several Actions of an Angel, for each of them last during a discreet Instant; and several following one another, compose a discreet Time. That Time consists in that Duration, appears from its being composed as of several Parts; and that, only, a discreet Time consists in that Duration, is evident, in that those Parts are not united together by a common Tye; but such Collection of several discreet Instants, following one another, is not found in an eternal Duration; therefore, &c.

It may be asked, secondly, If, and in what Manner, Eternity is distinguished from Age, and from a discreet Instant? and I'll answer, that it is distinguished from both. And, 1. That it is distinguished from Age, is easily understood; because *Eternity*, as already observed, imports an indeterminable Duration, i. e. a Duration which has neither Beginning nor End: But Age, though it be a Duration of a Thing which is to have no End; it is however of a Thing which has a Beginning. 2. As to the discreet Instant, it is also apparent from the sole Definition of that Instant. Thus, it is commonly defined by Philosophers, a Duration of a natural spiritual Thing; but which is permanent, and has a Beginning and an End; such is the Duration of the immanent, natural Acts of an Angel: For the Action of an Angel is call'd Instant; not that it lasts only during an Instant of our Time, but because it is the Duration of an Act entitatively indivisible.

The next Thing we'll ask is, If God be eternal, of an Eternity properly so called? To which I answer in the Affirmative; and prove my Answer by the Scripture, the Councils, Fathers, and by Reason. — By Scripture, *Genes. xiii.* *He invoked there the Name of the eternal God.* *Romans*, the last Chap. according to the Precept of the eternal God. — By the Councils, particularly the third of *Toledo*, *Can. 6.* and of *Lateran*, under *Innocent III.* Likewise by the Symbol of St. *Albanasus*, where it is said, *the Father Eternal, the Son Eternal, the Holy Ghost Eternal; and yet they are not Three Eternals, but One Eternal.* — By the Fathers, particularly *Tertullian*, *cont. Hermog. c. 4.* *Quis*, says he, *alius Dei census quam Eternitas? quis alius Eternitatis status, quem semper fuisse, & futurum esse ex prerogativa nullius initii, & nullius finis?* — By Reason, because his living of a Life infinitely perfect, and possesses his divine Being interminably, indivisibly, and independently. *Interminably*, because he has no Beginning, and is to have no End: *Indivisibly* because he possesses his divine Being entirely together, without any Succession or Mutation, as taught by *Peter Damianus*, *Opuscul. 36. c. 13.* *omnipotenti Deo*, says he, *non est heri, vel cras, sed hodie sempiternum, cui nihil defuit, nihil accedit.* Whereby it appears, that there is neither preterit, nor future Tense in God formally, but eminently only, as insinuated by St. *Augustin*, *Tract. 99. in Joan.* And independently, he has received his Being neither from himself, nor from another: Not from himself, because no Body can be the Cause of his own Existence. Nor from another, because God is the first Being, and a Being of himself.

We'll conclude this Subject of the *Eternity of God*, by asking,

asking, If Eternity be so entirely proper to God, as it can by no Means be appropriated to the Creature?

Note, That to resolve this Question, we must observe, that three Things are asked in this Place, viz. 1. If something different in Essence from God, has been of all Eternity. 2. If at least it could have been from all Eternity. 3. If supposed that something different in Essence from God, had been of all Eternity, Eternity would remain proper to him. These previously observ'd, my first Answer is,

That nothing which is supposed different in Essence from God, has been from all Eternity, and therefore with Respect to Things which exist, or have existed, Eternity is proper to God alone. Which I prove by the Scripture, the Councils, the Fathers, and by Reason. By the Scripture, which insinuates that all Things have had a Beginning, especially when it is written, *Gen. i. That God created the Heavens and Earth*, whereby is understood an universal Collection of Things. Whence it is not surprizing, that God is said alone, *2 Tim. vi. to have the Immortality*; and consequently the Eternity, since Eternity follows immediately Immutability. By the Councils, particularly that of *Lateran, c. 14.* where it is said, that the Church has defined that we are to believe, as an Article of Faith, that God alone is eternal. By the Fathers, particularly *St. Ambrose, in Præm. Lib. Hexameron*; and *St. Augustin, Lib. 12. de civit. c. 15.* in these Words, *Nec aliquam creatore coeternam creaturam esse dicimus, quod fides ratioque sana condemnat.* By Reason, because if something was of all Eternity different in Essence from God, it would be either created, or increased; but neither of it could be eternal of an Eternity properly so called: Not the first, because, as I'll say presently, not only no Creature has been from all Eternity, but could not even have been. Nor the second, because all that is uncreated is God, according to *St. Augustin, Lib. 6. de Trinit. c. 6.* but nothing different from God can be God; therefore nothing that's different from God can be eternal of an Eternity, properly, and strictly taken.

My Answer to the second Part of the Proposition is, that nothing that is supposed different in Essence from God, has not only never been of all Eternity, but could not even be of all Eternity. Because what is supposed such, must also be supposed created: But nothing created can be co-eternal to God, according to the Sentiment of *St. Fulgentius, Lib. 1. ad Monim. c. 12.* where he expresses himself in these Terms, *an ne Creatoris opus sine initio non potuit, nec potest fieri, &c.*

I answer to the third Part of the Question, that tho' something different in Essence from God, had been from all Eternity, that same Eternity would not desist, notwithstanding, from being proper to God alone. Because, though that something should have neither Beginning nor End, it would not be free from Mutability; from which all that's eternal must be free; therefore, &c.

Note, That the whole Doctrine of the Eternity of God, is included in the following Verses, attributed to *St. Prosper*:

*At vero Aeternum nihil effugit, omniaque adsunt
Salva Deo, nihil est illi tardumve, citumve,
Nec dilata nunquam, nec festinata putemus.
Que veniunt nostris mutantur tempora rebus;
Non quod ubique agitur, quod gestum est, quodque ge-
[rendum,
Ante oculos Domini puncto subsistit in uno.
Una dies cui semper adest, cras atque heri nostrum.*

From the Eternity I'll pass to the Unity of God, beginning this important Subject, which destroys entirely the whole Pagan Theology, by this Question; If God be one, and entirely one, and of what Unity?

Note, That before we can pretend to resolve this Question, we must observe, 1. That by the Name *Unity*, is understood a Negation of Division. Whence that is said one, which is undivided in itself, and divided from all other. Whence it appears, that one, or Unity, adds nothing to a Being, but only a Negation of

Division. It appears likewise, that Unity is opposed to Multitude. 2. That something can be said one in two Manners, 1. Affirmatively, which is the same as undivided, and entirely simple in itself, without constitutive Parts, or with Parts, but united really, and undivided from itself: Whence it appears, that affirmative Unity is the Simplicity itself of the Being, or an Entity undivided in itself, and entirely simple. 2. Exclusively, which is the same as one excluding a Plurality of his Semblables. 3. Unity can be considered, either as generical or specifick, or numerical. These previously observed, I answer to the first Part of the Question.

That God is one, and entirely one, of an affirmative Unity; because *Boetius* says, that among all Things which pretend to Unity, the Unity of the divine Trinity must be placed first. And *St. Bernard, Lib. de consid. c. 7.* says the same Thing in different Terms. And we learn from *St. Thomas*, that that is entirely one affirmatively, which is an undivided Being by way of Excellence, such as God is. For, 1. He is a Being by way of Excellence, because he has the Plenitude of Being, and is his own subsisting Being. 2. He is most undivided, because he is in no Manner divided, neither actually nor potentially; his being entirely simple, an Act perfectly pure, and a Being infinite in all Sorts of Perfections.

My Answer to the second Part of the Question is, that God is also one exclusively, which I prove by the Scripture, the Councils, the Fathers, and by Reason. By the Scripture, *Deut. 32. See that I am alone, and that there is no other God but me.* 1 Cor. 1. *There is but one God.* By the Councils, particularly that of *Lateran, cap. firmit. de Sant. Trinit.* and by the Symbol of the Council of *Nice.* By the Fathers, especially *St. Augustin*; who says, *Lib. 6. de civit. c. 10.* that the Pagan Philosophers, and particularly *Seneca*, had been of that Opinion, therefore he exclaims against him, because he would not adore him as a sole God. By Reason, because what is supremely good, supremely great, and supremely perfect in all Sorts of Perfections, is one; but God is such, therefore he is one, even exclusively; which is confirmed by these Words of *Tertullian, Lib. cont. Hermog. c. 4. Deum autem unum esse oportet, quia quod summum sit, Deus est: Summum autem non erit, nisi quod unicum fuerit.*

If it be asked, If God can be said to be one numerically? I'll answer, that if one numerically be taken for a singular Being excluding something semblable to himself, as taken by *St. Anselmus, Lib. de incarnat. c. 3.* God can be said one numerically. But if one numerically be taken for that which consists of several numerical Parts joined together, he cannot be said one numerically: The Reason of this is, that such Unity imports a Composition, which is foreign to God: Or if it be taken for that which admits of a Plurality, of which he is the first Measure; because there is no Plurality of God, of whom the true God should be the Measure and Rule.

But, say you, do we not admit of three Persons in God? But can we conclude from thence that there are three Gods, especially where there is but one numerical Nature, which is communicated to the three divine Persons, without an individual Multiplication of itself?

The next Attribute which falls under our Consideration is, the Incomprehensibility of God.

The first Thing which offers on this Subject is, If God is incomprehensible, and with Respect to what Understanding? To which I answer, 1. That God is not incomprehensible with Respect to the divine Understanding, because God comprehends himself: Which the better to understand we must consider, that these two Conditions are required for a true Comprehension, the first is that it should adequate the extensive Perfection of the Object, i. e. know clearly all the Perfections which are in the Object either formally or eminently, and even of one and indivisible Cognition. The second, that it should adequate the intensive Intelligibility of the same Object, i. e. know the Object as far as it is cogniscible, and even know the Conditions and Perfections of the same Object,

as far as they are to be known: But the divine Understanding knows the Essence of God, and all his Perfections, as clearly and as far as they are to be known; because the active Intellectivity of the divine Understanding, is as great as the passive Intelligibility of the divine Essence, and of all the Perfections which are in God: Therefore God is not incomprehensible with Respect to the divine Understanding.

2. I say, that God is so incomprehensible with Respect to a created Understanding, that he cannot be comprehended of a true Comprehension by such Understanding, let it be even so elevated, and strengthened from above, not even by the absolute Power of God; which I prove by the Scripture, the Councils, the Fathers, and by Reason. By the Scripture, *Jerem. xxxii. Magnus concilio, & incomprehensibilis cogitatu.* By the Councils, particularly that of *Lateran*, under *Innocentius III. c. firmiter*, and *c. Damnamus de summa Trinit.* where it is defined that God is *incomprehensible*. By the Fathers, particularly *St. Cyprian, in Prolog. de operib. cardin. Nec immensitatis ejus profundum metimur*: And before him, *Tertullian* spoke thus of God in *Apolog. c. 17. Incomprehensibilis est etiam si per gratiam representetur, &c. Numquid manifesta est insania*, says *St. Chrysostom, Hom. 2. dicere Deum nos posse cognoscere, sicut ipse se novit.* By Reason, because there is no Understanding either created, or to be created, which has, or could have so great an Intellectivity, even by Means of the absolute Power of God, as God has a passive Intelligibility. And the Reason is, because God is an infinite Being in all Kinds of Perfections; but a Creature, or Understanding created, or to be created, let him be ever so elevated by the absolute Power of God, has never but a finite Perfection; therefore, &c.

Note, That we may learn from what we have said, whence proceeds God's Incomprehensibility; and it appears that it does not proceed, as some will have it, from God's Attributes being infinite in Number; nor, as others imagine, from that the human Understanding cannot see all possible Things; for though he was to see them, it could not be said hence that he comprehends God, unless he should comprehend the other Attributes of God; but it must proceed from that God cannot be known, such as he is cognoscible in himself, and of his Nature intensively: For God, with regard to the Object, is infinitely cognoscible, and the Knowledge of the Creature cannot be infinite.

The next Attribute we are to consider, is the INVISIBILITY OF GOD; which to do with some Order, we'll examine if God be invisible to a corporeal Eye, even supernaturally strengthened: And if it be so invisible, that he cannot be seen by any Understanding, created, or to be created, which is only attentive, according to his natural Forces, even the most excellent?

To the first Part of the Question, I answer, that God can very well be said invisible, though not with respect to every cognoscitive Faculty.

I prove the first Part of this Answer, viz. that God can very well be said invisible; by observing that the Scripture confirms this *Invisibility*, *1 Tim. i. Regi seculorum immortalis, & invisibili, soli Deo honor & gloria in secula seculorum.*

I prove the second Part, viz. that he is not invisible with respect to all cognoscitive Faculty; because he is not invisible with respect to the divine Understanding, nor even with respect to a created Understanding, strengthened, and elevated, by the Light of Glory, or by some other supernatural Succours, supplying the Deficiency of that Light.

I say to the second Part of the Question, that God is so invisible to a corporeal Eye, even strengthened supernaturally, that it cannot be seen by it; not even by an absolute Power: Which I prove by the Fathers, and by Reason.—By the Fathers, particularly *St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. 9.* where he speaks in these Terms: *Carnis quidem oculis contemplare Deum impossibile est: quod enim Corporis est expers in Carnis oculos cadere nequit.* Likewise by *St. Augustine, Epist. 6.* where he discourses on these Words of the first of *St. John, c. iii. When he'll*

appear, we'll be sensible to him, because we are to see him such as he is.—We'll see him then, says *St. Augustin, because we'll be sensible to him; as we do not see him now, because we are not sensible to him; hence, then, we'll see him, whence we'll be sensible to him.* And who would have the Folly to say, that we'll be sensible to God in our Body? Therefore, &c.—By Reason; for that Object is so far invisible to a corporeal Eye, as to be impossible its being seen by it, even by an absolute Power of God, as it is beyond the Latitude and Ambit of an adequate, and specificative Object of the same corporeal Eye, because that Eye is a vital Power, and a vital Power cannot be carried beyond the Latitude of its adequate and specificative Object, since it imports an essential Relation to such an Object, as it may be learned from the Definition of every vital Power; but God is beyond the Latitude of the adequate and specificative Object of a corporeal Eye; since a corporeal Eye requires essentially for its specificative Object something sensible and coloured; but God is not to be seen clearly and intuitively in that Manner; therefore he is invisible to a corporeal Eye, so that he cannot even be seen by it, by an absolute Power: Notwithstanding that Text of Scripture, where *Job* says, *In my Flesh I'll see God my Saviour*; because this Text is to be understood in one of these two Manners; either that *Job* existing in his Flesh was to see God, though otherwise than by the Eyes of the Flesh; or that he was to see *Christ* in the Form of Flesh.

From this I'll pass to the PASSIVE VISION OF GOD; where five Things are to be consider'd. The first, the Possibility of such Vision; the second its Existence; the third its Principle, as well from the Part of the Understanding, as from the Part of the Object; the fourth the Object, as well primary as secondary; and the fifth will explain some Predicates, and Affections of the beatifick Vision.

With regard to the Possibility of the *Beatifick Vision*, we'll consider, 1. If such Vision be absolutely possible; and, 2. If that Possibility can be demonstrated, even by some innate Appetite towards it.

Note, 1. That Theologians consider two different Knowledges of God, viz. one abstractive, and the other intuitive; by that a Thing is known, by a foreign Species; and by this it is known as it is in itself, either by itself immediately, or by its proper Species; this last Cognition is commonly call'd *Vision*.—The abstractive Cognition of God can be in four different Manners: 1. By the Creatures; in this Sense the Apostle, *Rom. i.* says, that *invisibilia Dei per ea que facta sunt, intellecta concipiuntur.* 2. By some corporeal Species, in whatever Manner it may be supposed to be perceived, either by the external Senses, or by Imagination alone. In this Manner God appeared in the *Old Testament* to the Patriarchs and Prophets. 3. By the supernatural Light of Faith. In this Sense the Apostle says, *1 Cor. xv.* that *videmus nunc per speculum in Enigmate.* 4. By investing oneself with a created Being: In this Sense the Divine Word has been seen in the Humanity.—2. That it is not a Question here of the abstracted Cognition or Knowledge of God, but of the clear Vision of God, as he is; which we ask if it be possible. These previously observ'd, I say,

That the clear and intuitive Vision of God, is possible supernaturally. Which I prove by the Scripture, the Councils, Fathers, and by Reason.—By the Scripture, which teaches that God is seen, and to be seen actually, whence it is inferred that the clear Vision of God is possible. That the Scripture teaches such Doctrine is evident, from *Matt. 18. Their Angels see always the Face of my Father which is in Heaven*; we read the same *1 Cor. xv. Videmus nunc per speculum in enigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem*: And *1 Joan. iii. Scimus quoniam cum apparuerit, similes ei erimus quoniam videbimus eum sicuti est.* By the Councils, especially that of *Vienna* under *Clement V.* and that of *Lorence* in the Decree of *Eugenius.* For these two Councils teach not only that the Vision of God is possible, but likewise that such Vision is to be.—

By

By the Fathers, especially St. Bernard, *in fest. omnium Sanct. The eternal and perfect Life*, says he, *consists in that we'll know the Father, and the Son, with the Holy Ghost, and see God such as he is, i. e. not only as he is within us, or the other Creatures, but as he is in himself.*

— By Reason, because the most perfect intellectual Operation of every Creature is possible, since its Impossibility can be deduced from no Chief: But its most perfect Operation is to see God in his Essence; since a more noble one cannot be conceiv'd in an intellectual Creature, whose Understanding is her best Faculty; therefore, &c.

It may be objected to this, that God is said, 1 Tim. vi. to inhabit an inaccessible Light. To which I answer, that the Sense of the Scripture is not that, speaking absolutely, God cannot be seen clearly, and intuitively; but that he cannot be seen clearly as he is in either of the four following Manners. 1. By Men minding nothing but terrestrial Things. 2. *Comprehensively*, at least by a created Understanding. 3. By Men living yet upon Earth. 4. With corporal Eyes.

But, say you, there is no Proportion between a created and finite Understanding, and God, to be seen clearly; because God is infinite in all Kinds of Perfections; therefore he cannot be seen clearly as he is by a created Understanding.

I answer that it is very true, that God cannot be seen clearly as he is by a finite Understanding, if it be a question of a Proportion of Entity, or of a Proportion to the Cognition purely comprehensive of God; but it is not equally true, if it be only a Question of an habitual Proportion to a clear and intuitive Vision of God, simply apprehensive.

The next Question on this important Subject is, if there be any innate Appetite in the intellectual Creature towards the *beatifick Vision*; and if the Possibility of the *beatifick Vision* can be demonstrated by such Appetite?

Note, That to answer well this Question, we must observe, 1. That the natural Appetite, generally speaking, is of two Sorts, one *innate*, and the other *elicit*. The *innate*, is the Inclination itself, or natural Penchant towards a convenient Good, without any previous Knowledge. In this Sense, Fire in a red-hot Piece of Iron, is said to have a natural Penchant to tend upwards; though it has no Motion in the Iron. The *Elicite*, is the Act of the aptitive natural Faculty tending towards some convenient Good, either real or apparent, with a previous Knowledge: Whence it appears that it becomes only Beings indued with some Knowledge, and is called *sensitive*, when the Knowledge is sensitive only; and rational when the Knowledge is intellectual. This *elicit Appetite* can also be considered in two Manners, *viz.* as *Efficacious* and *Inefficacious*; that is *Efficacious* which is always inclined towards an Object conceived as possible, and is commonly expressed by these Terms, *I will*; the *Inefficacious* is expressed by these Terms, *I would*; and therefore is rather esteemed as a Velleity than a Will, and is conceived towards an Object as impossible.—2. That *Beatitude* can be considered in two Manners, *viz.* in *Common*, and in *Particular*.—3. That it may be asked in particular, if an intellectual Creature has a natural Inclination for the *beatifick Vision*; and if the Possibility of the *beatifick Vision* can be demonstrated naturally by such natural Inclination, or Appetite? This previously considered.

I say, 1. That an intellectual Creature has a natural innate Appetite or Inclination for the *Beatitude in common*; but has none, either innate or elicit, at least efficacious, for the *Beatitude in particular*, which consists in the quidditive and intuitive Vision of God.

I prove the first Part of this Proposition, *viz.* that an intellectual Creature has a natural, and innate Inclination for the *Beatitude in common*; by St. Augustin, who insinuates, according to this Sentiment, in *Enchirid. c. 25. That Nature, among all its Imperfections, could not lose its Inclination for the Beatitude.*

I prove the second Part, *viz.* that the intellectual Creature has no natural Appetite, either innate, or elicit, efficacious, or inefficacious, for that *Beatitude in particular*,

which consists in the quidditive, and intuitive Vision of God. Because,

1. As to the innate Appetite there is no Difficulty, because if it could have any Inclination for *Beatitude in particular*, particularly for that which consists in such Vision of God, a previous Knowledge of such *Beatitude* would be requir'd; therefore it would not be an innate Appetite, but an elicit one.

2. As to the elicit Appetite, it appears, likewise, clearly enough; since that Appetite proceeds from a previous Knowledge; but no Body can naturally, and without a divine Revelation, know that said *Beatitude in particular*, since we read, 1 Cor. xii. *Quod nec oculus vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit id quod Deus pręparavit iis qui diligunt illum, nobis autem revelavit Deus per spiritum sanctum.*

3. As to the efficacious elicit Appetite, the Thing is also very clear; since such Appetite presupposes a known Possibility of the *beatifick Vision*. For the Will must know that a Thing is possible, before it can desire it efficaciously, then after it has desir'd it, it applies itself to search the Means whereby it can possess the Thing desir'd; but that particular *Beatitude* mention'd here, cannot be naturally known as possible; therefore, &c.

I have said *efficacious* at least; for as to an efficacious Appetite, there is not the least Difficulty; since such Appetite can have an impossible Object.

Note, That it may be inferred from what I have said,

1. That if there be within us, some natural Desire of *Beatitude*, or natural Appetite towards our End; that Appetite is only to a natural End, or to the Utmost to a supernatural End, under a common Regard, and not under a particular one of *Beatitude*. 2. That the Desire or Aptitude of seeing God, as the Object of a supernatural *Beatitude*, Revelation being supposed, is not natural, since it proceeds rather from a supernatural Principle, *viz.* Faith, than from a natural Inclination.

I say, 2. That the Possibility of the *beatifick Vision*, can in no Manner be directly demonstrated, not even by a natural Appetite to the *Beatitude*.

I prove the first Part of this Proposition, *viz.* that the Possibility of the *beatifick Vision*, cannot be directly demonstrated. Because there is no Medium whereby it can be demonstrated, either *a priori*, or *a posteriori*. Not *a priori*, because in such Demonstration, the Medium must be the necessary Cause of the Thing demonstrated: But no necessary Cause of the *beatifick Vision*, can be found, or assign'd among all the created Beings; otherwise it would follow hence, that the *beatifick Vision* would be possible by Nature, which is an Absurdity. Nor *a posteriori*, since there is no Effect in Nature, which has a necessary Connection with the *beatifick Vision*, either actual or possible.

I prove the second Part; *viz.* that not even a natural Inclination for the *beatifick Vision*, can directly demonstrate the Possibility of that Vision. Because before it could be demonstrated by such Appetite, it should appear what that Appetite is, if innate, or elicit, and even efficacious; but no such a Thing appears, therefore, &c. it does not appear of an innate Appetite, because we cannot imagine, with the least Appearance of Foundation, that the Will has a Propensity to any other Good but a natural one, and which can be acquir'd naturally. But the *beatifick Vision*, can neither be a natural Good, nor be obtain'd naturally, therefore, &c. add to this, with Regard to the elicit Appetite, that it cannot be naturally known that our perfect *Beatitude* consists in the clear Vision of God; whence it follows, that there can be no elicit natural Appetite towards it.

I have said in the second Proposition, directly, or positively; to insinuate thereby, that the Possibility of the *beatifick Vision*, can be prov'd at least indirectly or negatively, *viz.* by resolving the Objections made against it. But though that Possibility be above our Reason, it is not against it, neither does it involve any Repugnancy; for if there was any, it would either be of the Part of God, who would not be clearly visible, as he is in himself; or of the Part of the Understanding,

which could not be sufficiently rais'd to that Vision; but neither of these two Things can be said; not the first, because as we have already often observ'd, God is a perfect, true, and cognoscible Being. Not the second, because God by the Light of Glory, and a supernatural Influence, can sufficiently strengthen the Imbecility of the Understanding.

From this I'll pass to *the Existence of the beatifick Vision*; and enquire first, if *God is at present, and in fact, seen clearly, and intuitively by the Blessed in the celestial Mansions*? Which Question, I answer in the Affirmative, and prove by the Scripture, the Councils, the Fathers and by Reason. By the Scripture, *Luke xiii. Thou shalt be this Day with me in Paradise. Eph. iv. Christ ascending into Heaven, carried along with him the Captivity captive.* By the Councils, particularly that of *Florence*, in the Decree of *Eugenius*, for the Union of the *Armenians*, where it is defin'd, that *the Souls of those who after Baptism, have been guilty of no Sins, and likewise of those, who after they have sinned, have been purged, are received into Heaven, and see one God in three Persons, such as he is.* By the Fathers, particularly *St. Chrysostom*, *Hom. 4. in Epist. ad Philip.* and *St. Augustin*, *Lib. med. c. 12.* where he expresses himself in these Terms, *Happy is the Soul, which being divested of her mortal Body, enters Heaven. She is secure and tranquil, she fears neither Enemy nor Death; for she has always present, and sees continually, that divine Lord she has serv'd and lov'd, and to whom she arrives joyful and glorious.* By Reason, because God punishes the Reprobate, as soon as they have departed this Life, as it appears by the Example of *Dives*, *Luke xvi.* therefore we ought to believe that he rewards the Righteous as soon as they have left the Earth, since he is rather more prone to Mercy, than to Punishment. According to this Passage of the *Psalms cxlv. His Mercy is over all his Works.*

To this may be objected, the Passage of *Matt. xx.* where it is said, that the Salary was not given to the Workmen, till towards the Evening; but it cannot be inferr'd hence, that God is not to be seen absolutely, but after the general Resurrection; but rather, that those that are converted in their old Age, will receive a Reward equal to theirs. Or it may be inferr'd, that in that Resurrection understood by the Evening, the Blessed will enjoy a consummate Beatitude, understood by the Reward, *i. e.* both in their Soul and Body.

We must observe, besides, with *St. Chrysostom*, that in all Parables, we are rather to search the End proposed by it, than the rigorous Signification of the Terms. Add to this, that though the aforesaid Passage, and these others sembable to it, which are read, *Rom. iv. Heb. xi. and Rev. vi.* speak manifestly of the Retribution to be made, at the Day of the universal Judgment, *viz.* of the compleat Retribution; they do not exclude the Retribution made after the Death of every Man, by a private Judgment, which is insinuated by the Apostle, *Heb. ix.* and which can be called uncompleat; notwithstanding the Objection taken from this other Passage of the Scripture, *1 Pet. i. In quem angeli desiderant prospicere.* Because these Words do not signify that the Angels do not see God actually, but insinuate only, that they see him without Perplexity or Fatigue, whence they are said to have always a Desire to see him. Notwithstanding this other Place of the Scripture, where it is said, *Rev. xx. That the Just will reign more than a thousand Years with Christ, and that this is the first Resurrection*; since by the first Resurrection is understood (as *St. Augustin* explains it, *Lib. 10. de civit. c. 6, 7.*) the Resurrection by Grace, and not the Resurrection of the Bodies. And by thousand Years, in this Place, is understood by the same Father, the perfect Plenitude of Time, or the Eternity; according to this of the *Psal. cv. According to the Promise he made to a thousand Generations.* And notwithstanding that some of the ancient Fathers have taught otherwise, as nothing had been yet defin'd on that Subject, they could not be accounted Hereticks; according to this of *St. Augustin*, *Epist. 172.* those only are to be called Hereticks, who do not acquiesce, but resist to the Truth revealed by God, and proposed by the Church.

The second Question, on this Subject, is, if *God* can be seen clearly, and intuitively, in this Life by us Mortals; and if *Moses* and *St. Paul*, have actually, and in fact seen him in this Life?

I answer to the first Part of this Proposition, that in the ordinary Way of *God*, a Man, while he is upon Earth, cannot see *God* by Essence, or the Essence of *God* clearly as he is in himself; though he can see him absolutely, according to his extraordinary Way and absolute Power.

The first Part of my Answer, *viz.* that a Man, while upon Earth, cannot see *God*, clearly, and intuitively, as he is, is proved by the Scripture, *Exod. xxxi. No Body shall see me and live*; which is thus explained briefly by the Glossa, while he leads here a mortal Life, he can see him by some Images, but not by the Species of his Nature, because the common Manner of knowing of this Life imports a Dependency from the Body; but the beatifick Vision has no Dependency from the Body, nor from sensible Species; therefore, &c.

I prove the second Part of my Proposition, *viz.* That a Man, while living, can, absolutely speaking, and in the extraordinary Way of *God*, see him clearly as he is; because our Soul is not so closely chained to our Body, as not to be capable, through the extraordinary Concurrence of *God*, to operate independently of the Body; for did not the Soul of *Christ*, while existing in the Body see *God* in himself, such as he is? Will not the Soul of the Blessed, after the Resurrection, operate, though reunited, to the Body; independently of Phantasma's.

I answer to the second Part of the Question, that neither *Moses* nor *St. Paul*, nor any other, in this Life, have seen *God* as he is.

I prove the first Part of this Proposition, *viz.* with Regard to *Moses*, by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.—By the Scripture, *Exod. xxxiii. You could not see my Face, for no Body will see my Face, and live*; and a little lower he adds, *You'll see my Back, but you could not see my Face.*—By the Fathers, especially *St. Augustin*, *Epistle, 112. c. 8.* *Several*, says he, *have seen what the Will has chosen, but not what Nature has formed, for*, says he again a little lower, *he was before in that Form under which he would appear, for he did not appear in his own Nature.*—By Reasons, because those Passages of the Scripture above-quoted cannot be understood otherwise than of the intuitive Vision of *God* in this Life; for several have seen him in this Life, in another Manner, *v. g.* in the Creatures, as the Pagan Philosophers; in Figures and Signs, as the Patriarchs and Prophets; by Faith, as the Elects of the Old and New Testament; and several in his Flesh, as the Apostles.—Notwithstanding what is said in the Scripture, *Exod. xxxiii.* where *God* promises *Moses* to shew him all that's good, *i. e.* himself; since that Promise was not to be accomplished in this Life, but in the Life to come, after *Moses's* Death; as it may be easily inferred from the other Texts of the Scripture above quoted, and to be quoted hereafter.—And notwithstanding, what *God* says of *Moses*, *Num. xii. If there be among you a Prophet of the Lord, I'll appear in Vision, and speak to him in Dream; but I'll not behave in that Manner towards my Servant Moses, who is the most faithful of all my house, for I'll speak to him Mouth to Mouth, and he'll see the Lord present, and not in Enigma's and Figures*; for these Words do not signify that *Moses* has seen *God* as he is, but only the Difference between the Manner *Moses* used to see *God* in, and in that which the Prophets saw him. For *God* used to speak to the Prophets in Dreams, by Images imprinted in their Imagination, and by sensible Figures; but he used to speak to *Moses* in a human or angelical Form, as a Friend to his Friend.

But, say you, do not these Words, *Face to Face*, signify, in the Scripture, an intuitive Vision of *God*? I answer that in some Passages of the Scripture, as *v. g.* this, *1 Cor. 13. Videmus nunc per Spem illum in Aenigmate, tunc autem Facie ad Faciem*; they signify an intuitive Vision; but not in all the Places of the Scripture, and particularly in the Passage of *Exodus*, above quoted: For a little lower in the same Place, we find these Words; and of *Moses* to *God*, and of *God* to *Moses*, *if I have found Grace*

Grace before thee, shew me thy Face; thou can't see my Face; whence it is inferred that this Manner of speaking, *Face to Face*, is ambiguous, and signifies, sometimes, a clear and intuitive Vision; and sometimes only an external corporal Vision: In the first Manner it is opposed to Faith; and in the last to Vision by Figures and Images, or in Dreams.

I prove the second Part, *viz.* that St. Paul, in his Rapture to the third Heaven, never saw God, clearly and intuitively, as he is; because that Rapture happened before he had wrote his Epistle to *Timothy*, and before St. John had wrote his Gospel, but both write that God can never be seen; therefore it is a Sign that St. Paul had not seen God in his Rapture, otherwise he had excepted himself. Notwithstanding this Passage of the Apostle, whereby speaking of himself, 2 Cor. xii. he says, that *he had been ravished into Heaven, and there had heard Secrets or Mysteries, which Men are not permitted to divulge*; for though we confess that he was ravished to the *Empyreum*, which is the Mansion of the Blessed, and had heard there mysterious Words; it does not follow that he had heard them, and learn'd them by the beatifick Vision; but rather by some excellent and singular Revelation, as it may be inferred from some other Words of the same Apostle, in the same Chapter, *Ne magnitudo*, says he, *revelationum extollat me*, &c. *viz.* the Revelations which he had in his Rapture, which he could very well call great, and even excellent.

We must enquire next into the Principles which concur to the beatifick Vision; and endeavour to know the Term of that Vision.

Note, That to understand very well the State of this Question, we must know that every Cognition is made by the Union of the Person that knows with the Thing known, or with the Species which supplies its Place: Therefore it has two Principles, *viz.* one from the Part of him that knows, and the other from the Part of the Object. The beatifick Vision is some certain Species of Cognition; therefore it has two Principles, which we'll consider separately, *viz.* one from the Part of the Power, or of the Understanding who sees God, and the other from the Part of the Object.—We'll consider in the third Place, the Term of the beatifick Vision.

Note also, That before we enter into a strict Examen of the Principle which proceeds from the Power, or Understanding which sees God, we must make the following Observations,—1. What is the Light of Glory, and how it is defined? To which I answer, as if it could be defined; that it is a supernatural habitual Quality, or an Habit infused by itself, into a created Understanding, in order to render it more capable to see God, intuitively, and even permanently, which I prove by the Explication of the Terms this Definition is composed of.—1. It is called a *Quality*, because it is an Accident which determines its Object, in the manner of a substantial Form. Hence it follows that the Light of Glory is not uncreated, nor the beatifick Vision itself, nor the Concourse of God.—It is called habitual, to give to understand that the Light of Glory pertains to the first Species of Quality, but as every Species of Quality is combinated. I say that the Light of Glory is not a Disposition. Because a Disposition is something moveable from the Subject: But that it is an Habit, because it is a Quality, outwardly happening to a created Understanding, (from which it is not easily moveable) to operate simply, *viz.* to procure the beatifick Vision. Whence it appears that the Light of Glory is not properly a natural Power, pertaining to the second Species of Quality; since such Power must flow from Nature; and the Light of Glory does not flow from Nature, but is infused by God; whence it appears, likewise, that the Light of Glory is not a transient Act.—It is called *supernatural*, and a *Quality infused by itself*; because it necessarily requires its being infused, since it cannot be obtained by the sole Strength of Nature.—It is said to a *created Understanding*, as well to indicate the Subject thereof, as to insinuate that it cannot become the divine Understanding.—

It is said to render it capable, (*viz.* the Understanding) *to see God intuitively*; to shew the End and Office of the Light of Glory.—It is said, *and permanently*; as well to give to understand, that whosoever has that Light is never to be deprived of it; as to insinuate that the beatifick Vision is made more *connatually*, when the Understanding is raised by some permanent Quality, than if it was elevated by a transient one, *v.g.* by a more abundant and supernatural Concourse of God.

If I be asked, why that Succour, or Habit, whereby a created Understanding is risen to see God, as he is, be called the Light of Glory? I'll answer, 1. That all that has the Faculty of manifesting itself, is called Light, since it is the Property of Light to manifest itself, according to the Passage of the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, v. but the Light of Glory has the Faculty of manifestating itself, according to this of the *Psalms* xxxvi. *They shall be satisfied with the Plenty of thy House, and in thy Light shall we see Light*. 2. That it is called Light, because it serves to the beatifick Vision, which is Glory and eternal Life.

If it be asked, besides, which is the Office of the Light of Glory? I'll answer, that its Office is to comfort, and raise the Understanding, and to concur with it efficaciously, to procure the beatifick Vision. It is inferred from this Answer, 1. That the Light of Glory is like a Cause, with Regard to the beatifick Vision. 2. That this Light does not serve to the Understanding, as of a mere Disposition, to receive that Vision, as some have falsely imagined. 3. Nor to dispose the Understanding to receive the Essence of God, as an imprinted Species. From these Observations on the Light of Glory, I'll pass to the following important Question.

If a created Understanding, in order to see God clearly, as he is in himself, wants an habitual Light of Glory; and if that Light be so absolutely necessary, as to be impossible it should be supplied by a more abundant Concourse of God?

To which I answer, that the Light of Glory is absolutely necessary to every created Understanding, to see God intuitively; and is in fact in all created Understandings, who sees God as he is. Which I prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason. By the Scripture, *Psalms* lvi. *In thy Light we'll see Light*; tho' I must confess that the first Sense of these Words is, *that in the Son we'll see the Father, and in Christ we'll see God*, as interpreted by the Council of *Nice*. But this Sense is also receiv'd, that by the Light of Glory we'll see God, who is an increated Light, and the Fountain of all Light, as we learn from the Council of *Vienna*, where the Error of the *Begards* was condemned, who said, that the Soul wanted no such Light to raise it to the Vision of God. By the Fathers, particularly S. Gregory Nazianzene, *Orat.* 10, & 15. *excipit illos*, says he, *lux omni sermone prestantior*. Where he seems to make Allusion to what is said in the Apocalypse, c. 21. of the celestial *Jerusalem*, that it is a City which wants neither Sun nor Moon, since it is illuminated by God's Light. By Reason, because all that is exalted to something exceeding its Nature, must be disposed by something supernatural exceeding its Nature; but a created Understanding, is not proportion'd of itself to the beatifick Vision, unless it be exalted, which Exaltation must proceed from the Light of Glory; therefore, &c.

The next Thing which falls under our Consideration is, the other Principle of the beatifick Vision, *viz.* that which proceeds from the Object.

Note, That as there is no Cognition, either intellectual, or sensitive, but the Object and Power concur to it; the Object, either immediately by itself, or by its Species; and the Power by itself; after we have treated of the Principle proceeding from the Power; we must speak of the other Principle proceeding from the Object, and inquire if God, immediately by himself, concurs with the Understanding towards the beatifick Vision, or only by an imprinted Species, supplying his Place?

The better to understand this important Question, we must resolve previously to it, some Questions on the imprinted Species; then ask, if it be necessary to a created Understanding, to produce the beatifick Vision; and afterwards, if it be not necessary, endeavour to discover if it be even possible by the Power of God.

Note, also, That before we pass to the Questions on the imprinted Species, we must observe, 1. That Theologians ask, if God is seen, or can be seen, by Similitude or Resemblance; understanding by the Name of Similitude some Image of him, in which, or whereby he can be seen. 2. That there are generally two Sorts of Similitude, *viz.* one intentional, and the other objective; and that it is only a Question here of the *intentional Similitude*, and is that which, without a previous Knowledge of it, carries us to that of the Object; as the Image of a Tree emitted from the Tree, and received in the Eye, is called the intentional Similitude of that Tree. The *objective* is that, which being known first, carries us afterwards to the Knowledge of another Thing: Thus *Cæsar's* Statue is called the *objective Similitude* of *Cæsar*.—I have said, that it is a Question here of the *intentional* Species, or Similitude, and not of the *objective*; because by that *objective* Similitude, the divine Essence could not be seen intuitively; because the Medium, whereby a Thing is seen clearly and intuitively, must contain the whole Entity of that Thing, either formally, or at least eminently; which an objective Similitude, at least a created one, can never do; therefore, &c.

2. That an intentional Species is commonly subdivided into *impressed*, and *expressed*. Some Questions are made here on the *impressed*; *viz.* It is asked, 1. *What an impressed Species is?* To which I answer, that it may be defined in general, a virtual Similitude of the Object. Which Definition will be elucidated by the following Explication of the Terms it consists of.—1. It is call'd a *Similitude*, because it represents the Object, *i. e.* it renders it present to the Power.—2. It is call'd *virtual*, to give to understand, that it does not represent, formally, the Object, *viz.* by rendering the Power formally knowing, as the *expressed Species* does; but only represents it virtually, *viz.* by concurring with the cognoscitive Faculty, from the Part of the Object, to produce the Knowledge.

It is asked, 2. Which are the Offices of the *impressed Species*? I answer, that it has three Offices; the first is that of uniting the Object to the Power, and thus render the Power intentionally sensible to the Object, otherwise that *Species* would not be a Similitude in the Manner it ought to be. The second, is to determinate the Power indifferent of itself, to know one Thing rather than another. The third, which is the principal, is to perfect the Power from the Part of the Object by its Union with it; that, with it, it may produce efficaciously the Cognition; for the *impressed Species* is like the Instrument of the Object; for it does what the Object would do if it was present, and proportionate.

It is asked, 3. If supposed that two Formalities were found in every Cognition (*viz.* that the Representation of the Thing known, was both vital and formal) the whole Entity of the Cognition be produced by the Power, and all together produced by the *impressed Species*? Which I answer in the Affirmative; because both are the total Cause of the Totality of the Effect; since both concur efficaciously to the Production of the whole Cognition; which, notwithstanding, does not hinder the Cognition, as a vital one, from being entirely attributed to the knowing Faculty; and this, in the same Manner, the Image, and formal Representation of the Thing known, hinders it from being attributed to the Object itself, or to the *impressed Species*, which I have said to supply the Place of the Object. From these Questions, I'll pass to the following very important one, *viz.*

If an *impressed Species* be necessary to see God clearly as he is; and if the Blessed see God intuitively by no *impressed Species*?

I answer the first Part of the Question in the Negative, because God can as well effect immediately by himself, what the *impressed Species* could, if there was such a Thing: For, 1. The divine Essence is, by itself, an Object proportional to humane Understanding, especially when elevated by the Light of Glory, if not of a Proportion of Entity, at least of one of Habit. 2. It can be united to a created Understanding as an Object, since nothing created can be so present, and so intimate to a created Understanding than God himself.

I answer the second Part likewise in the Negative, and say that there is no *impressed Species* in the Understanding of the Blessed, whereby he sees God; because God, by himself, accomplishes what the *impressed Species* could, if there was such a Thing; for he accomplishes it, not by informing the Understanding in the Manner of an accidental Form inherent to the Understanding; but by an extrinsic special Assistance of the divine Essence as an intelligible Object.

Note, That we can infer from what we have said in this Place, that the divine Essence concurs effectually in two Manners, to the beatifick Vision. 1. By a general Influence, inasmuch as he is the first and universal Cause, which with all the second Causes influences the same Action. 2. By a particular Influence, his being the Object of the Vision.

Our next Question is, suppose that there is no *impressed Species*, and that it is not necessary in a created Understanding, to see God, if at least such Species be possible?

I answer, that the *impressed Species*, whereby God would be seen by a blessed Understanding, is absolutely possible, because it is in no manner repugnant to Possibility: For in every *impressed Species* these two Things are found, *viz.* *Similitude* and *Efficiency*; but the said Possibility is not repugnant to these two Chiefs: Not from the Part of *Similitude*, for an *impressed Species* is not more repugnant on that Side, than an *expressed* one, whose Possibility the Theologians have never called in question; nor from the Part of *Efficiency*, since on that Side likewise, an *impressed Species* is not more repugnant than the Light of Glory, which concurs efficiently to the beatifick Vision.

From the *impressed Species*, I'll pass to the *expressed Species*, or *Term of the beatifick Vision*; where I'll propose first, some Questions relating to that said Species; and ask, secondly, if the Blessed, in seeing God, form an *expressed Species* of the divine Essence.

I ask first, in general, what's understood by the Name of *expressed Species*? And in answer to my own Question, I say, that it is commonly defined *the formal Similitude of the Object*.

1. It is called *Similitude*, and an *intentional* one; because it has the Report of an intentional *Similitude*, which is that Similitude whereby the Object is known, tho' the Similitude itself be not known.

2. It is called *formal*, because the *expressed Species*, which is the Word of the Mind, represents formally the Object, expressing it in very near the same Manner the Picture of *Cæsar*, expresses the Face of *Cæsar*; and therefore differs from the *impressed Species*, because the *impressed Species* is not a formal Similitude, but only a virtual one, *viz.* inasmuch as it has the Faculty of expressing the Similitude, in very near the same Manner the Seed of the Father is called his virtual Similitude, in that it has the Faculty of expressing his Similitude.

I ask, 2. Why the *expressed Species* is esteemed the Word of the Mind? And I answer, that it is because by means thereof the Understanding speaks to himself, represents an Object to himself, and renders it present.

Note, That the Blessed, in their Vision of God, form an *expressed Species* of him; which is the Sentiment of St. *Augustin*, as it appears in several of his Works, but more particularly *Lib. 15. de Trinit. c. 16.* where he plainly shews that there is an *expressed Species*, when

he says that there is a Word which has some Similitude with the Word of God; and will have a greater in Heaven, though not an equal one.

Our second Consideration, is to be on the Object, as well primary, as secondary of the beatifick Vision, which follows necessarily the Existence, and Principles of that Vision, of which we have already treated.

Therefore we are to enquire here, what *the Blessed see in God when they see him Face to Face?*

To answer this important Question, in a regular Manner (we have already observ'd, that there are two Objects of the beatifick Vision, *viz.* one *primary*, and the other *secondary*) we must know what is to be consider'd as the primary Object of the beatifick Vision, or what the Blessed see when they see God Face to Face.

The *primary Object* of the beatifick Vision, is *God*, and all that's contain'd in him formally and eminently. Because that is the primary Object of the beatifick Vision, which is seen for itself, and not with Regard to another; and thereby a primary Object differs from a secondary, which is always seen with Regard to another: But *God*, and all that's in God formally and eminently, is seen for himself; therefore, &c.

But what are, say you, those Things which are contain'd in God formally, and which those contain'd in him eminently, and are seen by the Blessed?

I answer, 1. That the Essence of God, and all his Attributes, absolute, as well as relative, are contain'd in him formally; because contain'd in him according to their proper Ratio. 2. That all Creatures, and all the Perfections, which are not simple, are contain'd in God eminently: Because not contain'd in him according to their proper Ratio, but according to something more noble, *i. e.* according to a nobler Form.

That all those Things which are contain'd in God, either formally or eminently, are seen by the Blessed, appears, either because they see God as he is, from 1 *John* iii. or because the Vision answers to the Faith; *Quod hic crediderunt*, says St. *Augustin*, *Lib. de diligend. Deo*, c. 18. *ibi videbunt*. And *Lib. 20. de civit. c. 21. Quid videbimus nisi Deum, & omnia quæ nunc non videmus?* Or, because if the Essence was seen in Heaven, without the Persons, there would be something left for the Blessed to desire with some Sort of Inquietude; and therefore the Beatitude would not be perfect.

I may be asked, if the Blessed see all the Things which are in God formally with a single Vision?

Which I answer in the Affirmative, because the Essence of God offers itself entirely as it is, in the Manner it contains all the Attributes; and the intellectual Faculty of the Blessed, is carried towards it necessarily, and not freely.

Likewise, all that's in God formally, and which pertain to the primary Object of the beatifick Vision, are all seen together, in such a Manner, that one cannot be seen clearly without the other, even by the absolute Power of God. Which I prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason. By the Scripture, because *John* xiv. *Christ* giving to the Apostle St. *Philip*, the Reason why he that sees the Father, sees the Son, says likewise, that it is because the Father is in the Son. Therefore, likewise, as all that's in God is God himself, and a single, and very simple Being, it is impossible that whoever sees one, should not see the other. By the Fathers, particularly St. *Augustin*, in *Psaln lxxxv. Ubi non separatur unius natura, & substantia*, says he, *visio separari non potest*. By Reason, because what is a single Being, and a very simple one, cannot be seen intuitively, without being seen entirely; such as the divine Essence, and all that's in God formally, are one, and a very simple Being.

The Creatures are the secondary Object of the beatifick Vision, which Creatures, are either possible or existent. Which are all seen in God, by the Blessed, tho' in a different Manner.

The possible Creatures are either seen in general, or in particular. They are seen in general, because the Blessed see clearly God's Omnipotency, and all that's in him formally; and that Omnipotency could not be

seen perfectly, as it is seen by the Blessed, unless they were to see the possible Creatures in general, towards which, the Omnipotency extends itself. Some of those Creatures are seen in particular, though not necessarily; some of them, say I, are seen in particular, because the Blessed see that they can be reduced to nothing; they see that the Reprobates could have been saved, and the like. They are not seen necessarily, for though the Omnipotency cannot be seen intuitively, without seeing the possible Creatures, at least in general, it can be seen, notwithstanding, without seeing them in particular; just as the Sight cannot be known, unless the Thing visible be known, at least in general; though it can be known without knowing any Thing visible in particular.

With Regard to the Creatures actually existing; if it be asked if some of them are seen by the Blessed, as actually existing, in some Difference of Time; and which are those thus seen? I'll answer the first Part of the Question in the Affirmative, *viz.* that the Blessed see actually some Creatures existing in some Difference of Time; because, 1. They see several Mysteries of our Faith, according to St. *Augustin*, *Lib. 21. de civit. Dei*, c. 21. *Quid videbimus*, says he, *nisi Deum, & omnia illa quæ nunc non videmus, credentes?* 2. They see, at least, the Genus and Species of the Things which are in the World, as far as it is agreeable to the Faculty of the Mind. I have said, *at least*, to give thereby to understand that some imagine that the Blessed see, likewise, Individuals. 3. They see all that belong to their proper State.

But though the Blessed see some of the Creatures existing in a Difference of Time, they, notwithstanding do not see them all. Because, *v. g.* they do not see the free Thoughts of the Heart; they do not see the Day of the universal Judgment, and do not see several Things which do not pertain to their State.

If I be ask'd further, what we must think of *Christ*, as Man? I'll answer, that he sees in the Word all the Creatures existing in any Difference of Time, because that Knowledge pertains to his State, and they are all subject to his Power and Judgment.

The next important Question is, How the Blessed see the Creatures possible, or existent; if in the Word, or without the Word: If according to the eminential, ideal, and intelligible Being they have in God, or according to the proper Being they have, or can have, besides God: If by some Similitude, *i. e.* Species, or without Species.

Note, That to understand this Question well, we must observe, 1. That I do not design to speak here of the Manner of seeing the primary Object of the beatifick Vision, since I have already treated on that Subject; nor of the Creatures consider'd according to the eminential Being they have in God; because consider'd thus, they are God himself. But the Question is of the Manner of seeing the Creatures, according to the proper, and formal Being, if they be seen in the Word or without the Word? 2. That to see the Creatures in the Word, is to see them in the divine Essence; and to see them without the Word, is to see them otherwise than in the Essence, *v. g.* by Revelation, or the Infusion of Species. 3. That the Creatures are taught to be seen in the Word, in two Manners, *viz.* causally and formally. To see them causally, is to see them of a Vision, distinct from the Vision of the divine Essence; so that, notwithstanding, the Vision of the divine Essence may be presupposed as the Cause, at least morally of the Vision of the Creature. And to see the Creatures formally, is to see them of the same Vision, whereby the divine Essence is seen; not entitatively only, as is that whereby an Angel sees several Objects represented to him, by the same Species; but by the same Formality, to which these two Things are requir'd; 1. That one of those Things which are seen by such Vision, should have a Connection with the other; for Want of this Condition when by one Cognition, and one Species, an Angel sees a Horse and a Lion, the

H

Horse

Horse cannot be said to be seen formally in the Lion, or the Lion in the Horse; because neither the Horse has a Connection with the Lion, nor the Lion with the Horse. 2. That one of the Objects known, be a Means to know the other, be the primary Object, and be before known, at least by a Sign of Reason, than that which is known in it. For Want of this Condition, the related cannot be said to be seen in the correlated, because one has not more the Ratio of the primary Object than the other; though there be imagined a Connection between both, and that the one cannot be known without the other. 3. The following Questions may be ask'd, — 1. If the Creatures, as well those which are possible, as those existing, in some Difference of Time, be seen in the Word, according to their proper Being, and if that Knowledge be acquir'd by some Species, or some Similitude? — 2. If there be any Knowledge in the Creature in the Word causally, and that by some Similitude, *i. e.* some Species? Which previously observed, I say,

That not only the possible, but likewise the existent Creatures are known by the Blessed, or are seen formally in the Word, according to their proper Being. Which I prove by the Councils, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Councils particularly that of *Sense*, where it is declar'd, *Per vium esse /eatis omni formæ divinitatis speculum, in quo quidquid eorum inter est illucescat.* These Particles (*in quo*) shew plainly the Divinity to be the Medium, in which, like in a Looking-Glass, Things relating to the Blessed are seen. By the Fathers, particularly St. *Augustin*, *Lib. 11. de civit. c. 7.* where he distinguishes a double Knowledge of the Creatures, *viz.* one in God, which he call'd the Morning one; and the other in the Creatures themselves, which he calls the Evening one. By Reason, because God sees the Creatures, according to the proper Being, by the same Vision he sees himself, as a Means to know them, and as a primary Object, known by a Sign of Reason, before the Creatures themselves be known in himself. And therefore the Blessed,

Note, That from what we have said already, it is easily infer'd, 1. That the *beatifick Vision* is a certain, evident, and perfectly scientific Knowledge. 2. That it is simply speculative; though it may be said, notwithstanding, that it is outwardly practical, because from it proceeds Love, Joy, &c. 3. That it is supernatural, as well according to its Substance, as from its Object; because it cannot be obtain'd by the sole Strength of Nature, and is not due to the Creature. 4. That it is immediate, since God is seen by himself, and not by an intermediate Species, nor by any impressed Species. 5. That it is intuitive, since thereby God is seen in himself, as he is.

Note also, That what is left worthy our Consideration on this Subject is, 1. If, and in what Manner, the Visions of the divers Blessed, differ between themselves. 2. If all the Blessed see God equally. 3. If the beatifick Vision be, or can be comprehensive of God, by his absolute Power.

To the first Question I answer, that the beatifick Visions of the created Understanding, do not differ essentially between themselves; and there is no specifick Distinction between them; because an essential and specifick Distinction, proceeds either from the Principle, or from the Object; which is not the Condition of the beatifick Visions of the human, and angelical Understanding, who admit of no essential, nor specifick Distinction, either from the Principle, or from the Object. Not from the Principle, because the Principle of the beatifick Vision, is the Understanding, not consider'd as it is in itself, but as irradiated by the Light of Glory, but the Understanding of Men and Angels, thus consider'd, is the same in Species, since then the Understanding is considered not according to the natural Power, but according to the obediencial Power, which is the same in the human and angelical Understanding. Therefore there is

no essential, nor specifick Distinction from the Part of the Principle. Nor from the Object, because they have all the same primary material Object, *viz.* God; and one and the same formal Object, *viz.* God, clearly seen; notwithstanding there is so great a Number of secondary Objects of the beatifick Vision, different in Species between themselves, *viz.* different Creatures; because as the Habits are not specified from the material Objects, but from the formal, neither is the Act specified from the material Objects. Therefore as one of the same Habits of Faith is towards several secondary Objects, because there is only one formal Object, *viz.* the *Truth* revealing; thus is one Act of beatifick Vision, whereby several Creatures are seen in God, because there is one clear Manifestation of God, as a formal Object.

Therefore the Difference found in the Vision of the Blessed, is only accidental; because it is only taken from that Part of the Blessed, who see the primary Object, *viz.* the divine Essence, with the Attributes, in a clearer Manner than the others; or that some of the Blessed see more or less Creatures in God, which are the secondary Objects of the beatifick Vision; which Difference is only accidental.

This leads us insensibly to this important Question; *viz.* if the Vision of all the Blessed be equal or unequal, and whence can proceed the Equality or Inequality of the beatifick Vision?

To the first Part of this Question, I answer, that the beatifick Vision is equal in some of the Blessed, but not in all.

I prove the first Part of this Answer, *viz.* that it is equal in some, by observing that it is equal at least in Infants who die after Baptism, and before they have acquir'd the Use of Reason, as having an Equality of Grace and Charity; from which Equality of Charity, St. *Fulgentius* takes the Measure of the beatifick Vision, *Lib. de Trinit. Amplius videbit Deum in illâ vitâ*, says he, *qui dilexit amplius in hac vitâ*, *i. e.* *He who loved most in this Life, will see God clearer in the Life to come.* And as Infants receive an equal Grace in Baptism, for their equal Disposition, if not positive, at least negative to it, they have, consequently, the same Measure of Vision in the everlasting Glory.

I prove the second Part of my Answer, *viz.* that the Vision of all the Blessed is not equal, against *Jovinian* and other Hereticks, by the Scripture, the Councils, Fathers, and by Reason. — By the Scripture, *John xiv. In the House of my Father are many Mansions.* 1 *Cor. xv. Other is the Brightness of the Sun, other the Brightness of the Moon, other the Brightness of the Stars, as one Star differs from another in Brightness, so is the Resurrection of the Dead.* And 2 *Cor. iii. He that sows sparingly, will gather sparingly.* — By the Councils, particularly that of *Florence*, in the Decree of *Eugenius*, for the Union of the *Armenians*; where it is defin'd, that the Souls of the Blessed shall see God as he is, but some more perfectly than others, according to the Difference of their Merits. Likewise by the Council of *Trent*, *Sess. 6. Can. 32.*

By the Fathers, particularly St. *Jerom*, *Lib. 2. Cont. Jovinian. St. Augustin*, *Traët. 67. in Joan.* St. *Gregory*, *Lib. 4. moral. c. 42.* St. *Ambrose*, *Lib. 5. in luc.* and likewise *Tertullian*, in *Scorp. cont. Gnostic. c. 6. Quomodo*, says he, *multæ mansiones apud Patrem, si non pro varietate meritorum? quomodo stella distabit a stellâ in gloriâ, si non pro varietate radiorum?* *i. e.* why should several Mansions be in the House of the Father, if it was not for the Difference of Merits? why should a Star be distanced from another in Glory, if it was not for the Variety of Rays? — By Reason, because God is just, and the Order of Justice distributive of Rewards, and vindictive of Sins, requires that Regard may be had to Merits and Demerits; therefore are the Torments of the damned Souls different, as we learn from *Mat. x. Terræ Sodomorum remissus erit, in die judicii, quam tibi*; the Rewards of the Blessed will be likewise different. *Alioquin*, says St. *Jerom*, *Lib. 2. contra Jovinian. Quid perseverant virgines, quid laborant viduæ, quid maritæ se continent? peccemus omnes, & post penitentiam erimus quod Apostoli sunt*, *i. e.* Otherwise, why should Virgins per-

levere,

severe, why should Widows work, and married Women be continent? Let us all sin, and after Repentance, we will be what the Apostles are.

The Catholics answer to the second Part of the Question, that the Inequality of the beatifick Vision proceeds from an Inequality of Merits, as from a moral Cause; and from an Inequality of the Light of Glory, as from a physical Cause.

They prove the first Part of their Answer, viz. that the Inequality of Merits is the moral Cause of the Inequality of the beatifick Vision, by the Scripture, the Councils, the Fathers, and by Reason.—By the Scripture, *Rom. ii. He will give to every one according to his Work.*—By the Fathers, particularly St. *Fulgentius*, who says, that the more one has loved God in this Life, the better he'll see him in the other.—By Reason, because God gives the Glory, by way of distributive Justice; according to this Passage of the 2d Epist. to *Timothy*, c. iv. *Reposita est mihi corona justitie, quam reddet mihi Dominus justus judex.*

They prove the second Part, by saying that the Faculty of Seeing God does not belong to a created Understanding, consider'd only in its Nature, but as invested with a certain Conformity with God, by the Light of Glory; whence it happens that the Understanding, which participates more of the Light of Glory, sees God more perfectly.

From this Subject of the beatifick Vision, which I have treated as amply as the Limits I have prescribed to myself will permit, I'll pass to the Consideration of the Science of God, which is also one of his Attributes, and which is properly nothing else but God himself, as knowing himself, and Things different from himself.

God discovers Things different from him in two Manners; for he either considers their Essence, and which Ways they can be made, or looks on their Existence. He understands in his Ideas the Essence of all possible Things, and which Ways they can be made; and sees in his Decrees, the Existence of all Substances, either spiritual, such as are the Ideas of our Minds; or corporeal, such as Motion and Rest in Bodies: For the Things, or Substances, and the Modes, or real Qualities, only exist, or have existed, or will exist, because God has decreed their Existence.

But if it be a Question of the free Motions of a created Will; if they are consider'd in the State of Innocency, God knew them, in the Determination of the said created Will, to which the created Will wanted a general Promotion, but not a special one, neither in the Order of Nature, nor in that of Grace. But if the free Acts are consider'd in the State of Nature fallen by Sin; then they are either good and supernatural, and God sees them in his predetermining Decrees; or not exceed the Strength of Nature, or are bad, and God knew them in the future Determination of the created Will, which is present to him, in the Eternity, and which only wants a general Promotion.

Therefore the Essence of all Things possible is contained in the divine Idea, as in an Exemplary or Archetype; which Idea, or Archetype, is the divine Nature itself, as participating, in some Manner, of the Creatures; and that Idea directs the divine Will in the Production of all Things; but though he can produce, or not produce every Thing, because their Existence, as possible only, and contingent, depends of his free Decree; if notwithstanding he will produce them, he produces them necessarily, according to the immutable Idea or Archetype he has of them. Whence the Essence of Things is immutable and necessary; because it depends of the immutable Archetype, not of the free Will of God, as the Existence, which is only contingent. Neither can God make a Circle a Square, or order that twice two be five; but can only make a Circle, or not make it; or give, or deny the Existence to the Circle, to the quaternary Number, &c.

Theologians call this Archetype Idea, in which God knew the Essences of Things possible, a Science of simple Intelligence; and say, that it is a practical Science, because it precedes the Decree of their Production, and directs the divine Will in that Production, viz. as far

as the omnipotent Will of God decrees and operates, according to the immutable Idea. Whence this Axiom, in the Schools of Theology, the Science of God directs, the Will decrees, and the Omnipotency executes. Or, to speak with more Accuracy, God understands in his Ideas, a great Number of Things possible, of whose Number he decrees some by the Efficacy of his Will, and accomplishes them, when he pleases, by his Omnipotency.

But, after, of the infinite Things possible which God understands in his Ideas, he has decreed to produce some of them; then he sees them, in his Decree, as present; or co-existent to his Eternity; though with regard to us they are future: And that Science, whereby God sees the Existence of Things, is called by the Theologians, Science of Vision; which Science is practical, and speculative. It is practical, in that it has the Decree of the Divine Will for Adjunct, and tends toward the Work, or together with the divine Decree produces Things, or the Modes of Things; v. gr. the Science whereby God knew the whole Mass of this visible World, before it was made; or the good and supernatural Acts of the created Wills, operated by a special Grace. That Science, I say, is practical, and accompanies God's Decree; and precedes, in our Manner of conceiving, the Things themselves, and their Modes; but that Science is speculative, which considers Things, or their Modes, as already existing; and is a Science, either of Dilection, or of Approbation, or even of Improbation. It is a Science of Approbation, when it has for Object Things which God has operated; and of Improbation, when it considers Things which God has only permitted, not performed: For God permits Evil, in that it concurs with the second Causes in producing them; but does not predetermine those Causes by a special Motion. Whence all the Evil that is perpetrated depends from the divine Decree, viz. whereby God has decreed by Concurrence with the second Causes, but not depend of it, as predetermining and premoving, at least of a special Premotion.

Therefore when it is said, that the Science of God is the Cause of Things, it must be understood of the practical Science; i. e. either of the Science of simple Intelligence, which is not distinct from the divine Ideas, and which when it directs the divine Will in the Production of Things, can be said the Cause of Things, at least, directing: Or of the Science of Vision, in that it has the divine Decree for Adjunct; and together with it, operates the Things themselves, or their Modes: But the speculative Science of God, which supposes the Existence of Things, or of their Modes, cannot be called the Cause of those Things, or of their Modes.

For this Reason the different Locutions of the Fathers, which, at first Sight, seem to contradict one another, are easily reconciled: For when St. *Augustin* says, *Lib. 15. de Trinit. c. 13. That God does not know all the Creatures because they are, but they are because he knew it*; must be understood of the practical Science; to which the divine Decree is joined, and always produces some Good, and no Bad. For when the same Doctor, *Tract. 53. in Joan. num. 4.* teaches, that God, knowing Futurity, had foretold by the Prophets the Infidelity of the Jews; not made it. And when *Origen*, on the 8th Chap. of the Epistle to the Romans, says, that something is not to happen, because God knew it; but God knew it, because it is to happen: All these Things must be understood of the speculative Science, which, in our Manner of conceiving, is posterior to the Things which are foreseen to happen; and which considers not only all that's Good, but likewise all that's Bad.

Therefore, as God is not necessitated to produce any Thing, but produces them freely, and as he pleases; it follows, that all that has existed besides God, or exist, have existed, or do exist, only contingently; and whatever is to happen, is to happen contingently only, and not necessarily.

Those contingent Futures are of two Sorts; for some are absolute Futures, as the universal Judgment, where God is to judge the Quick and the Dead; and the others under a Condition only, of which depends entirely that they should happen, or not happen; and that Condition

issues

issues either from God himself, or is taken from the free Determination of a created Will.

It is certain, that those Things which are necessarily to happen, pertain to that Species of the divine Science, commonly call'd *Science of Vision*; but Theologians do not agree among themselves, to what Sort of Science, pertains that of the conditional Futures, which are no less known to God than the absolute ones; since for that Sort of Futures, some admit of a third Science in God, which they call *middle Science*, and place it between the Science of *simple Intelligence*, and the Science of *Vision*. Others reject that third Species of Science as needless; pretending that the Knowledge of conditional Futures, may be referred either to the Science of simple Intelligence, or to the Science of Vision. But if it be a Question of those conditional Futures, whose Condition is deduced from the divine Will, changing the Order of the natural Causes when he pleases, God sees them by the *Science of Vision* in the Laws of Nature, by him decreed, unless by an insituated Power he changes the usual Order of Things: Thus he saw the future Death of *Hezekiah*, foretold by *Isaiah*, 2 Kings xx. 1. in the exhausted Strength of his Body, as in the nearest Cause; and thus had a Prescience of a conditional Future, which was not to happen; which, however, had happened, if he had not resolved, of all Eternity, to change the Course of Nature; he did step then between *Hezekiah*, and Death which threatened him, and granted him 15 Years more to live. *Multa*, says St. *Augustin*, *Lib. 6. in Genes. ad litter. c. 17. secundum inferiores Causas futura sunt, sed si ita sunt & in presentia Dei, verè futura sunt: si autem ibi aliter sunt, ita potius futura sunt, sicut ibi sunt, ubi qui præsicit falli non potest; nam futura dicitur senectus in juvene, sed tamen futura non est, si ante moriturus est: hoc autem ita erit sicut se habent aliæ causæ, sive mundo contextæ sive in Dei prescientiâ reservatæ. Nam secundum quasdam futurorum causas moriturus erat Ezechias, cui Deus addidit quindecim annos ad vitam; id utique faciens, quod ante constitutionem mundi se facturum esse præsciebat. Nec tamen illi anni additi recte dicerentur, nisi aliquid adderetur, quod se aliter in aliis causis habuerat. Secundum aliquas igitur causas inferiores jam vitam finierat: Secundum illas autem quæ sunt in voluntate, & præscientiâ Dei, qui ex æternitate noverat quod illo tempore facturum erat (& hoc verè futurum erat) tunc erat finiturus vitam, quando finivit vitam.*

God saw likewise the Subversion of *Nineveh*, pronounced by the Prophet *Jonah*, *Jon. iii. 4.* by the Science of Vision, in the Sins of its Citizens, of which he was to have taken a Revenge, if he had not decreed of all Eternity to excite, by a special and gratuite Grace, their Will to Repentance: Though the Menaces of *Jonas* were rather an Expedient used to deter the *Ninevites* from following their licentious and criminal Course of Life, than a Prophecy. Otherwise, if we believe St. *Augustin*, *Nineveh* was in Fact destroy'd, if we only regard the spiritual Sense. *Ego autem puto*, says he in *Psal. l. 11. impletum fuisse quod Propheta prædixerat: respice quæ fuit Ninive, & vide quia eversa est: eversa in malo, edificata in bono.*

But if it be a Question of the conditional Futures, call'd *free*, i. e. whose Condition is placed in the free Determination of the created Will, they are neither foreseen by God, nor are they to happen, but remain in a mere possible State, and are to be referr'd to the Science of simple Intelligence: For those Things are not to happen, where there is no Condition to be put, without which they cannot happen; if they are not to happen, there is no Truth of them, nor Science, nor Prescience: For God sees by his Prescience all that's to happen, as present, and co-existing to his Eternity, either in his Decrees, or in the Determination of the created Will. It is a Question here, of Futures depending of the Determination of the created Will, which Determination is never to happen, and which God never sees as present in his Eternity; where then does he see it? Is it in the Comprehension, or comprehensive Cognition he has of the created Will? But the created Will is indifferent towards that Determination, and never has a Propensity to it; therefore God foresees in no Manner, neither that

Determination of the created Will, nor the Things which are to happen from it; and consequently the Science they call *Media*, and which is supposed the Exploratrice of those Kinds of Futures, is entirely fictitious.

St. *Augustin* has often, and expressly rejected that Science, *Lib. de præd. sanct. 14.* where expounding against the Errors of the *Semipelagians*, what is said of the Just, *Wisd. c. iv. v. 11. He is carried off lest Malice should change his Understanding*, takes what is found in the same Chapter, *v. 7. If the Just be surpriz'd with Death, he will be at Rest.* And what is read *Ezek. c. xviii. v. 24. If the Just turns away from his Justice, and commits Iniquity according to all the Abominations committed by the Impious, will he ever live?* From which Words St. *Augustin* reasons thus, *Where's the Christian who has the Temerity to deny that the Just surpris'd with Death is at Rest? Likewise if he was to say, that if the Just when he recedes from his Justice, in which he has continued a long while, and died in that Impiety, in which he liv'd, I do not say one Year, but one Day only, the same Punishment will be inflicted on him due to the Reprobates, and his Justice will avail him nothing, he'll maintain a perspicuous Truth; if we be asked, if he had died while he was Just, he had found Pain or Rest, who will refuse to answer, Rest? This is the Cause why it is said, he is carried off lest Malice should change his Understanding. For this is said, according to the Dangers of this Life, not according to God's Prescience, who has foreseen what was to happen, and not what was not to happen.*

Whence the same Doctor, in the same Book, *c. 12.* reprimands the *Semipelagians*, for teaching that Infants were baptized or not baptized, in that State of Infancy, for their future Merits, before they departed this Life. For as those Merits are never to happen, and are never foreseen by God, Regard is to be had, neither to the Reward, nor to the Punishment.

But he had already condemn'd in the *Pelagians*, the Futilities and Cavillations of the Science of Conditionals, as well in the Epistle to Pope *Boniface*, as in the 195 to *Sextus*.

Several Places of the Scripture are quoted in Defence of that Science of Conditional, which are easily resolv'd, if we consider that the sacred Scripture does not deviate much from our common Manner of Speaking, and employs often the same Figure used by profane Authors, to express Things otherwise than the Terms would do it, v. g. when *Christ* says, *Luke xix. 40. Si hii tacuerunt, lapides clamabunt.* There is there neither Falshood nor Lye, but only a Beauty and Energy of Expression, and not a Prediction of the Stones speaking, if the Apostles were to remain silent.

Therefore some Things are said future, in the sacred Writings, even absolutely, which notwithstanding are not to happen, viz. to declare the near Propensity or Disposition of the second Causes; or to shew likewise the imminent Danger, that thereby one may be more ready to implore God's Clemency, and to lead a better Life. v. g. *Lib. 2. Reg. c. 20.* It is said to *Hezekiah*, thou shalt die, and notwithstanding fifteen Years more are added to his Life. Likewise *Jonah, c. 3. v. 4.* we read this Prophecy, *Adhuc quadraginta dies, & Ninive subvertetur.* Which notwithstanding was not destroy'd. Therefore these, and other such Passages, are calculated to awake Sinners from their Lethargy, persuade them to mend their Life, and to implore Succours from Heaven, and likewise to shew the Disposition of the second Causes, rather than to declare what is to happen.

Likewise when *Christ* says, *Matt. xi. 21. Væ tibi Corozain, væ tibi Bethsaida, quia si in Tyro & Sidone factæ essent virtutes, quæ factæ sunt in vobis, olim in celicio & cinere penitentiam egissent;* the Design of our Saviour is not to prophesie, but to reproach the *Jeros*, who inhabited those Cities, with the Hardness of their Heart. Therefore God, in this Place, prophetises nothing, but only reproaches the *Jeros* with their present Incredulity, whom he saw had resisted that Measure of Grace, to which he knew the *Tyrians* had rendered themselves sensible.

If I be asked why the same Miracles had not been operated

operated among the *Tyrians*, and *Sidonians*, which were operated among the *Jews*, and which could have excited them to Repentance; I'll answer with St. *Augustin*, because by a higher Judgment they were not separated from the Mass of Perdition, by the Grace of Predestination.

Therefore when David asketh God, 1 Sam. xxiii. 12. *If the Men of Keilah will betray him?* and the Lord answers, *They will betray him*; this does not denote the future Prodition of David, which did not happen, but the present Will of the Inhabitants of that City, who meditated to betray David.

Likewise in 2 Kings xiii. 18. and following, *Joash*, by *Elisba's* Command, struck the Earth thrice, and afterwards stopped; and it is recorded, that the Man of God, irritated at it, expresses himself thus: *Si percussisses quinquies, aut sexies, five septies, percussisses Syriam usque ad consumptionem, nunc autem tribus vicibus percutes eam*. In this there is no Futurity intended, nothing was future; but the Prophet gives King *Joash* to understand, that if he had obey'd with more Confidence, and Perseverance, the Command of God, he had gained a greater Number, and more compleat Victories over his Enemies.

Therefore by these Passages, and others commonly alledged, the Science of conditional Futures, is not always established; but only a certain Connection between the Causes of Things, viz. between Merit and Reward, Punishment and Sin, is demonstrated by Locutions adapted to our common Way of Speaking.

From this I'll pass to the Consideration of God's WILL, who being a very simple Being, his Understanding is nothing else but the divine Essence itself, or God consider'd as intelligent; and his Will nothing else but the same divine Essence consider'd as willing; therefore if we speak with Accuracy, and as the Thing is in fact, there is but one Will in God; but by Reason of the Narrowness of our Conceptions, it is commonly divided into several Sorts of Wills.

1. Into *general* and *special Will*. God's *general Will* is, that whereby he has established a certain Order in Things, which is always kept, unless opposed, or obstructed by some particular Causes, v. g. he has established that the Motion of all Bodies should be in a right Line, as the shortest and most simple; unless obstructed by some neighbouring Bodies, which often happens. Likewise he has created all Men for himself, and is willing that they all should come to him and be happy; but too often their Pravity revolts against his Goodness; therefore this Will is not adapted to some particular Thing only, to the Exclusion of all others, but is common indifferently to all Things in general.

The *special* or *particular Will*, is that whereby God has determined something in particular; and this is again subdivided into *Will of Pleasure*, or *Bene placiti*, and *Will of Sign*, or *Signi*.

The *Will of Pleasure*, is that whereby God is pleased that something should be; or is the Act whereby God wills, in fact, some Good because it pleases him, v. g. he will, of a *Will of Pleasure*, preserve the World he has created. He would by the same Will chuse the Blessed Virgin to be the Mother of *Christ*; where it must be observ'd, that we can only wish Good to the Thing or Person we love; but God in loving the Creatures, does not only wish them Good, but produces that Good within them.

The *Will of Sign* is not properly in God, but is an external Sign whereby God discovers that he wills something; for the Sign of the Will is called Will, as the Effect of Love is called Love.

St. *Thomas*, 1 part. quest. 19. art. 12. reckons five of those Signs, viz. *Prohibition*, as *Permission*, with Regard to Evil; *Precept*, *Advice*, and *Operation* with Regard to Good: Whence this small Verse:

Præcipit, ac prohibet, permittit, consulit, implet.

Therefore when God commands or advises some Good, he wills something efficaciously, viz. a Sign, or a Precept, or an Advice; but he wills not always efficaciously the Thing he commands; v. gr. when he commanded *Abraham* to sacrifice his Son, he would command that

Thing with an efficacious Will, though he was not willing that the Thing should happen, but only that *Abraham* should obey the divine Command. Likewise God permits, and will permit Sin; but he wills not the Sin, since he hates and punishes it.

Likewise he forbids Sin, but notwithstanding concurs with Man to perpetrate it; therefore the *Will of Sign*, includes always the Will of Pleasure with regard to the Sign; but does not always include it with regard to the Thing thereby signified.

Note, That St. *John Damascenus* gives other Names to our first Division of God's Will, into general and special, and calls it, *Lib. 2. Orthodox. Fid. c. 29.* antecedent and subsequent.

The *Antecedent Will* is call'd by St. *John Damascenus*, *Bene placitum*, and is the Will of the Creator loving the Things he has produced. And the *Consequent Will* is called *Permission*, proceeding from our own depraved Condition; and is the Will of a just Judge, giving to every one what he deserves; as expressed by *Tertullian*, *Lib. de Resurrect. carnis. c. 14.* when he says, that God is, *De se optimum; de nostro justum*.

This General or *Antecedent Will*, is not always accomplished, but is inefficacious, and remains suspended by the Conditions, as I'll explain it hereafter.

But the *Will of Pleasure* is always accomplished. Therefore the *Antecedent Will* is not always a Will of Pleasure, though called *Bene placitum* by St. *John Damascenus*. But the *Consequent Will*, which the same Father calls *Permission*, is a Will, *Bene placiti*, according to St. *Thomas*, or an *Efficacious* and *Special Will*; so that the *Consequent Will*, the *Efficacious Will*, and the Will *Bene placiti*, signifies, in his Opinion, one and the same Thing.

Estius considers, likewise, the *Consequent Will* as efficacious, but not the *Antecedent Will*. Whence, *Lib. 1. Magist. Sentent. distinct. 46. Paragraph. 3.* he agrees with those, who believes that the *Antecedent Will* is only eminently and improperly in God, as are Wrath, Repentance, &c. but not properly and formally, because it seems to argue some Defect or Impotency.

The *Antecedent Will* is that whereby God, in our Manner of conceiving Things, wills something consider'd in itself only, before its Circumstances are consider'd.

The *Consequent Will* is that whereby God wills something consider'd with all its Circumstances.

The *Antecedent Will* is also called by St. *Chrysostom*, *Hom. 1. in Epist. ad Ephes.* the first Will, and the *Consequent*, the second Will.

God's Will, is also divided into *absolute* and *conditional*, because the divine Will is either that whereby God wills actually by an internal Decree, that such a Thing should be or not be; and in this Manner, that Will is absolute, and supposes no Condition; such was the Will whereby God, foreseeing Sin, would have his Son incarnate, or it is that whereby God by an internal Act, wills something under certain Conditions; such is the Will whereby he wills all Men to be saved, viz. provided they co-operate with him.

If I be asked, if both these Wills are always accomplished? I answer, 1. That the absolute Will is always accomplished, and efficacious, as it appears by the Scripture, *Esther* xiii. *None can resist thy Will.* And *Isaiah* xlv. *My Counsel shall remain, and all my Will be accomplished.* *Rom. ix. Who can resist his Will?* 2. That the Will, called *Conditional*, is not always accomplished. The Reason is, because to be accomplished, it requires a certain Condition; and it sometimes happens, that the Condition is not put; whence it follows, that the *Conditional Will* is not always efficacious, nor always accomplished. For Example, God wills the Conversion of Sinners, with this Condition, that they co-operate to the Grace. But it is certain, that some will not co-operate to it; then the Will whereby God wills the Conversion of Sinners, is not always accomplished. Therefore it is not surprizing, if *Christ*, *Matt. xxiii.* asked *Jerusalem*, *How often he would assemble her Children, &c. and she would not?*

God's Will is divided besides into efficacious, and ineffica-

inefficacious; because *God's Will* is either that whereby *God* by an internal Act wills in such a Manner that something should happen, that it happens, and thus the Will is efficacious; or is that whereby *God* by an internal Act, wills that something should happen, and it does not happen, and thus the Will is inefficacious. Let an Example of the former Will, be that Will whereby *God* wills the Salvation of those who are saved; and that of the latter to be that Will whereby he wills the Salvation of those who are not saved.

But, say you, is not all *God's Will* efficacious? According to this of the Psalmist, *Psal. cxiv. Omnia quaecumque voluit, fecit.* I answer in the Affirmative, if it be a Question of the *Consequent Will*, and in the Negative, if of all Sorts of *Antecedent Wills* indifferently.

The primary Object of *God's Will* is *God* himself, because he is the supreme Good, and the Source of all other Goods; and having operated all Things for himself.

The secondary Object of *God's Will* are the Creatures themselves; because *God* wills the Creatures not so much for themselves as for himself.

The primary formal Object of *God's Will*, is the increased Goodness of *God*; because according to the Scripture, *God* has created all Things for himself; and because the Motive of *God* to love himself, and all Things without him, must be in *God*, and undistinct from him; for if the divine Volition, had a Motive distinct from itself, it would follow hence, that it would be specified by a created Thing, which is an Absurdity; therefore the sole divine Goodness is the formal Object of the divine Will; and the chief Motive for which *God* wills and loves all Things.

The secondary formal Object of the divine Will, is the Goodness of the Creatures; because, though it be not the last, it is however the nearest Motive for which he loves them.

A very important Question relating to the divine Will is, if that Will be the Cause of Things; and if it imposes a Necessity on created Things?

To the first Part of this Question, I answer, that the Will of *God* is the Cause of Things; which I prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason. By the Scripture, *Psal. cxlviii. For he did spake the Word and they were made, he commanded and they were created.* By the Fathers, especially *St. Augustin, Lib. 3. de Trinit. c. 4.* in these Words, *God's Will is the first and sovereign Cause of all corporeal Species and Motions.* By Reason, because *God* is an intellectual Agent, who acts by Power no otherwise than it is applied by the Free-Will: The Reason of this is, because if he was necessitated to produce the Creatures, he would produce all he could, which however happens otherwise; therefore it is a Sign that he has produced, and produces them freely.

To the second Part of the Question, I answer, that the divine Will imposes a Necessity to some Volitions, but not to all.

I prove the first Part of this Answer, *viz.* that the divine Will imposes a Necessity to some Volitions, by the Scripture, and by Reason. By the Scripture, *Psal. civ. Thou hast set them their Bounds which they shall not pass.* By Reason, because he imposes a Necessity to those Volitions, at least, to which he has appropriated necessary Causes, *v. g.* in producing the Summer's Heat, he had adapted the Sun nearer, and to dart his Rays in a more direct Line. To the necessary Cause must be also referred that Cause, which tho' free, acts notwithstanding in some as a natural Cause.

I prove the second Part of the Answer, *viz.* that *God* does not impose a Necessity to all Volitions, by the Scripture, the Councils, the Fathers, and by Reason. By the Scripture, *Eccles. xv. Apposui tibi ignem & aquam, ad quam volueris porrigere manum tuam. Ante hominem vita & mors, bonum & malum; quod placuerit ei dabitur illi, i. e. I have put before thee, the Fire and Water, that thou might extend thy Hand towards which thou please. Life and Death, Good and Evil are before Man, he shall have which of them he chuses.* By the Councils, particularly that of *Sense, in Decret. lidei. Decret. 15. de Libero Arbitrio.* By the Fathers, particularly *St. Augustin*, in several Places, but most particularly *Tract. 26.*

†

in *Joan.* By Reason, because he does not impose a Necessity on those Wills, to which he has appropriated, free, contingent, and defectible Causes, *i. e.* Causes which are not to operate always in the same Manner. Such are the human Acts, which depend on Mens Wills, which are contingent and defectible.

The next important Question is, If *God's Will* be immutable? Which I answer in the Affirmative, and prove my Answer by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason. By the Scripture, *Numb. xxiii. God is not like Man, that he should lye, nor like the Son of Man that he should change. Prov. ix. There are several Thoughts in the Heart of Man; but the Will of God endures for ever. And Malach. iii. For I am the Lord, and I do not change.* By the Fathers, particularly *St. Augustin, Lib. xii. de civit. c. 17. We are not permitted to believe, says he, that God is otherwise affected when he rests from his Work, than when he operates; because he is not to be said affected, as if something should happen in his Nature, which was not in it before; for he who is affected suffers; and any Thing that suffers something is mutable. Therefore we must not imagine the least Idleness and Indolency, when he rests; no more than Work, Toil, and Industry, when he operates; for he knows how to work when at Rest, and how to rest when he works.* By Reason, because what is immutable, with Regard to the Disposition of his Substance and his Knowledge, is also immutable in his Will.

If I be asked if there is Love in *God*? I'll answer in the Affirmative; and prove it by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason. By the Scripture, *Wisd. xi. Diligit omnia quæ sunt. John xxiii. God has thus loved the World, as to give him his only Son. xvi. For the Father himself loves you. 1 John iv. God is Charity.* By the Fathers, especially *St. Augustin*, in several Places, but more particularly *Tract. 110. in Joan. Omnia diligit Deus quæ fecit; & inter ea magis diligit Creaturas rationales & ex illis amplius illas quæ sunt membra unigeniti, & multo magis ipsum unigenitum, i. e. God loves all the Things he has made; and among those he loves best, the rational Creatures; and of these more, those who are Members of his only Son; and much more, his only Son himself.—By Reason, because Love is the first Act of the Will.*

From this Passage of *St. Augustin* we can infer, that *God* loves all the Creatures, but in a different Manner.

That he loves all the Creatures, appears from the Passages of the Scripture above quoted; and from that all Beings, as they are Beings, are good; but *God* loves all that's good, therefore he loves all the Creatures.

If I be asked, if he loves Sinners? I'll answer, that he loves them as Beings, but not as Sinners; since, according to the Doctrine of the Fathers, Sin taken formally is nothing else but a Privation of due Righteousness and Goodness.

He loves them in a different Manner; because he loves the rational Creatures of a Love of Amity and Benevolency; and the irrational, of a Love of Concupiscence.

I may be asked, if *God* loves equally all the rational Creatures? To which I answer, that if it be a Question of an affective Love, he loves them all equally, because *God's* Volition is always the same in itself, being neither subject to Increase, nor to Diminution. But if it be a Question of an effective Love, he does not love them all equally, because he does not distribute equally among them all the Goods of Nature, or of Grace.

Besides Love, *God* is susceptible of Joy, Desire, Sorrow, Fear, and the like, answering to our Passions.

Note, That it is not a Question here, If *God* be subject to Passions, for it is certain that he is not; since the Passions are Motions of the sensitive Appetite, of which *God* is not susceptible, since he has no Body; but only of the Motions of the intellective Appetite; which Motion *God* is susceptible of, either properly or metaphorically.

The Motions of the intellective Appetite, of which *God* is susceptible, properly, are Love and Joy; for these two Motions include no Imperfections in themselves. I have already proved, that *God* is susceptible of Love; there-

therefore it remains to prove, that he is likewise susceptible of Joy; which I do by the Scripture, *Luke xv. There is a great Joy in Heaven at the Conversion of a Sinner, &c.* And also by Reason, because Joy is a certain Quietation of the Will, in the Object of its Volition, as possessed, and present; which Quietation is in God, for he reposes in himself, as in the principal Object of his Volition, because he has, in himself, all Sufficiency, as a Being infinitely perfect, and independant.

The other Motions which belong to God, but *metaphorically*, are Desire, Flight, Sorrow, Hope, Despair, Fear, Wrath, &c. because they are not in him, according to their proper Signification; *Hope* and *Despair*, for Example, regard a difficult, or arduous Good; *Hope*, with the Possibility of obtaining it; and *Despair*, with the Impossibility of obtaining it; but nothing is difficult or impossible to God: Therefore, &c. and thus of all the rest of these Motions.

The next Attribute of God, which falls under our Consideration, is his *Providence*.

PROVIDENCE, is a certain eternal Disposition, whereby every Thing is directed towards its particular End, and all together to the universal End, viz. to God's Glory. Tho' the Bodies and Minds tend in a different Manner to their respective End: For the Minds move themselves by their own Liberty; and want, for acting, but only the ordinary Succours, or Concourse of God; but the Bodies, being incapable to move of themselves, must be moved, and determined by God, according to the Rules prescribed by him, which they cannot transgress.

These Laws, or Rules, whereby the Bodies are moved, was called *Fate* by the Pagans; and which was consider'd as a certain Declaration, and which some of them, as *Democritus*, *Heraclitus*, *Empedocles*, &c. imagined, to impose an irresistible Necessity on the Mind, as well as on the Bodies; but others attributed that Necessity to the Bodies only.

According to this last, and more reasonable Sentiment, *Fate* is defined by *Bætius*, lib. 4. de *Consol. Philosoph. prof. 6. inbarens rebus mobilibus dispositio, per quam providentia habet quæque necesse ordinibus*, i. e. a certain very regular Distribution of the Motions of all Bodies, whereby all Bodies are moved towards the Ends ordained for them: But as those Motions cannot force the human Wills, those Wills tend towards their End by their own proper Determination, and free Acts.

Notwithstanding this free Determination of the human Will, Men cannot obtain, by their natural Strength, their last End, or the beatifick Vision of God, for which they are created. For a supernatural End, such as is God's Possession, or a most agreeable Union with God, seen and beloved, cannot be acquired but by supernatural Means; therefore as *Adam*, while yet in the State of Innocence, wanted a supernatural Succour of God his Creator; likewise, after the Fall of human Nature, his Posterity want the Grace of *Christ* their Saviour, which is much more powerful, in order to arrive at the eternal Felicity: Those among them, who arrive at it, are call'd *Predestinates*; and those who are debarr'd from it, *Reprobates*. Therefore, if the *divine Providence* be consider'd, with regard to Man alone, it contains in itself two Parts, viz. *Predestination*, and *Reprobation*.

Predestination, is a certain previous Destination: Whence, under that Denomination, are contained all that God has determin'd should happen from all Eternity. Hence *St. Augustin*, *Lib. de Dono Persever. c. 17. In sua*, says he, *quæ falli mutarique non potest præscientiâ, opera sua futura disponere, id omnino, nec aliud quidquam est prædestinare*. In which Manner the Name *Predestination*, is no less referr'd to Damnation and Pain, than to Salvation and Glory. Therefore God is said, by the same Doctor, in *Enchirid. ad Laurent. c. 100. Bene utens & malis tanquam summè bonus ad eorum damnationem, quos iussè prædestinavit ad penam, & ad eorum salutem, quos benignè prædestinavit ad gratiam*, i. e. to Glory, or eternal Life; for, according to the Apostle *St. Paul*, *Rom. vi. 23. The Grace of God is eternal Life*.

But however, *Predestination* is most commonly oppos'd to *Reprobation*, and is only adapted to the *Elect*;

whence it is also call'd *Election*.

Therefore *Predestination* is defined, in this Sense, a *divine Destination of the intelligent Nature to Glory, by Means of the Grace of God*. Which Definition may be understood of the *Predestination* of the Angels, as well as of that of Man, before and after the Fall of human Nature. But as the Distinction of those States, viz. of the State of *original Innocence*, and of *fallen Nature*, has appeared of very great Moment to *St. Augustin*; for to explain the Doctrine of *Predestination*, the said Doctor, *Lib. de dono persever. c. 14.* defines only the *Predestination* of the fallen Man, and to be delivered from the Servitude of Sin, in these Words: *Hæc est, prædestinatio sanctorum nihil aliud: præscientia scilicet, & preparatio beneficiorum Dei, quibus certissime liberantur, quicumque liberantur*.

It is call'd *Præscience*; by which Term some understand the Science call'd of *simple Intelligence*, whereby God knows, in general, all the Ways and Means whereby Men can be saved; before he prepares, or determines to give these, or those, Succours to these or those Men. Whence, say they, Preparation is subjoined, i. e. the Act, or Decree of the Divine Will, following the Science of *simple Intelligence*; by which Decree God prepares, or gives certain Benefits, or Means conducive to the eternal Felicity.

Others by the Term *Præscience*, understand the *Science of Vision*, which has the divine Decree joined to it. For, say they, it is not a general *Præscience* of all the Graces which God can give to all Men; but it is a special *Præscience* of the future Benefits, or Graces, whereby he has decreed to deliver those who are delivered; and therefore is joined with the Preparation of the said Benefits; and accompany God's Decree. For which Reason the same Doctor, *Lib. de prædestin. sanct. c. 10.* writes thus: *The Predestination cannot be without the Præscience, but the Præscience can be without the Predestination; for God has provided by the Predestination what he was to do*. And *Lib. de dono persever. c. 18. Predestination, is also signified by the Name of Præscience, &c.*

The Divine *Præscience*, in the holy Scripture, with respect to the *Elects*, or *Predestinates*, is a Science of *Dispensation*, and *Approbation*, or is the *Predestination* itself; but with respect to the *Wicked*, and *Reprobates*, it is a Science of *Improbation*; whereby God neither approves, nor chuses the *Reprobates*; whom, therefore, he is said not to know.

Therefore *Predestination* is together, the *Præscience* and the Preparation of God's Benefits; i. e. of all Sorts of Graces; in which consists, particularly, Vocation, Justification, and lastly final Perseverance; whereby all the *Elect* are delivered from the Servitude of Sin.

But *Predestination*, properly taken, and as defined by *St. Augustin*, regards eternal Life, its being the Preparation of God's Grace, in order to obtain eternal Life; notwithstanding which, it may be said to be to the Grace of a good Life, and to the Grace of eternal Life, according to *St. Fulgentius*, i. e. to the Means and End; or to *Grace* and *Glory*: However, the End is minded first, and in the Order, Intention precedes the Means. For those whom God has forseen, says the Apostle, *Rom. viii. 29. viz. by the Science of Vision, and of Approbation*, which has for Adjunct the divine Decree, i. e. those he has chosen by a Predilection, before the Creation of the World, or has decreed in his *Præscience* to make his, *he has predestinated them to be conform to the Image of his Son . . . and has called those he has predestinated, and justified those he has called; and glorified those he has justified*; by which Expressions, the *Predestination* to Glory is indicated to be before the Vocation; and the Vocation before the Justification. But in the Order of Execution, the Vocation is first; then follows Justification, and lastly Glorification.

Note, That the Vocation to be understood here, is not all Sorts of Vocation; for several, according to the Doctrine of *Christ* himself, *Matt. xx. 16. are called, and but very few elected*: But only the Vocation, *secundum propositum*, as the Apostle speaks, *Rom. viii. 28. i. e. according to the eternal Decree of God*, whereby,

of

of his mere Goodness, he has called those he has determined should be Partakers of the eternal Glory : And consequently Justification, final Perseverance, and Glorification itself, follow this Sort of Vocation.

Therefore those who are justified, and do not persevere to the End in the Justice they have received, are called Temporal by St. *Augustin*, *lib. de Correp. & Grat. num. 42.* and *Lib. de don. persever. num. 57, & 61* ; as it had been insinuated before by Christ, *Matt. xiii. 21.* *Mark iv. 17.* and *Luk. viii. 13.*

But as *Adam's* Descendants are born in Sin, and therefore cannot merit of themselves Grace or Glory, it is evident, that they are not predestinated either to Grace or Glory, for their Merits foreseen, but by the pure gratuite Benignity of God. Which Sentiment is confirmed by the Apostle St. *Paul*, in several Places of his Epistles, as in that to *Titus*, Chap. iii. 5. *He has not saved us for the acts of Justice we have done, but according to his Mercy.* And to the *Romans*, Chap. xi. 5. *What remains is saved, according to the Election of Grace ; i. e. as God answered Elias*, complaining that the Prophets had been put to Death by the impious *Jews*, who had worshipped the Idols, *that he had saved for himself* (for they did not save themselves) *seven thousand Men who had not bowed their Knees before Baal* : Likewise, at that Time, after the Gospel had been preached, few are left of the infinite Multitude of Men that perish, who according to the Election of Grace, are made Partakers of the eternal Life : *For if it be by Grace, it is not by the Works, otherwise Grace were not Grace.* And Chap. ix. of the same Epistle, *ver. 11, 12, 13.* *For since they were not born yet, to act any Thing good or bad (that what God had proposed according to the Election should remain) not from the Works, but from him who calls, it is said to him ; because the greater shall serve the lesser, as it is written, I have loved Jacob, and hated Esau.* Which Place of the Scripture St. *Augustin*, in *Enchir. de fide, spe, & charitate, c. 98.* explains in this Manner : *Wherein*, says he, *if God designed we should understand the future Works, either good of this, or bad of that, which Works God foresees likewise, he had not said, not of the Works ; but had said, on the contrary, from future Works.* And *Lib. 2. contra duas Epist. Pelagian. c. 7.* he reprimands them thus : *Certainly you are mad, when contrary to what the Oracle Truth himself has pronounced, that it is not from the Works, but from him that calls, you say that Jacob was beloved for the future good Works God did foresee he would do ; and thus contradict the Apostle, who says not of the Works ; as if he could not as well have said, not from the present, but from the future Works ; but he says not from the Works, to prize Grace.*

But to take off all Occasion of Doubt, with regard to the Meaning of the Apostle, and to shew clearly that the Dilection mentioned in these Words, *I have loved Jacob*, is entirely gratuite ; we must observe what the Apostle answers to the Objection which he makes to himself, *ver. 19.* *for who can resist his Will ?*

To solve this Objection, he has not Recourse to the Prevision of future Merits, which Solution would be very easy, if it was a true one ; but represents the Mystery of Predestination as incomprehensible to human Nature, by this Answer : *O homo tu quis es qui respondeas Deo ? numquid dicit figmentum ei qui se finxit, quid me fecisti sic ? an non habet potestatem figulus lutu ex eadem massa facere aliud quidem vas in honorem, aliud in contumeliam ?* And towards the End of the eleventh Chapter he concludes this whole Dispute of the Predestination of Saints, by these Words : *O altitudo divitiarum sapientie & scientie Dei : quam incomprehensibilia sunt judicia ejus, & investigabiles viæ ejus !* But the Mystery of the Predestination would not be impenetrable, if it was from the foreseen Merits.

Pelagius, an *English* Monk, preached this Doctrine towards the Year of *Christ* 1410, That Predestination to Glory was the Effect of our own Merits foreseen of God ; which Merits were entirely natural, and depending entirely of the good Use we make of our Free-Will ; and were not perfected by the Grace of *Christ* ! It is true that he admitted the Name of Grace, but he placed

it only in the Law, and the Doctrine, and in the Example of *Christ*. Therefore he maintained, and all the *Pelagians* with him, that the Sin of *Adam* had affected him only, and none of his Descendants ; and consequently we were free of the original Sin, and capable by our own Strength to merit the eternal Glory.

The *Semipelagians* acknowledged the original Sin, and the Necessity of a Regeneration by Baptism ; but they were of Opinion that we could operate the Beginning of our Salvation. This is what St. *Prosper* writes of them in his Epistle to St. *Augustin* : *Their Definition and Profession*, says he, *is, that all Men have sinned in Adam ; and that no Body is saved by his Works, but by the Grace of God ; notwithstanding which, a Propitiation, which is in the Sacrament of the Blood of Christ, is proposed to all without Exception ; that whosoever will profess the Faith of Christ, and be baptized, may be saved. And those who believe, and remain in that Faith, which ever after is to be assisted by the Grace of God, God had foreseen, and predestinated them to the Inheritance of his Kingdom, as worthy of it.*

When they were asked what were their Sentiment with Regard to Infants, who having not yet the Use of their Liberty, some were called to the Grace of Baptism, and others not ? They had Recourse to the Science exploratrice of conditional Futures ; which we learn likewise from St. *Prosper*. *They say, that such are lost, and such are saved, whom the divine Science has foreseen what they had been, if they had arrived to more mature Years.* They thought the same of those Nations, who in past Ages were permitted to follow their own Ways ; or who, at this present Time, perish in their antient Ignorance.

But this Manner of explaining the Mystery of Predestination, cannot be reconciled with that of the Catholic Church. For, 1. The divine Science never foresees Things which are never to happen ; which we have already sufficiently proved. Besides, if God was to expect the Consent of our Will before he would give us his Grace, the Beginning of our Faith and Salvation would be from us, not from God ; therefore God should not discern us, but we should discern ourselves, contrary to the Doctrine of the Apostle, 1 *Cor. iv. 7.* *Who maketh thee to differ from another ? what hast thou that thou hast not received ? If thou hast received it, why should thou glory, as if thou had not received it ?* And Epist. to the *Ephesians*, Chap. i. 4. *He has elected us in himself, before the Creation of the World, that we may be holy and immaculate in his Presence, in Charity.* The Apostle don't say, that he has elected us, because he has foreseen that we were to be holy, but that we should be holy ; to shew, that Holiness and Justice are the Effect, not the Cause of our Election. Which Testimony St. *Augustin* employs against the *Pelagians*, *Lib. de prædest. sanct. c. 18.* *Therefore God has elected us in Christ before the Creation of the World, predestinating us in the Adoption of Children ; not because we were to be immaculate, and holy of ourselves ; but he has chosen and predestinated us that we should be holy, and has acted us according to his own Will, that none should glory of his own Ability, but only of the Will of God.*

The same Doctor, *c. 12.* of the same Book, shews that the Prevision of Merits can have no Place in Infants, because they either die after Baptism, and are made Partakers of the eternal Glory ; or before Baptism, and are sent into external Darkness. Neither is it to be attributed to the Care or Neglect of Parents, that Infants are not regenerated by Baptism, or die without it ; for, says he, *Lib. de don. persever. c. 12.* *God wills not, sometimes, that Baptism should be administered to an Infant, though its Parents make all the haste imaginable to have Ministers ready for that Administration ; and he does not keep him alive long enough to receive it.*

Those who say that the Predestination to Grace is gratuite, whereby we deserve the eternal Glory ; but that eternal Glory is granted to our Merits, say nothing. For they only consider the Order of Execution, whereby it is certain, that the Works done by the Succours of God's Grace, precede the Glory which is the Reward of good Works ; but if we consider the Order of Intention, Grace does not precede the Glory, but follows it.

But

But however, I do not pretend by this Doctrine of gratuite Predestination, to establish or countenance Fate or Despair, or Indolency in acting; for whosoever is predestinated, *gratis*, to eternal Salvation, it is by his good Works, done by the preventing and preparing Grace of our Saviour. Whence by Predestination, they have the Happiness to hear the Gospel preached to them; they have the Occasions of acting well; they obtain by their Prayers, and by those of their Friends, to persevere to the End, in the Love of *Christ*, &c. which Benefits are all compriz'd in the Definition of Predestination.

Therefore, whosoever, says St. *Augustin*, *Lib. de Correp. & grat. c. 7.* is saved from Original Damnation, by this divine Grace; no doubt but they are favour'd with hearing the Gospel, and when they hear it, to believe what they hear; and to persevere in the Faith operated by Dilection; and if they sometimes forget themselves, when reprimanded they amend; and some of them, though not reprimanded by Men, return of themselves into the Road they had forsaken; and some are carried off by Death immediately after they have received the Grace, and thereby delivered from the Dangers they had been exposed to in this Life. All this is operated in those by him who has made them Vases of Mercy; and who has chosen them in his Son, before the Creation of the World by the Election of Grace. For if Grace be depending on Works, Grace then is not Grace. For they are not thus called, as not to be elect; for which it is said, several are called but few are elect. But because they are called *secundum Propositum*, they are certainly Elect by the Election of Grace, without any Regard to preceding Merits, for Grace is their whole Merit.

It is proper to enquire in this Place, which are the Effects and Signs of Predestination formally taken?

Note, That that is said the Effect of Predestination, formally taken, which is done by that efficacious Will, whereby God has decreed to lead Men to eternal Life. Whence it appears, that some certain Conditions are requir'd to such Effect; the first of which is, that such Effect be of God, as Predestination itself is of God. For Want of this first Condition, Sin cannot properly be said the Effect of Predestination, though it falls under the Prescience of God. The second, that this Effect should proceed from the Merits of *Christ*. The third, that it should actually import Glory, either formally or dispositively, *viz.* by contributing to the actual Acquisition of an eternal Life; these pre-observed,

I say first, that the divine Vocation, Justification, and Glorification, are the principal Effects of Predestination, to which all others are refer'd. Which I prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason. By the Scripture, *Rom. viii.* He has called those he has predestinated, and justified those he has called, and glorified those he has justified. By the Fathers, particularly St. *Fulgentius*, *Lib. ad Monim.* Where all Things, says he, and the Beginning of our Vocation, and the Increase of our Justification, and the Reward of our Glorification, God has always had in the Predestination; because he has always foreseen the future Works of his Grace, in the Vocation, Justification, and Glorification of the Saints. By Reason, the aforesaid Conditions requisite to such an Effect, are agreeable to Vocation, Justification, and Glorification, as being of God, from a special Intention of Salvation, and given by *Christ*, having a Connection with the actual Affecution of Salvation. That Effect is double, *viz.* Grace and Glory; but as that Grace is double, *viz.* one of Vocation, and the other habitual, called Grace of Justification, or sanctifying Grace; it happens, that that first Effect, called Grace, being subdivided, there are three principal Effects of Predestination.

I have said that the three aforesaid Effects, are the principal of several others, and that all the rest may be refer'd to them; because it may be said justly, 1. That all the Succours, not only internal, but likewise the external, which concur with the internal to Justification; such as the external Predication of the Gospel, the Birth and Education from Christian Parents, the Re-

moval of the Occasions of Sin, conversing with good and pious People, fraternal Correction, &c. are reduced to the Grace of Vocation. 2. That all other supernatural Habits, which are infused with the habitual Grace, *viz.* of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and the Habits of all other supernatural Virtues, are reduced to the Grace of Justification. Likewise the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, sacramental Graces, and the Gift of Perseverance. 3. That to Justification can be reduced all those Gifts of an accidental Glory, which regard either the Soul, or the Body. For those, and the like Gifts proceed from that Benevolence and Charity, whereby God loves the Predestinates for their Merits.

Notwithstanding that several of those Goods, which are the less considerable Effects of Predestination, are not entitatively supernatural; for it suffices that they are conducive towards eternal Salvation, and are granted by God, through the Merits of *Christ*, to that particular End, though they are not the Effects of Predestination, as consider'd simply, according to what they are in themselves. Thus the Goods of Fortune can be said, sometimes, to be the Effects of Predestination, when they serve to give Alms in View of obtaining an everlasting Kingdom. As we learn from the Scripture, *Matt. xxv.* Come ye Blessed of my Father, possess the Kingdom which is prepar'd for you, for I was hungry and you gave me Meat, &c. Let the same be said of Evil, Pain, Poverty, Sicknefs, Death, Loss of Children, &c. since those Things are ordain'd from God, through the Merits of *Christ*, for our Salvation; for it is written, *Rom. viii.* That to those who love God, all Things co-operate in Good, &c.

From what we have said, it may be infer'd, that those Things which are not entitatively supernatural, can, notwithstanding, through the Merits of *Christ*, contribute to our Salvation, and are the Effects of Predestination only by Accident, *viz.* as far as they help the Predestinates by some Motive of a supernatural Order, to acquire the everlasting Glory.

If I be asked, if Sin, or the Permission of Sin, may be ranked among the Effects of Predestination? I'll answer in the Negative; because the Conditions requir'd for an Effect of Predestination, properly so called, are in no Manner convenient to Sin; for that which God hates is not from him. But God hates the Impious, and his Impiety; therefore, &c. besides Sin is not by the Merits of *Christ*, since it is opposite and destructive of the Grace of *Christ*; therefore far from contributing to the Acquisition of eternal Life, it is rather an Obstacle to it. Who in his Senses can imagine, that Sin is one of those Benefits prepar'd by God, for the Deliverance of those who are deliver'd?

Another important Question is, If Predestination be certain, and so certain, as to impose a Necessity on the Predestinates?

Note, That, before I answer this Question, we must observe, 1. That by the Name of Certitude is generally understood the Infallibility of the Assent agreeable to the Thing understood. 2. That the Certitude of Predestination may be consider'd in two Manners, 1. With Respect to itself. 2. With Respect to us. These pre-observ'd,

I say, 1. That Predestination is certain with Respect to itself, or according to itself; but not with Respect to us, ordinarily speaking, at least of a perfect Certitude.

I prove the first Part of this Answer, *viz.* that it is certain according to itself, by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason. By the Scripture, *Isa. xli.* All my Counsel shall remain, and my Will will be accomplished. *John x.* My Sheep hear my Voice, and I give them eternal Life, and they shall not perish to all Eternity, and no Body shall ravish them from my Hand. By the Fathers, particularly St. *Augustin*, *Lib. de corrup. & grat. c. 7.* and 8. where he speaks thus, If any of the Predestinates perish, God is deceived. But none of them perish, because God is not deceiv'd; whence it is not surprizing, if Predestination be defin'd by him, the Prescience, and Preparation of God's Benefits, whereby those that are deliver'd are certainly deliver'd. Likewise by St. *Fulgen.* *Lib. ad Monim. c. 12.* And *Lib. de fide ad Petrum. c. 31.*

Be persuaded, says he, that none of those can perish, whom God has predestinated to the Kingdom of Heaven. By Reason, because what God has efficaciously decreed, and what he has foreseen, is very certain, since his Prescience, which is very perfect, cannot be deceiv'd, nor his Decree hindered, God being omnipotent; but he has decreed that the Predestinates should be eternally happy, and has foreseen that such Happiness should happen; therefore Predestination is very certain, since its Object is very certain. Notwithstanding that it is possible for a Predestinate to sin mortally in a divided Sense, for it suffices that it is not possible in a composite Sense.

I prove the second Part of my Answer, viz. that Predestination is not ordinarily certain with Respect to us, at least of a perfect Certitude, by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason. — By the Scripture, *Rom. xi. Tu fide stas, noli altum sapere, sed time.* Here the Apostle treats of the Predestination to Grace; but if this is not certain with Respect to us, neither is the Predestination to Glory certain. Whence it is not surprizing, if the Apostle, uncertain of his own Predestination, was so severe to himself, that he says *1 Cor. ix. I chastise my Body, and reduce it into Servitude, lest, perhaps, after I have preached to others, I may become a Reprobate myself.* By the Fathers, particularly St. Chrysostom, *Hom. 11. in Epist. ad Philip.* where, on these Words of the Apostle, *Si quomodo occurrat*, he says, that the Apostle does not dare to affirm, that he shall occur and comprehend, but only speaks as if he doubted. By Reason, because if there was any Certitude of Predestination with Respect to us, that Certitude would either be of the Predestination known in itself, or known by something else; but there is no Certitude of Predestination considered in these two Manners: Not in the first, for who can penetrate it? Thus consider, *Are not God's Judgments inscrutable?* Nor in the second, because it would be known either by Faith or Science; but not by Faith, since he who is justified, is not obliged to believe, as an Article of Faith, that he is of the Number of the Predestinates; nor by Science, because there is no Means *a priori*, or *posteriori*, whereby a Predestinate can have an evident and certain Knowledge of his Predestination. Add, that if we could be certain of it, it would be unconceivable why the Scripture should exhort us so often to fear.

Note, That I have said in the first Proposition, *ordinary*, to give to understand that Predestination, even with Respect to us, can be *extraordinarily* certain, by a Revelation from God.

I have said *at least of a perfect Certitude*, to insinuate, that it can be certain of a moral Certitude, and that there can be some Signs, whereby our Predestination can be probably known; such as those contain'd in the eight Beatitudes of St. Matt. v. to which is added an ardent Desire of Hearing, Reading, and Teaching the Word of God, the frequent Use of the Sacraments, a true and sudden Conversion, a Zeal for the Honour of God, and of the Salvation of Souls, the frequent Thoughts of God, the Desire of Suffering for Christ, Patience in Afflictions, a Contempt for the World, and Love for celestial Things, a perpetual and constant Will of doing Good, always the same regular Course of Life, accompanied with a great and true Humility; and above all, the Profession of Faith. According to this of *John i. He gave them the Power to become the Sons of God, viz. to those who believe.* Likewise the Hearing of the Word of God, with the firm Resolution of observing it. According to this other of *John viii. He who is of God, hears the Words of God; therefore, you do not hear it, because you are not of God.* And *Chap. x. My Sheep hear my Voice.* *Luke xi. Blessed are those who hear the Word of God, and keep it.*

From what we have said it may be inferred, that the Signs of Predestination are some Effects whereby the Elect, as by some certain Marks, can acquire a very probable and almost certain Knowledge of his Election.

My Answer to the second Part of the Question is, that Predestination does not impose a Necessity on the Predestinates; because, whether we consider Vocation,

or Justification, or Glorification, none of them deprives us of our Liberty, but it remains still, in some Manner, in our Power, as it will appear by the Induction. For,

1. As to Vocation, the Thing is clear, because, tho' the preventing Grace whereby we are called, prevented, and excited, be not in our Power, as defined in the Council of Orange, c. 3. and 4. and it plainly appears from Scripture, *Joan. 6. Nemo venit ad me, nisi Pater meus traxerit eum.* And *Rom. ix. Non est volentis, neque currentis, sed miserentis Dei*; it is notwithstanding in our Power to consent to our Vocation, and the preventing Grace; for we consent to it, and co-operate with it freely; as it appears by the Scripture, which exhorts us to obey to the Vocation of God, and reprimands those who will not obey.

2. As to the Justification of Man, at least of an Adult, the Thing is clear; because his Justification depends of God, and of the Disposition whereby he disposes himself to the Infusion of the Grace of Justification, and of all the other supernatural Habits joined with it. For, as an Adult, prevented and excited by the Succours of an actual Grace, can freely consent and co-operate with God calling and exciting; in the same Manner he can likewise dispose himself by degrees, to become capable of receiving the Grace of Justification.

3. As to Glorification, the Thing is likewise evident; because it depends upon our good Works: For it is certain, that he who after he has received from God Charity, and the Grace of Justification, exercises himself in the Practice of good Works, and perseveres by the Succours of the Grace of God, will have eternal Life for his Reward, and will have Reason to say with the Apostle St. Paul, *I have fought a good Combat, finished my Course, and kept my Integrity; what remains is a Crown of Justice, which God, a just Judge, will give me in that Day, and not only to me, but to all those who love his Appearance.*

Another important Question on this Subject is, How great is the Number of the Predestinates, and if it be lesser than the Number of Reprobates?

To the first Part of this Question I answer, that God alone, and he alone to whom God will be pleased to reveal it, knows the Number of the Elect; because God alone knows those who are his, and who are to die in Grace. Whence it follows, that no Body can know, without a special Revelation from God, that he is of the Number of Predestinates, notwithstanding what Calvin says, that every Faithful is oblig'd to believe, as an Article of Faith, that he is predestinate. I prove my Illation by the Scripture, the Councils, the Fathers, and by Reason. By the Scripture, *Eccles. ix. No Body knows if he be worthy of Love or Hatred. But all Things are kept for Time to come, dubious and uncertain.* Whence the Apostle says *1 Cor. x. He who imagines that he stands, let him take Care lest he should fall.* And to the *Phil. ii. Operate your Salvation with Fear and Trembling.* By the Councils, particularly that of Trent, *Sess. 6. c. 15. and 16.* where Anathema is pronounced against him that says, that without a special Revelation he is of the Number of the Predestinates, or is to have the Gift of Perseverance. By the Fathers, particularly St. Augustin, *Lib. de corrup. & grat. c. 13. Which of the great Multitude of the Faithful, presumes to say, while in this transitory Life, that he is of the Number of the Predestinates?* By Reason, because Predestination depends on the final Perseverance, and of that State in which one will be at his Departure from this Life; and who certainly knows, or can know, what that State will be? Therefore, &c.

To the second Part of the Question I answer, that tho' we cannot know without a special Revelation, how great is the Number of the Predestinates, it may be said, notwithstanding, that it is lesser than that of the Reprobates; which I prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason. By the Scripture, *How wide and spacious is the Gate which leads to Perdition, and a great Number enter through it: And how narrow and strait is the Way which leads to Life, and but few find it. Matt. xx. and xxii. A great Number are called, but few are chosen. Luke xii. Do not fear little flock, because it has pleased your*

your Father to give you the Kingdom.—By the Fathers, particularly St. Chrysostom, *Homily, 40. ad popul.* where he observes, that of a thousand Men, scarce one is saved.—By Reason, because before the Birth of Christ almost the whole World was Infidels: After that Birth, the greatest Part of the World was Infidels; among Christians, some are Hereticks, others Schismatics; and among the Faithful themselves, some are bad Livers who die in their Sin. All which God has been willing to shew, under several Figures in the *Old Testament*, and

1. In the Deluge, but eight Persons having been saved from that great Multitude of Men who perished in it.
2. In the Conflagration of Sodom, and of the other neighbouring Cities, from which none were saved but Lot and his Daughters.
3. In the Entrance into the Land of Promise; which was granted but to Caleb and Joshua, of 300,000 Hebrews who thirsted after it.

If I be asked why all Christians are not saved, since they are all regenerated, and the Sacraments have been instituted for them all? I answer, that it is because they will not enter through the narrow Gate, but chuse rather the wide and spacious Way that leads to Perdition.

Note, That it is not improper to take Notice here, of the Things which pertain to the *Book of Life*; which Things are, 1. What is understood by the Name of *Book of Life*; and if it be the same with Predestination? 2. If, as there is a *Book of Life*, there be likewise a *Book of Death*? 3. If any Body can be blotted out of the *Book of Life*? These pre-observed,

I say first, that the *Book of Life* is commonly defined the Memory of God, wherein he remembers all those he has predestinated; because it is that Knowledge whereby God sees those he has decreed from all Eternity, to call to the Possession of his Kingdom; or as St. Augustin speaks, *Lib. de Corrupt. & Grat. c. 9. It is a Memorandum in which they are written, by the unmovable Stability of the Son of God.* This Definition is taken from the Scripture, for 2 Tim. ii. *Firmum dicitur fundamentum Dei quod stat, habens signaculum hoc; cognoscit Dominus qui sunt ejus.* This Book is also called simply *Life*, Isa. iv. *Sanctus vocabitur omnis qui scriptus est in vita, in Hierusalem, i. e.* The Predestinates, whose Names are written in the *Book of Life*, in the celestial Jerusalem, according to this of Luc. x. *Rejoyce because your Names are written in Heaven.*

If I be asked if, and how the *Book of Life* is distinguished from Predestination? I'll answer, that they are not distinguished really from one another, but only by Reason; because Predestination, taken formally, and the *Book of Life*, are immanent Acts of God; therefore as they are the same Thing with the divine Essence, they are likewise the same between themselves; and therefore they are only distinguished by Reason, inasmuch as Predestination is presupposed as an Object to the *Book of Life*.

I answer to the second Part of the Question, that as we admit of a *Book of Life*, we may also admit of a *Book of Death*, where the Reprobates are written; because the Reprobates are written in some of the Books of God; for we read Psalm cxxxix. *In thy Book all are written:* But they are not written in the *Book of Life*; therefore, &c.

To the third Part of the Question I answer, that no Body is blotted out of the *Book of Life of Glory*; but some are blotted out of the *Book of Life of Grace*. No Body is blotted out of the *Book of Life of Glory*, because the Predestination to Glory is certain; for we read, Rev. iii. *Qui vicerit, hic vestietur vestimentis albis, & non delebo nomen ejus de libro vita.* Some are blotted out of the *Book of Grace*; because it is written Psalm lxxviii. *Deleantur de libro viventium,* which must be understood of the *Book of Grace*; because some of those who by Grace are ordained for the everlasting Glory, do not obtain it, because they deviate from the State of Grace.

Note, That after we have treated of Predestination, we must say something of Reprobation.

REPROBATION, is defined by the Master of Sentences, *Lib. 1. Sentent. distinct. 4. The Prescience of the Impiety of some, and the Preparation of their Damnation.*

The Disciples of St. Thomas are of Opinion, that there

is no Cause in the Creatures deserving Reprobation; but that God without any Prevision of the good or evil Doings, either of Parents or others, has decreed from all Eternity, that some should be chosen, and others not.

They call this Reprobation *Negative*, because they do not believe that God, without any Regard to Sin, has positively predestinated some of the Angels, or Men, to eternal Damnation, so as to have created them with no other Design than to make them Vessels of Wrath; and that for that Reason he has permitted the Fall of Adam, and other Sins, that those Men he has destined to Death, should be given in Prey to the excruciating and eternal Torments of Hell, as some Heterodox of our Time have impiously imagined; but they only believe that God has not elected some by his Grace to Glory, even before the original Sin, because neither Glory nor Grace is due to them.

But notwithstanding, this Opinion of the *Tomists* seems very hard to others, as incoherent with the antecedent Will, whereby God desires that all Men should be saved, and with the Doctrine of St. Augustin.

For St. Augustin distinguishes two Sorts of Man's States, viz. the *State of the original Innocence*, in which Adam was created; and the *State of Nature fallen by Sin*, which has been that of all the Posterity of Adam, after his Fall.

In the first State, Man wanted the *Grace of the Creator*, which was a Succour, without which he could not obtain the everlasting Glory. But this Succour which consisted in the Illustration of the Mind, and the prompting of the Will, was not of such an Efficacy as to determine the human Will to act; since this is a Prerogative of the medicinal Grace of Christ.

Therefore, Man could in that State, and with that Succour act when he pleased, as at present our Will requires the divine Concourse to operate in the natural Order; but that Concourse did not give him the Will, or did not determinate the Will.

But in the second State, viz. after Adam's Fall by Sin, we want the Grace of our Saviour, which is much more powerful, and which is not only a Succour, without which we cannot act; but likewise a Succour wherewith we are certainly determinated to act; for it operates within us and the Will, and the Accomplishment. According to St. Augustin, *Lib. de Corrupt. & grat. c. 11. and 12.*

If we believe the *Tomists*, a previous Determination of an efficacious Grace has always been necessary to act well; and that Grace has always been of the same Efficacy, either in the State of Innocence, or in that of Nature fallen by Sin; and therefore there is no Difference as to that, according to the *Tomists*, between the State of Innocence, and that of Nature fallen by Sin. And therefore, they plainly judge in the same Manner of Predestination, and Reprobation, in both States.

But, according to St. Augustine, must be considered in a different Manner, according to the different State of human Nature; for in the first State of Man, Predestination follow'd the Prevision of Merits; and Reprobation had never been, if Adam had never proved refractory to the Orders of his divine Creator; for how could he ever have sinned, if he had not had sufficient Succours, of which he could have used as he pleased? This is certainly very difficult to understand; for no Body can be said to sin in those Things which it is not in his Power to avoid. Therefore, whether the *Tomists* say, that as Succours were refused to Adam, while yet in the State of Innocence, whereby he could act; or whether they favour him with their physical Promotion, to prompt him to his Disobedience; many Difficulties occur both Ways, from which they cannot easily extricate themselves. For although God be not obliged to give Men, either in the State of Innocence, or inquired by Sin, the supernatural Succours necessary to act: Notwithstanding, when a Man is innocent, as Adam was when he was first formed by God; the Almighty does not desert him, unless he be first deserted by him.

As to the second State in which all Men are born, ever since the Sin of Adam, there seems to be no Difference between the *Tomists*, and the Disciples of St. Augustin; for they all agree with the Apostle, that those who

who are deliver'd in *Christ* from the Mass of Perdition, are deliver'd through the Mercy of *God*; and the rest are justly punished, for Sin, at least the original one. Therefore Reprobation, in this State, can be called Negative, because the Reprobates are left by *God*, in the Mass of Corruption; and Positive, when destined to everlasting Punishment for their Sins.

Therefore the first Cause of the Damnation of Men, is original Sin; and though in those who are regenerated by Baptism, this Sin be washed off, as to the Culp or Spot, whereby the rational Soul is soil'd; its Appendix remains yet, *viz.* the Concupiscence, whereby Men are incited, during their whole Life, to Evil or actual Sin, by which they fall from the State of Grace, and deserve Punishment, which they cannot avoid but through the Merits of the Passion of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*.

I'll conclude this Treatise by some Reflections on the Omnipotency of *God*.

The Omnipotency of *God*, is properly the Faculty, or Power of effecting all that's possible. And all that is possible, which is not repugnant to Order, or to the Wisdom, and the divine Ideas. That Power or Faculty of acting in *God*, is not something, or an Entity distinct from his Essence, Wisdom, and Will.

Theologians distinguish two Sorts of Powers in *God*, *viz.* one *absolute*, and the other *ordinary*, or as *St. Thomas* calls it, *ordinate*.

The *absolute* Power of *God*, is the Faculty or Power of *God*, consider'd in itself, whereby, without having the least Regard to his other Attributes or Decrees, he can do whatever is possible: Though several Things are absolutely possible, which *God* does not effect, nor can effect with an ordinary Power; because they do not agree with his other Attributes, *viz.* his Holiness, Justice, Wisdom; and with the Order, which, with Regard to his other Attributes, he has prescrib'd to himself. But as his Wisdom is infinite, and cannot be confin'd within any Limits, he can establish an infinite Number of other Orders, according to which he knows himself capable to effect, several Things which he does not effect; whence *God* can perform several Things abso-

lutely, which he does not perform.

The *ordinary*, or *ordinate* Power of *God*, is the same Faculty consider'd as executing the Commands of his just Will, in the Course and Order of the Things, he has settled by his Providence; in which Order all that he has foreseen to happen, must infallibly happen.

Note, That though we should not mix the sacred with the profane; the Laws I have prescrib'd to myself to miss nothing of what has any considerable Report to the Subject I treat, require, that I should take notice here, that *God* is also used in speaking of the false Deities of the Heathens; many of which were only Creatures, to which divine Honours and Worship were paid.

Note also, That the *Greeks* and *Latins* did not mean by the Name *God*, an all-perfect Being, whereof Eternity, Infinity, Omnipotence, &c. were essential Attributes; with them the Word only implied an excellent and superior Nature; and accordingly they give the Appellation *Gods*, to all Beings of Rank, or Class higher, and more perfect than Men. Thus Men themselves, according to their System, might become *Gods* after Death: Inasmuch as their Souls might attain to a Degree of Excellence superior to what they were capable of in Life.

Father *Bossu* observes, that the first Divines were the Poets: The two Functions, though now separated, were originally combin'd, or rather one and the same Thing. Now the great Variety of Attributes in *God*, that is, the Number of Relations, Capacities, and Circumstances, wherein they had Occasion to consider him, put these Poets, &c. under a Necessity of making a Partition, and to separate the divine Attributes into several Persons; by Reason the Weakness of the human Mind, could not conceive so much Power and Action in the Simplicity of one single divine Nature. Thus the Omnipotence of *God* came to be represented under the Person and Appellation of *Jupiter*; the Wisdom of *God* under that of *Minerva*; the Justice of *God* under that of *Juno*, &c.

G O L D - B E A T I N G.

GOLD-BEATING, is the Art or Act of reducing Gold into exceeding thin Leaves.

Before we proceed on this Operation, we must take Care, if we can, to provide ourselves with a pretty good Quantity of pure Gold, and with little Alloy as possible, that of the Ducats of *Holland*, and of the Sequini of *Italy*, being commonly the best for our Purpose; then we must furnish our Workshop with a small Forge, a small Anvil, Crucibles, &c. and likewise with three Sorts of Hammers formed like Mallets, of polished Iron. The first, which is to weigh three or four Pounds, will serve to chace, or drive; the second, of eleven or twelve Pounds, to close; and the third, which must weigh fourteen or fifteen Pounds, to stretch and finish. Besides this, we must have a Block of black Marble, about a Foot Square, and which is to be raised three Foot high; and also four Moulds of different Sizes, *viz.* two of Vellum, the smallest whereof must consist of forty or fifty Leaves; and the largest of two hundred; the other two consisting each of five hundred Leaves, made of Bullocks Guts well scoured and prepared.

Thus provided with all our necessary Tools or Implements, we proceed to work, beginning by melting what Quantity we judge proper of our Gold, and forming it into an Ingot; this done, we reduce that Ingot, by forging, into a Plate about the Thickness of a Sheet of Paper; and then cut it into little Pieces, about an Inch square, and lay them in the first, or smallest Mould, to begin to stretch them. After they have been hammer'd here a while with our smallest Hammer, we cut each of them into four; and put them into the second Mould, to be extended further.

Upon taking them hence, we cut them again into four, and put them into the third Mould; out of which they are taken, divided into four as before, and laid in the last or finishing Mould, where we beat them to the Degree of Thinness required: Observing that the Gold is beaten more or less according to the Kind or Quality of the Work it is intended for: That that for the Gold-wire-Drawers to gild their Ingots withal, must be left thicker than that for gilding Frames of Pictures, &c. withal.

Note, That it is prodigious to consider the Fineness we shall thus reduce a Body of Gold to; for it is computed that an Ounce may be beaten into sixteen hundred Leaves, each three Inches square; in which State it takes up more than 15.9092 Times its former Space.

The Leaves thus finished are taken out of the Mould, and disposed in little Paper Books prepared with red Bole, for the Gold to stick to: Each Book ordinarily containing twenty-five Gold Leaves. There are two Sizes of these Books; twenty-five Leaves of the smallest only weighs five or six Grains; and the same Number of the largest nine or ten Grains.

Note, That the *Shell-Gold* used by the Illuminers, and wherewithal we write Gold Letters, is made of the Parings of Leaf Gold, and even of the Leaves themselves, reduced into an impalpable Powder, by grinding on a Marble with Honey: And after it has been left to infuse some Time in Aqua-fortis, it is put in Shells where it sticks.

GOLD-WIRE-DRAWING.

GOLD-WIRE-DRAWING, is the Method of managing Gold in order to fit it to be spun on Silk, or to be used flat as it is, without spinning, in certain Stuffs, Laces, Embroideries, &c.

The Operation is performed by forging, first, an Ingot of Silver of twenty-four Pounds into a Cylinder about an Inch in Diameter: Then drawing it through eight or ten Holes of a large coarse Wire-drawing Iron, both to finish the Roundness, and to reduce it to about three Fourths of its former Diameter. This done, it is filed very carefully all over, to take off any Filth remaining of the Forge: Then it is cut in the Middle, making thus two equal Ingots thereof, each about 26 Inches long; which are drawn through several new Holes, to take off any Inequalities the File may have left, and to render it as smooth and equal as possible.

The Ingot thus prepared, is heated in a Charcoal-Fire; then taking some Gold Leaves, each of about four Inches square, and weighing twelve Grains; four, eight, twelve, or sixteen of these are joined together, as the Wire is intended to be more or less gilt; and when they are so joined as only to make a single Leaf, the Ingots are rubbed reeking hot with a Burnisher.

These Leaves thus prepar'd, are applied over the whole Surface of the Ingot to the Number of six, over each other; burnishing or rubbing them well down with the Blood-stone, to close and smoothen them.

When gilt, the Ingots are laid a-new in a Coal Fire; and when raised to a certain Degree of Heat, the Artist goes over them a second Time with the Blood-stone, both to solder the Gold more perfectly, and to finish the polishing.

The Gilding finished, it remains to draw the Ingot into Wire. In order to this, it is passed through twenty Holes of a moderate Drawing-Iron, by which it is brought to the Thickness of the Tag of a Lace. From this Time, the Ingot loses its Name, and commences Gold-Wire. Twenty Holes more of a lesser Iron, leave it small enough for the least Iron; the finest Holes of which last, scarce exceeding the Hair of the Head, finish the Work.

Note, That before the Wire be reduced to this excessive Fineness, it is drawn through above an hundred and forty different Holes; and that each Time they draw it, it is rubbed fresh over with new Wax, both to facilitate its Passage, and to prevent the Silver appearing through.

To dispose the Wire to be spun on Silk, they pass it between two Rollers of a little Mill. These Rollers are of polished Steel, and about three Inches in Diameter. They are set very close to each other, and turn'd by Means of a Handle fasten'd to one of them, which gives Motion to the other. The Gold Wire in passing between the two, is render'd quite flat; but without losing any Thing of its Gilding; and is render'd so exceedingly thin and flexible, that it is easily spun on Silk-Thread, by Means of a Hand-Wheel, and so wound on a Spool or Bobbin.

Note, That the prodigious Ductility, which makes one of the distinguishing Characters of Gold, is no where more conspicuous than in this gilt Wire. A Cylinder of 48 Ounces of Silver, cover'd with a Coat of Gold, Dr. Halley informs us, is commonly drawn into a Wire, two Yards of which weigh only one Grain: Whence ninety-eight Yards of the Wire weigh only forty-nine Grains. And one single Grain of Gold covers the said ninety-eight Yards. So that the ten thousandth Part of a Grain, is above half an Inch long. The same Author computing the Thickness of the Skin of Gold, found it to be only $\frac{1}{15360}$ Part of an Inch. Yet so perfectly does it cover the Silver, that even a Microscope does not discover any Appearance of the Silver underneath. M. Rohault observes, that a like Cylinder of Silver cover'd with Gold, two Feet eight Inches long, and two Inches nine Lines in Circumference, is drawn into a Wire 307200 Feet long; i. e. into 115200 its former Length. M. Boyle relates, that eight Grains of Gold, covering a Cylinder of Silver, is commonly drawn into a Wire 30000 Feet long.

GOVERNMENT.

GOVERNMENT, in the Sense I take it here, is the political Manner of governing a Country, State, &c. according to the fundamental Laws of that Country, State, &c. calculated for the Security of the Prince, or Governors, and the Welfare and Felicity of the Subjects.

In this Sense, Governments have been divided for a great Number of Ages past, into *Monarchies*, *Aristocracies*, and *Democracies*.

I say that Governments have been divided for a great Number of Ages past, into *Monarchies*, *Aristocracies*, and *Democracies*, i. e. ever since Men, tir'd of their Happiness, and through that dangerous Inconstancy, which is a necessary Consequence of Adam's Sin, have had the presumptuous Temerity to shake off that easy Yoke which God had submitted them to, all the Time he was pleas'd to be himself their Governor; with no other View, than to let them know, that they were not entirely independant; and to make them sensible, that though by the Irradiation of the Divinity, they seem'd to be of a Nature superior to all the other created Beings, there still was something above them, infinitely more perfect, and without whose immediate and powerful Protection, and continual Vigilance to their Conservation, they would immediately return into their former nothing.

This Government of God, which I'll call *Theocracy*, was as antient as the World itself, for though, at the Beginning, Man was created entirely perfect of that Per-

fection agreeable to the Condition of human Nature; which excluded all Sorts of Imperfections, but would not admit of all Sorts of Perfections, at least those of a supernatural Order, God did not judge him capable yet to be entirely Master of himself; and though he had given him an absolute Empire over all the sublunary Things, he was under some Restraint as to his own Conduct. God us'd to descend towards the Evening, says the sacred Text, into the Garden, to speak with Adam, and we have all the Reason imaginable to believe, that those Visits were only to remind Adam of his Duties to his Creator, and that the whole Conversation ran entirely on the Manner he was to behave with respect to that supreme Being, and to himself.

Moses leaves us in the Dark, as to those sublime Maxims of a divine Government, Adam was certainly instructed in; which if they had been transmitted to us, together with all the other Things transacted during the short Time of Man's Innocence, had given us some Ideas of that inexpressible Felicity, his Posterity had enjoy'd under such a Government, if, by the Example of the rebellious Angels, he had not sacrilegiously attempted to usurp it; and forged his Chains in endeavouring to break imaginary ones.

We had known then, that God had inform'd Adam, that he was not to remain long the only one of his Species, since he had given him a Companion semblable to him, with no other View than to propagate that Species, in the

the same Manner he saw all the other Species of an inferior Order, and submitted to him, propagated. That as he was the first in order of Time, he should also be the first in Dignity; and all his Descendants obliged to obey and respect him, as a tender Parent to whom they were indebted in Part for their own Being, and as a wise Governor who had been instructed in the Principles of *Government*, by the sacred Wisdom himself. That as there would be no other Difference between him and them, since they were to be all equally of the same Nature, all created for the same End, and all to enjoy the same Kingdom, without any Distinction or Superiority, not even of Time; he should make no other Use of his Authority over them than he himself their Creator, would make over them all, *i. e.* to contribute all in his Power to their mutual Felicity.

If the Idea *Adam* may have conceived at that Time of his own particular Merit, exclusive of all other human Creatures, affected his Mind so far as to render it susceptible of a criminal Ambition, and to make him think of extending his Authority beyond the Limits his Creator had fixed to it; or if this is not the forbidden Fruit, which procured his Fall, is what cannot be easily determined; the Truth is, that the ambitious Hope of becoming semblable to God, the Serpent flattered *Eve* withal to tempt her, made the greatest Impression on her Mind, as well as on that of *Adam*; and that ever since Ambition has been the favourite Passion of his Descendants, and has created that Jealousy which subsists between them, of rivaling one another in Power, Authority, Grandeur, Glory, &c.

If that *Theocracy*, which began with the World, and in the terrestrial Paradise, ceased after *Adam* was expelled from it, is what we have no certain Knowledge of; but we may easily conjecture, considering the Depravity of human Manners, soon after that Expulsion, and even in *Adam's* Children; that all the sublime Maxims of a divine Politick, were already forgotten or neglected; that *Adam*, instead of acquiring a greater Authority, had already lost, not only all that God had given him over his Descendants, but likewise that sovereign one he had acquired from the first Instant of his Creation, over all the other Creatures. All rebelled against him, and that Superiority, which, had he preserved his Innocence, had contributed to his own Felicity, as well as to that of all other Creatures, became tedious to him, and insupportable to others: As he had the criminal Folly to expect to be greater, if he could once keep them under a greater Subjection, and govern them with a more absolute Power; they likewise expected to be happier, in shaking off even that which God had given him over them; of which he was made sensible even in his own Family; for he who vainly thought that he could acquire over his Descendants, the same Authority God had over him, and which he had reserved to himself, exclusive of all created Beings, could not even govern his own Family, nor hinder the monstrous Disorders which happened in it; for he saw in *Cain's* Fratricide what an usurped Authority, such that himself aimed at, is capable of.

There is some Reason to believe that *Tyranny* or *dispolitic Power*, which began in *Cain*, was the sole *Government* which prevailed among Mankind from that fatal Epocha to the Deluge, and that it was the Cause of Sin, and Iniquity having covered all the Face of the Earth. For in all Appearance the most ambitious among them, by the Example of that Fratricide, attempted to usurp, by the most criminal Means, some tyrannical Authority over their Fellow-Creatures, and those feeling within themselves a certain natural Antipathy against such an Authority, which aimed at rendering them all Slaves, for which they were not born, used the same Means to shake off the Yoke, and keep themselves free. The Usurpers had Recourse to Violence, Depredation, Rapine, Murder, and Theft, to support their Usurpation; and the Oppressed had also Recourse to all Sorts of Means, even the most violent, to oppose it. Whence the scandalous Names of Tyrants, Oppressors, and Usurpers for the one; and of Seditious, Rebels, &c. for the others, took their Origin. In those unhappy

Days Men began to be sacrificed to the Ambition of other Men like themselves, and slaughtered for endeavouring to preserve the Dignity of their Creation, which laudable Zeal, so agreeable to the Intention of the Creator, began then to be called Treason.

God, irritated at that monstrous Form of *Government*, so contrary to that he designed to establish upon Earth, resolved, not only to abolish it entirely, but even to destroy all those without Exception, who had been the unjust Promoters of it, and with them the Memory of it, by an universal Deluge.

But notwithstanding, the Spirit of Tyranny and Oppression was not drowned, as might have been expected in that monstrous Heap of Water, the Cataracts of the Heavens, and the frightful Depth of the Abyss covered the Face of the Earth with; and though none but *Noah's* Family, whose Righteousness had selected them from the rest, were saved from the universal Inundation, and in all Appearance had not carried along with them into the Ark any Records of the oppressive Acts passed in those Days of Iniquity, nor preserved any of the pernicious and oppressive Maxims of those first *Machiavelians*, in order to have their Posterity instructed therein; that Spirit, and those Maxims were saved from the Waters, no Body knows in what Manner, and were found revived in all Parts of the Earth, soon after it had been divided between *Noah's* Children. For then Men, either unacquainted with the Disorders that happened before the Flood; or little sensible of the Happiness, Freedom and Liberty are always attended with, suffered that some among them should become insensibly Masters of all the rest under the specious Pretence of maintaining that regular Economy, without which a civil Society cannot long subsist with any Reputation. Those ambitious Men, persuaded, perhaps, the others whom they wanted to make Slaves, that an Equality among them could not subsist long without Jars and Contention, which would still go on increasing, and be attended at least with dangerous Consequences, unless they could be persuaded to chuse from among them a Person, who by his Prudence and Wisdom, could adjust their Differences, which otherwise would never be effected, as long as every one of them could persuade himself that he was as much in the Right as another. To this they may have added, that there was nothing to fear from such Pre-eminence, which having no other Source, but the free Consent of every one of the Members which composed the Society, it could not subsist longer than that Consent; which would necessarily cease as soon as the Person invested with that Pre-eminence, though a monstrous Ingratitude, would presume to make use of it to the Prejudice of the publick Good; that as it was in their Power to give it to whom they pleased, it would likewise be always in their Power to divest him of it whenever they pleased.

It is reasonable to suppose that Men were thus cozened of their Liberty; but we may suppose likewise, that they were not long before they had Cause to repent of their too great Credulity and Complaisance; but that Repentance came too late; for those ambitious Men, who at first they designed should be only Arbiters of their Differences, became soon their Judges, afterwards their Masters, then their Governors or Princes, whatever they were pleased to stile themselves, and lastly, their Tyrants; and when their Subjects, to whom that Tyranny rendered their Government insupportable, would attempt to wrest from them that Authority, which they designed should be only employ'd for the Good of the Society; they soon found that it was not in their Power to effect it; that by establishing a Pre-eminence among them, they had renounced their natural Right; that in becoming Dependants they became Slaves, and began to forge their Chains that very same Instant they gave up their Freedom.

It is true, that those Men our first Parents were persuaded to set above them, did not arrive all at once to that Pitch of an exorbitant Power, which could not have been effected in such a Manner without revolting the whole human Race, who having but so lately sacrificed their Liberty, and therefore knowing yet the entire

Value of it, had not failed making a bold Stand for it against the Invaders; but they gained Ground by degrees, as a slow Poison which insinuates itself through the Veins, and glides leisurely till it comes to the vital Faculties, which it seizes unawares, after it has vitiated, or rather entirely destroyed all the Passages, through which they could have been succoured. For they persuaded first their Constituents, that for the greater Security of the Common-wealth, and to give a greater Weight to the Authority they had been pleased to honour them with, and the better to encourage Virtue, and discourage Vice, they should also resign to them the whole legislative Power, that thereby they might be capable to reward the Good according to their Deserts; and punish the Wicked according to their Demerit; they season'd this Proposal, to render it more persuasive with the plausible Consideration, that in so doing they would ease themselves of a great Burthen, and live henceforward with less Inquietude. This Prospect of an easy Life, for which all Men have a natural Inclination, had the desired Effect; they swallowed the Bait, without being in the least apprehensive of the Danger hidden under it; and by this new Resignation added a new Length to their Chains.

Ambition carried her Point still further; for as the Law of Nature, on which was founded the first *Government* established upon Earth, was a Bar to her oppressive Designs, those new Governors persuaded their Tools, that though intrusted with the legislative Power, it was impossible they could administer Justice as they thought it should be administered for the publick Good, unless they were allowed to dispense with that Law, which the excessive Propagation of the human Race had rendered too concise; that as the primitive Simplicity was become obsolete, the Laws established in Support or Defence of it, should also be considered as such; and as different Sorts of Manners had been introduced in the civil Society, new Laws should also be established for the Regulation of those Manners.

This Proposal appear'd too plausible, to the Generality of Mankind, to be rejected; and Ambition gain'd also this Point. But as it was the Design of those new Legislators, that those new Laws to be made, should not be all founded on Justice and Equity, nor all agreeable to Reason, and to that natural Tendency all Creatures, without Distinction, have towards their Preservation; but more particularly rational Ones, whose Lives and Fortunes were intended to be affected thereby, it was craftily insinuated, that the single Will of a Governor, was too weak to put those Laws in Force, which being new, and consequently not at all familiar to Mankind, would, in all Appearance, meet with some Opposition; that therefore it was absolutely necessary, he should be invested with a compulsive Authority, and allowed to chuse from among the Generality, those Persons he should judge most proper, to support the Execution of those Laws, and force the Refractory to Compliance; which was likewise approv'd and granted: So ready Men are, when they have once overlook'd a Thing essential, to be entirely blind in all others.

Thus were the Lives and Liberties of Men enslaved, and their Fetters rivetted with their own free Consent; by putting in the Power of a single Man, to dispose of both at his Pleasure; and entirely out of theirs to oppose it, without exposing themselves to the Risque of losing the one, as they had done the other. For it could not have been reasonably supposed, that those Persons selected from all the rest, by the Prince himself to support and strengthen his own Authority, could ever be persuaded to sacrifice it to the publick Good, or to expose themselves to lose the Confidence of their Master, to gain that of the Publick; otherwise they had not accepted such Offices, contrary to the Dictates of their Reason, Honour, and Conscience; since by refusing them, they had not exposed themselves to the Dangers they run, while possessed of them, of disobeying the Orders of their Sovereign.

The better to strengthen those Instruments of their Tyranny, in their own Interest, by Salaries, Presents, and Rewards, Princes, who till then, had

left the Fortunes of their Subjects untouched, made an Attempt upon them, under that specious Pretence, that a Prince or Governor, and those he had assembled near his Person, to execute his Orders, were the Servants of the Publick; and as such should be paid by the Publick; that therefore every Member of the Commonwealth, should contribute towards making a Fund for their Maintenance, that every one of them should be paid according to the Rank he kept among them, and the Usefulness of his Employments; that for his Part, he desir'd nothing but what the Decency of the Rank they had been pleas'd to raise him to requir'd, and what was indispensably necessary to defray the publick Expences.

This Request appeared likewise so reasonable, that it could meet with no Opposition; and every one contributed freely, all he thought he could without impairing his Fortune. But this publick Contribution, which might have been at first consider'd as a free Gift; was soon changed into a necessary Custom; and in Process of Time, what was at first asked as a Favour, was exacted as a Due, and even rais'd by Compulsion without the least Regard to the Habilities, or Circumstances of Persons; and as their Ambition grew greater, and greater, their Demands grew likewise more exorbitant, so that often all that the Subjects could do, was to answer those Demands; though they saw, at the same Time, the immense Sums rais'd under Pretence of defraying the necessary publick Expences, were most of them employ'd to gratify the Extravagancy and Luxury of a Court, to feed Minions and Sycophants, and to support Tyranny and Oppression.

When Princes had brought their Subjects to this Degree of Complaisance, and reduced them to the Impossibility of opposing their Designs, even the most oppressive and tyrannical; they threw off the Mask, and began to rule with that high Hand, and absolute Power, which has made them so often regret their lost Liberty. They soon made them sensible that they had given up all that they had the most precious in this World, *viz.* their Freedom, Fortune, and even their Life, reserving nothing to themselves but the Shadow of Man; since they could not even promise themselves the free Use of their rational Faculties; since the Will of the Prince could silence them all, or persuade them that they were mistaken, even in the most judicious Things, whenever he pleased, *viz.* that often Pusillanimity was preferable to Courage; Rapine and Oppression, to Justice and Clemency; Confusion, Trouble, and War, to Tranquillity and Peace; Distress to Ease, Slavery to Freedom, and Misery to Plenty and Opulence; and that the only Thing left in their Power, was the Faculty of obeying blindly the Orders of their Prince; and consequently were but mere Machines of which he was the Master-Spring.

To convince them of this fictitious Truth, as the Narrowness of the Limits of the States allotted by divine Providence to every Nation, is seldom capable to contain the Ambition of a Prince; every one of them persuaded his Subjects, that to invade those of his Neighbours, was of a national Concern, to which they were all obliged to concur, since thereby they would render themselves formidable to some, and be respected by others. That to make so noble an Enterprize succeed, they were oblig'd to lay at Stake, all they had the most precious in this World, even their Life, which it would be glorious for them to lose in the Attempt.

It is surprising that Men who had been already so often deceiv'd, could be persuaded to swallow the Bait once more; they all flock under the Standards of such a Prince, and the bravest among them, envied each other, the ridiculous Glory of being sacrificed to the Ambition of a Man like them, and were Fools enough to call afterwards dying in the Bed of Honour, the falling a Victim to it. Nay they arriv'd in Process of Time to that Excess of Demency, as to seek to raise from their own Ashes, the Reputation of a pretended Conqueror, who contributed nothing else towards it, but by commanding that his destructive and ambitious Projects should be put in Execution.

This Form of an oppressive *Government*, was invented

vented in *Affyria*, and the Empire of the *Affyrians*, was the first Monarchy in the World, and began under *Nimrod*, *Cham's* Grandson, who was the Author thereof.

But this was not the Form of *Government* the divine Providence design'd should be established among Men, which in some Measure was to reduce them to a Condition inferior to that of Brutes. For as he had formed them after his own Image, they were to be govern'd, had they submitted themselves to him, and not followed the Inconstancy of their Mind, in a Manner agreeable to that divine Resemblance, *i. e.* they had been led thro' all the most intricate Paths of good Order, Morality, and Virtue, in an easy Manner, and in the full Enjoyment of all they possessed, without being exposed to the least Violence and Oppression. Virtue had been rewarded to its full Value, and Vice punished with so much Justice and Equity, as to deserve the Approbation, even of those on whom the Punishment should have been inflicted. Nothing had ever been concerted but for the publick Good; nor new Laws made, or old ones interpreted, but for the Preservation of that beautiful and just Harmony which should subsist between the different Members of a Republick; and tho' a certain Subordination would have been established between those Members, to avoid an Anarchy, it would have been with so much Wisdom, Discretion, and Prudence, as to leave no Room for any Body to complain of the Indifference of their Condition. Those whom God had judg'd proper to raise above the rest, either to execute his Orders, to administer Justice, or to protect his People against any Insults, could not have forgot themselves in their respective Employments, without Impunity. The Splendor of a Throne, and the Radiancy of a Diadem, had not robb'd the Divinity of the Adoration due to him; nor Flattery or Adulation ravish'd what was due to Merit. Favour, or any other human Consideration, had not been capable to silence the just Complaints of the Oppressed; nor Fortune suffer'd to make the least Difference between the Rich and the Poor, when both to be heard. The very Name of Slavery had been unknown among us, and we had all been free of that Freedom, which is not incompatible with a becoming Obedience and Submission, since nothing had been requir'd from us, for which our Reason had shew'd the least Reluctancy, and but what was in our Power to effect, without putting ourselves to the least Inconveniency; all had been proportion'd to our own Strength. Our Lives and Fortunes had never been sacrificed to Ambition, and never been exposed to any Dangers, but when the Security of the whole Body politick had requir'd it; no unjust Wars prosecuted, no Invasions attempted; no Unjustice suffer'd, nor even the single Appearance of Oppression tolerated. As God had himself made Choice of his own Ministers, the Gates of the Sanctuary had always been kept shut against Ignorance, Indolence, Pride, Prodigality, and Luxury. The divine Worship had flourished, because those whose Office it had been to promote it, had minded nothing else, and had not been obliged to spend in the Temple of *Baal*, Part of the Time which was design'd for the Service of the living God. And the Offerings had not been taken from the Altar, to be lavish'd in Debauchery, worldly Pleasures, and criminal Diversions.

Though this Form of *Government*, which God would have establish'd upon Earth, was rejected by the Generality of Mankind, he notwithstanding preserved it among a certain Number of Persons, whom he had selected from the rest, and design'd to make Chiefs of a Nation, which, by Way of Pre-eminency, he was pleased to call his own People; but that Number was so small, that we know not but by mere Conjectures, or rather Suppositions, how that *Government* was established among them; all that we can learn of it from History is, that *Abraham* was one of them, and that it was confin'd at first to the Economy to be observ'd in every Family, the Chief whereof was to be appointed by God to be his Vicegerent, without any other Dependency, but an immediate one from him; and with a legislative Power even of Life and Death, over all the Members of that Fa-

mily, without being accountable of his Administration, but to God alone.

This was also, in Reality, a Sort of Monarchy, but not an oppressive one, as that heretofore mention'd; for, though the Sovereign knew nothing above him, except the supreme Being, he did not consider himself as independent and absolute, nor thought that he could oblige his Subjects, without an imminent Danger to himself, to the Observance of any Laws, which were not dictated by that same supreme Being, or had his Sanction.

That this Kind of Monarchy was confin'd to every particular Family, without any Dependency from one another, is evident from what the Holy Writ relates of *Abraham*, and *Lot* his Nephew, who each govern'd his own Family, without either of them pretending to a Pre-eminence over the other, not even of Primogeniture.

This Form of *Government* continued among *Abraham's* Descendants, till *Jacob* with his whole Family was called into *Egypt*, by his Son *Joseph*, whose extraordinary Merit, supported by the unfearchable Decrees of the divine Providence, had raised from a Prison, to the most eminent Post of that Monarchy; for even then, *Egypt* was one of the most flourishing upon Earth, and govern'd by a judicious Prince, whom the Obscurity of a Prison, nor the Quality of a Foreigner, could not deter from reposing himself on *Joseph* the whole *Government* of his Kingdom; and making him what we have been pleased to call since, his first Minister. For in Fact, he was invested with the same Authority as our modern Ministers are, with this Difference, that he made no other Use of that Authority, than to make his Prince sit easy on his Throne, and his People happy; having nothing else in View, but the publick Good, and being always ready to prefer it to his own private Interest. For the Scripture informs us, that during the seven Years of Scarcity, when, had he been actuated by the scandalous, and oppressive Motives of Self-Interest, he could have amassed immense Riches, his whole Care was to relieve the Subjects, and fill up the Coffers of his royal Master. It is true, that he brought his Family into the Kingdom, but we do not read that he even attempted to advance any of them at Court, or that he robb'd his Prince, or plunder'd the *Egyptians* to enrich them. He asks nothing for them, but the King's Protection, and the better to engage him to it, and to give him to understand at the same Time, that it is always the Interest of a Prince, and his Subjects, to invite into his Dominions, and encourage all industrious People, he tells him, that they are Shepherds and Husbandmen, and therefore could cultivate Lands, which till then had remain'd uncultivated, and thereby contribute towards making *Egypt* still more fertile than it was.

If the *Hebrews* preserved among them the antient Form of *Government* of their Ancestors, if they invented a new one, or if they submitted themselves entirely to that of the *Egyptians*, during their Stay in that Country, it is what we do not find in the History of those Times. For my Part, I would be apt to believe, that for the Civil Government, they submitted themselves entirely to that of the *Egyptians*, the more because they could not expect to be better govern'd than by *Joseph*, who, when they came into *Egypt*, and till he died, was at the Helm of the State, and the sole Counsellor of *Pharaoh*, who never used to do any Thing but by his Advice. As to ecclesiastical *Government*, they may have established some particular one among themselves, but I really believe, that though they always ador'd the true God, it was corrupted by many of the *Egyptian* Superstitions. Of which we will be better convinced, when I come to speak of that Theocracy established among them in the Desert, the sublime Maxims whereof were dictated by God himself.

After *Joseph* and *Pharaoh's* Death, there is no doubt but they were obliged to submit themselves to the *Egyptian* Yoke; till *Moses*, appointed by God for their Chief, came to deliver them from their Captivity. They had already been used so long to a despotick *Government*, and to obey absolute Commands, that they did not shew the least Reluctancy to follow *Moses*; though he could
give

give no other Proofs of his extraordinary Mission, but the Miracles he had operated, and which had almost all been counterfeited by *Pharaoh's* Priests. But what he proposed to them, had the Appearance of Liberty, and they were Slaves.

At first they followed *Moses* as a General, but when they had crossed over the *Red-Sea*, and were no longer in Fear of their Enemies; their Liberator, under God, began to think of a Form of *Government*, without which, he saw it was impossible to govern so numerous a Multitude, which he soon found too prone to Disobedience and Mutiny.

Born with an excellent Genius, enrich'd by Heaven with extraordinary Talents, educated at *Pharaoh's* Court, and if I may use the Expression, in the very Bosom of the most refin'd Politick of those Times, *Moses* was certainly the most capable of all the *Hebrews*, to frame a Form of *Government*; and had Resolution and Courage enough to have it observ'd, if he had dealt with a less turbulent and inconstant Nation; which he knew, being no longer kept in Subjection by the tyrannical Power of the *Egyptians*, would not submit themselves easily to a Man, whom they consider'd as their Equal, and had no other Authority to have himself obey'd, but what he had borrow'd from them; he saw plainly that nothing but what could be digested in an extraordinary Manner, and promulgated in the same Manner, would make any Impression on their Mind, and over-awe them. In this Perplexity, he was assisted by God himself, who having been the Liberator of the *Hebrews*, would also be their Legislator; notwithstanding what those who have the Impiety to question the Truth of the Scripture, say, that the Promulgation of the Law on Mount *Sinai*, by the Almighty, was nothing else but a Turn of *Moses's* Policy, to give a greater Sanction to the Maxims of *Government*, himself had invented, some of which were too oppressive, and others too cruel, for to have been dictated by God, whose principal Attributes are Mercy and Clemency. That *Moses* could have as well learn'd in *Egypt* how to counterfeit Thunders and Lightenings, as the Priests of *Pharaoh* had learn'd to counterfeit several of the Miracles he operated at his Court; which they are the more inclin'd to believe, because *Moses* order'd the *Hebrews* to keep at a certain Distance from the Mountain, lest had they been nearer, they would have discover'd what passed there.

But this is only the impious Reasoning of those who question all Sorts of Truths, often the most evident. For, according to the Scripture, which must be the Rule of our Faith, *Moses* was called on Mount *Sinai*, by the Almighty himself, where he spoke to him Face to Face (in the Manner I have explain'd it in my Treatise of *God and his Attributes*) on the Form of governing that stubborn Nation; and where he received from him the principal Maxims of that *Government*; calculated chiefly to extirpate from among them, the vitiated and superstitious Ones they had learn'd in *Egypt*. As it appears by the Ten Commandments, where Idolatry, Superstition, Concupiscence, Adultery, Theft, and all the other Vices the most in Vogue among the *Egyptians*, are condemn'd and abhorr'd.

It is true, that among those Maxims of *Government*, which *Moses* assures us were digested in Heaven, and dictated to him on Mount *Sinai*, some appear extremely rigorous and violent, and among us, would smell much of a despotick *Government*, and even very oppressive, and tyrannical; but it would be arraigning God's Wisdom and Justice to consider them as such with Regard to the *Hebrews*, who were not always to be treated with too much Meekness and Indulgency; otherwise the whole Body politick had not subsisted long in that flourishing State, *Moses* kept it by his judicious, though excessive Severity; and they had been as ready to change their Chief, as often as other Nations have done; since God knew what Risques *Moses* run, in Undertaking the Conduct of that Nation, if he had not been supported by his Authority; and if he had not taken the necessary Measures to punish exemplary the smallest Faults, in order to deter the *Hebrews* from committing greater. Besides, *Moses* who was but God's Lieutenant, did nothing

Vol. II.

on those Occasions, but execute the Orders of the King of Kings, who had an unquestionable Power of Life and Death over his Subjects.

This Form of *Government* was particular to the *Hebrews*, for they found Monarchy established among the different Nations they met with in their Journey to the Land of *Promise*; or at least Chiefs, whom the Scripture calls Kings.

Moses was succeeded in the Conduct of the *Israelites*, by *Joshua*; not by Right of Inheritance or Succession, but by a divine Election, or God's Appointment, even when *Moses* was yet living. We do not read that he treated the *Hebrews* with the same Severity his Predecessor had done, nor that he was so exact to put all the penal Laws in Execution; perhaps the new Generation under his Conduct, was more tractable, and less refractory to God's Orders, than the old one, which had caused so much Trouble and Fatigue to *Moses*, and of which there was none left then, but him and *Caleb*.

This Theocracy continued, till the *Israelites* tir'd of it, without Cause, though they had suffer'd several very great Calamities under some of their Judges, and thro' their natural Inconstancy, seeing that all the other Nations they were environ'd with, had each their King, asked also for one, under the Government of *Samuel* their last Judge. God took this Occasion to reproach them by his Prophet with their Ingratitude, and to convince them of it, made an exact Recapitulation of all the signal Favours, they and their Fathers had received from him, ever since their Deliverance from the Captivity of *Egypt* to that Time. He also set before them all the Hardships they were to suffer under a monarchical Government, as if Tyranny and Oppression were inseparable from it; but however, as he was determin'd to grant their Request, and would give them this last Mark of the particular Care he had taken of their Conduct, he was pleas'd to mark himself the first King who was to govern them, to whom he gave for Counsel the Prophet *Samuel*.

Though the Theocracy ceased at *Saul's* Elevation to the Throne, there happen'd no very sensible Alteration in the *Government*; for the same Laws, contain'd in the Pentateuch, relating to the *Government* of Church and State, continued to be observ'd; all the visible Difference between both, consisted in the pompous Name of King, and in the Creation of some Offices, necessary to support the royal Dignity. The *Israelites* appear'd to be very well pleas'd at that Change, which themselves had desir'd, and *Saul* found no Opposition from the Part of his Subjects to his Elevation, though he had been prefer'd to a great Number of others, who, for their Power, Birth, Wealth, and for the singular Services their Ancestors had render'd to the Nation, could have aspir'd to the Throne before him. But the *Jews*, like several other Nations, lov'd Novelty; and it was enough that a King was something new, to be approv'd by them, at least for a Time.

The first considerable Change which happen'd in that *Government*, and the first Time it appear'd really a Monarchy, was under *David's* Reign, who took the legislative Power entirely in his own Hands, and govern'd with an absolute one, making them sensible that they were really his Subjects, by advancing to the most eminent Posts in the Church and State, those he knew to be best affected to his Person and Government, punishing or displacing the Disaffected, appointing Ministers and other Officers for the Execution of his Orders, settling the Revenue of the Crown, and obliging the Subjects to contribute towards maintaining the Splendor and Majesty of it. He was even the first (tho' a Man according to God's Heart) who practis'd those Violences God had told the *Israelites* they would be expos'd to under a monarchical *Government*; for he took and debauched *Uriah's* Wife, and sacrificed her Husband to his Lust. Nay even the whole Kingdom suffer'd several Calamities, in Punishment for his own private Crimes. Perhaps it was also the first Time the *Hebrews* were sensible of the Change which had happen'd in their Affairs, and repented that they had ask'd for a King. But that Repentance was vain, for it was no longer in their Power

M

to

vented in *Affyria*, and the Empire of the *Affyrians*, was the first Monarchy in the World, and began under *Nimrod*, *Cham's* Grandson, who was the Author thereof.

But this was not the Form of *Government* the divine Providence design'd should be established among Men, which in some Measure was to reduce them to a Condition inferior to that of Brutes. For as he had formed them after his own Image, they were to be govern'd, had they submitted themselves to him, and not followed the Inconstancy of their Mind, in a Manner agreeable to that divine Resemblance, *i. e.* they had been led thro' all the most intricate Paths of good Order, Morality, and Virtue, in an easy Manner, and in the full Enjoyment of all they possessed, without being exposed to the least Violence and Oppression. Virtue had been rewarded to its full Value, and Vice punished with so much Justice and Equity, as to deserve the Approbation, even of those on whom the Punishment should have been inflicted. Nothing had ever been concerted but for the publick Good; nor new Laws made, or old ones interpreted, but for the Preservation of that beautiful and just Harmony which should subsist between the different Members of a Republick; and tho' a certain Subordination would have been established between those Members, to avoid an Anarchy, it would have been with so much Wisdom, Discretion, and Prudence, as to leave no Room for any Body to complain of the Indifference of their Condition. Those whom God had judg'd proper to raise above the rest, either to execute his Orders, to administer Justice, or to protect his People against any Insults, could not have forgot themselves in their respective Employments, without Impunity. The Splendor of a Throne, and the Radiancy of a Diadem, had not robb'd the Divinity of the Adoration due to him; nor Flattery or Adulation ravish'd what was due to Merit. Favour, or any other human Consideration, had not been capable to silence the just Complaints of the Oppressed; nor Fortune suffer'd to make the least Difference between the Rich and the Poor, when both to be heard. The very Name of Slavery had been unknown among us, and we had all been free of that Freedom, which is not incompatible with a becoming Obedience and Submission, since nothing had been requir'd from us, for which our Reason had shew'd the least Reluctancy, and but what was in our Power to effect, without putting ourselves to the least Inconveniency; all had been proportion'd to our own Strength. Our Lives and Fortunes had never been sacrificed to Ambition, and never been exposed to any Dangers, but when the Security of the whole Body politic had requir'd it; no unjust Wars prosecuted, no Invasions attempted; no Unjustice suffer'd, nor even the single Appearance of Oppression tolerated. As God had himself made Choice of his own Ministers, the Gates of the Sanctuary had always been kept shut against Ignorance, Indolence, Pride, Prodigality, and Luxury. The divine Worship had flourished, because those whose Office it had been to promote it, had minded nothing else, and had not been obliged to spend in the Temple of *Baal*, Part of the Time which was design'd for the Service of the living God. And the Offerings had not been taken from the Altar, to be lavish'd in Debauchery, worldly Pleasures, and criminal Diversions.

Though this Form of *Government*, which God would have establish'd upon Earth, was rejected by the Generality of Mankind, he notwithstanding preserved it among a certain Number of Persons, whom he had selected from the rest, and design'd to make Chiefs of a Nation, which, by Way of Pre-eminency, he was pleas'd to call his own People; but that Number was so small, that we know not but by mere Conjectures, or rather Suppositions, how that *Government* was established among them; all that we can learn of it from History is, that *Abraham* was one of them, and that it was confin'd at first to the Oeconomy to be observ'd in every Family, the Chief whereof was to be appointed by God to be his Vicegerent, without any other Dependency, but an immediate one from him; and with a legislative Power even of Life and Death, over all the Members of that Fa-

mily, without being accountable of his Administration, but to God alone.

This was also, in Reality, a Sort of Monarchy, but not an oppressive one, as that heretofore mention'd; for, though the Sovereign knew nothing above him, except the supreme Being, he did not consider himself as independent and absolute, nor thought that he could oblige his Subjects, without an imminent Danger to himself, to the Observance of any Laws, which were not dictated by that same supreme Being, or had his Sanction.

That this Kind of Monarchy was confin'd to every particular Family, without any Dependency from one another, is evident from what the Holy Writ relates of *Abraham*, and *Lot* his Nephew, who each govern'd his own Family, without either of them pretending to a Pre-eminence over the other, not even of Primogeniture.

This Form of *Government* continued among *Abraham's* Descendants, till *Jacob* with his whole Family was called into *Egypt*, by his Son *Joseph*, whose extraordinary Merit, supported by the unsearchable Decrees of the divine Providence, had raised from a Prison, to the most eminent Post of that Monarchy; for even then, *Egypt* was one of the most flourishing upon Earth, and govern'd by a judicious Prince, whom the Obscurity of a Prison, nor the Quality of a Foreigner, could not deter from reposing himself on *Joseph* the whole *Government* of his Kingdom; and making him what we have been pleas'd to call since, his first Minister. For in Fact, he was invest'd with the same Authority as our modern Ministers are, with this Difference, that he made no other Use of that Authority, than to make his Prince sit easy on his Throne, and his People happy; having nothing else in View, but the publick Good, and being always ready to prefer it to his own private Interest. For the Scripture informs us, that during the seven Years of Scarcity, when, had he been actuated by the scandalous, and oppressive Motives of Self-Interest, he could have amass'd immense Riches, his whole Care was to relieve the Subjects, and fill up the Coffers of his royal Master. It is true, that he brought his Family into the Kingdom, but we do not read that he even attempted to advance any of them at Court, or that he robb'd his Prince, or plunder'd the *Egyptians* to enrich them. He asks nothing for them, but the King's Protection, and the better to engage him to it, and to give him to understand at the same Time, that it is always the Interest of a Prince, and his Subjects, to invite into his Dominions, and encourage all industrious People, he tells him, that they are Shepherds and Husbandmen, and therefore could cultivate Lands, which till then had remain'd uncultivated, and thereby contribute towards making *Egypt* still more fertile than it was.

If the *Hebrews* preserved among them the antient Form of *Government* of their Ancestors, if they invent'd a new one, or if they submitted themselves entirely to that of the *Egyptians*, during their Stay in that Country, it is what we do not find in the History of those Times. For my Part, I would be apt to believe, that for the Civil Government, they submitted themselves entirely to that of the *Egyptians*, the more because they could not expect to be better govern'd than by *Joseph*, who, when they came into *Egypt*, and till he died, was at the Helm of the State, and the sole Counsellor of *Pharaoh*, who never used to do any Thing but by his Advice. As to ecclesiastical *Government*, they may have established some particular one among themselves, but I really believe, that though they always ador'd the true God, it was corrupted by many of the *Egyptian* Superstitions. Of which we will be better convinced, when I come to speak of that Theocracy established among them in the Desert, the sublime Maxims whereof were dictated by God himself.

After *Joseph* and *Pharaoh's* Death, there is no doubt but they were obliged to submit themselves to the *Egyptian* Yoke; till *Moses*, appointed by God for their Chief, came to deliver them from their Captivity. They had already been used so long to a despotick *Government*, and to obey absolute Commands, that they did not shew the least Reluctancy to follow *Moses*; though he could

give

give no other Proofs of his extraordinary Mission, but the Miracles he had operated, and which had almost all been counterfeited by *Pharaoh's* Priests. But what he proposed to them, had the Appearance of Liberty, and they were Slaves.

At first they followed *Moses* as a General, but when they had crossed over the *Red-Sea*, and were no longer in Fear of their Enemies; their Liberator, under God, began to think of a Form of Government, without which, he saw it was impossible to govern so numerous a Multitude, which he soon found too prone to Disobedience and Mutiny.

Born with an excellent Genius, enrich'd by Heaven with extraordinary Talents, educated at *Pharaoh's* Court, and if I may use the Expression, in the very Bosom of the most refin'd Politick of those Times, *Moses* was certainly the most capable of all the *Hebrews*, to frame a Form of Government; and had Resolution and Courage enough to have it observ'd, if he had dealt with a less turbulent and inconstant Nation; which he knew, being no longer kept in Subjection by the tyrannical Power of the *Egyptians*, would not submit themselves easily to a Man, whom they consider'd as their Equal, and had no other Authority to have himself obey'd, but what he had borrow'd from them; he saw plainly that nothing but what could be digested in an extraordinary Manner, and promulgated in the same Manner, would make any Impression on their Mind, and over-awe them. In this Perplexity, he was assisted by God himself, who having been the Liberator of the *Hebrews*, would also be their Legislator; notwithstanding what those who have the Impiety to question the Truth of the Scripture, say, that the Promulgation of the Law on Mount *Sinai*, by the Almighty, was nothing else but a Turn of *Moses's* Policy, to give a greater Sanction to the Maxims of Government, himself had invented, some of which were too oppressive, and others too cruel, for to have been dictated by God, whose principal Attributes are Mercy and Clemency. That *Moses* could have as well learn'd in *Egypt* how to counterfeit Thunders and Lightenings, as the Priests of *Pharaoh* had learn'd to counterfeit several of the Miracles he operated at his Court; which they are the more inclin'd to believe, because *Moses* order'd the *Hebrews* to keep at a certain Distance from the Mountain, lest had they been nearer, they would have discover'd what passed there.

But this is only the impious Reasoning of those who question all Sorts of Truths, often the most evident. For, according to the Scripture, which must be the Rule of our Faith, *Moses* was called on Mount *Sinai*, by the Almighty himself, where he spoke to him Face to Face (in the Manner I have explain'd it in my Treatise of *God and his Attributes*) on the Form of governing that stubborn Nation; and where he received from him the principal Maxims of that Government; calculated chiefly to extirpate from among them, the vitiated and superstitious Ones they had learn'd in *Egypt*. As it appears by the Ten Commandments, where Idolatry, Superstition, Concupiscence, Adultery, Theft, and all the other Vices the most in Vogue among the *Egyptians*, are condemn'd and abhorr'd.

It is true, that among those Maxims of Government, which *Moses* assures us were digested in Heaven, and dictated to him on Mount *Sinai*, some appear extremely rigorous and violent, and among us, would smell much of a despotick Government, and even very oppressive, and tyrannical; but it would be arraigning God's Wisdom and Justice to consider them as such with Regard to the *Hebrews*, who were not always to be treated with too much Meekness and Indulgency; otherwise the whole Body politick had not subsisted long in that flourishing State, *Moses* kept it by his judicious, though excessive Severity; and they had been as ready to change their Chief, as often as other Nations have done; since God knew what Risques *Moses* run, in Undertaking the Conduct of that Nation, if he had not been supported by his Authority, and if he had not taken the necessary Measures to punish exemplary the smallest Faults, in order to deter the *Hebrews* from committing greater. Besides, *Moses* who was but God's Lieutenant, did nothing

Vol. II.

on those Occasions, but execute the Orders of the King of Kings, who had an unquestionable Power of Life and Death over his Subjects.

This Form of Government was particular to the *Hebrews*, for they found Monarchy established among the different Nations they met with in their Journey to the Land of *Promise*; or at least Chiefs, whom the Scripture calls Kings.

Moses was succeeded in the Conduct of the *Israelites*, by *Joshua*; not by Right of Inheritance or Succession, but by a divine Election, or God's Appointment, even when *Moses* was yet living. We do not read that he treated the *Hebrews* with the same Severity his Predecessor had done, nor that he was so exact to put all the penal Laws in Execution; perhaps the new Generation under his Conduct, was more tractable, and less refractory to God's Orders, than the old one, which had caused so much Trouble and Fatigue to *Moses*, and of which there was none left then, but him and *Caleb*.

This Theocracy continued, till the *Israelites* tir'd of it, without Cause, though they had suffer'd several very great Calamities under some of their Judges, and thro' their natural Inconstancy, seeing that all the other Nations they were environ'd with, had each their King, asked also for one, under the Government of *Samuel* their last Judge. God took this Occasion to reproach them by his Prophet with their Ingratitude, and to convince them of it, made an exact Recapitulation of all the signal Favours, they and their Fathers had received from him, ever since their Deliverance from the Captivity of *Egypt* to that Time. He also set before them all the Hardships they were to suffer under a monarchical Government, as if Tyranny and Oppression were inseparable from it; but however, as he was determin'd to grant their Request, and would give them this last Mark of the particular Care he had taken of their Conduct, he was pleased to mark himself the first King who was to govern them, to whom he gave for Counsel the Prophet *Samuel*.

Though the Theocracy ceased at *Saul's* Elevation to the Throne, there happen'd no very sensible Alteration in the Government; for the same Laws, contain'd in the Pentateuch, relating to the Government of Church and State, continued to be observ'd; all the visible Difference between both, consisted in the pompous Name of King, and in the Creation of some Offices, necessary to support the royal Dignity. The *Israelites* appear'd to be very well pleas'd at that Change, which themselves had desir'd, and *Saul* found no Opposition from the Part of his Subjects to his Elevation, though he had been prefer'd to a great Number of others, who, for their Power, Birth, Wealth, and for the singular Services their Ancestors had render'd to the Nation, could have aspir'd to the Throne before him. But the *Jews*, like several other Nations, lov'd Novelty; and it was enough that a King was something new, to be approv'd by them, at least for a Time.

The first considerable Change which happen'd in that Government, and the first Time it appear'd really a Monarchy, was under *David's* Reign, who took the legislative Power entirely in his own Hands, and govern'd with an absolute one, making them sensible that they were really his Subjects, by advancing to the most eminent Posts in the Church and State, those he knew to be best affected to his Person and Government, punishing or displacing the Disaffected, appointing Ministers and other Officers for the Execution of his Orders, settling the Revenue of the Crown, and obliging the Subjects to contribute towards maintaining the Splendor and Majesty of it. He was even the first (tho' a Man according to God's Heart) who practis'd those Violences God had told the *Israelites* they would be exposed to under a monarchical Government; for he took and debauched *Uriah's* Wife, and sacrificed her Husband to his Lust. Nay even the whole Kingdom suffer'd several Calamities, in Punishment for his own private Crimes. Perhaps it was also the first Time the *Hebrews* were sensible of the Change which had happen'd in their Affairs, and repented that they had ask'd for a King. But that Repentance was vain, for it was no longer in their Power

M

to

to extricate themselves from the Embarrass, their Inconstancy and Imprudence had engaged them in ; and it had been a rash Enterprize to have attempted to dethrone *David*, who, besides his own personal Bravery, which had gained him a very great Reputation among his Allies, and kept all his Enemies in Fear of him, had always a very good Army at Hand, commanded by experienced Generals, all at his Devotion (though he treated some of them, especially *Joab*, with a great deal of Ingratitude) to bring the Rebels to Reason.

David's Successors rendered Monarchy still more odious to the *Jews* ; *Solomon* by his Idolatry, Debauchery, Vanity, and Extravagance ; and *Solomon's* Children by their Want of Capacity to govern a powerful Nation, and Tyranny, whereby they oblig'd the greatest Part of the Kingdom to revolt against them. The blind and scandalous Complaisance for Minions and Favourites, who were suffer'd to oppress and plunder the Subjects, to enrich themselves and Families, was the Cause of the entire Ruin of the House of *David*. Those evil Counsellors, contrary to the wise Maxims of that truly political King, who had never dar'd to give the least Offence, at least openly, to the fundamental Laws of the State, of which the *Jews* had always appear'd very jealous, had the Temerity to persuade their weak Masters, to new modelize the *Jewish Government*, without any Regard to those Laws : This was enough to awaken the *Hebrews*, who were no longer kept in Respect by *David's* extraordinary Merit, which had not passed with his Crown to his Posterity, to appear in Defence of them, and the false Politicks of those Princes, in attempting to gain a greater Extent of Power, made them lose that they were possess'd of already. From that fatal Epoch, the *Jewish Government* began to lose a great deal of its Lustre and Reputation, till, through several Revolutions, it was at last entirely extinguish'd, so that nothing remains of it at present, but the Memory of its unhappy Catastrophe.

After the Extinction of a monarchical Government among the *Jews*, they often attempted to modelize it anew, and gave it sometimes the Form of an elective, and sometimes that of an hereditary Sovereignty, but it could never recover its pristine Splendor ; for, notwithstanding their frequent Struggles for it, and the frequent signal Victories they gain'd over their Enemies, they could not help at last becoming Tributaries to some of them ; but oftener to the Kings of *Babylon*, as the most formidable.

All the greatest Monarchies which flourish'd in those Days, some of which had preceded the *Jewish* Monarchy, and some had been coeval to it, have experienced the same Fate ; as well as the Republicks of *Athens*, *Sparta*, *Carthage*, and the most famous one of *Rome*, which, after she had render'd herself Mistress of the most considerable Parts of the then known World, perish'd through the Corruption of her own Members ; who sacrificed to their own private Interest and Ambition, that precious Liberty, which their Ancestors had acquir'd at the Price of a Million of Lives, and maintain'd afterwards in that Lustre and Splendor, which during several Ages successively, was the Admiration of the whole Earth.

No Government (the Theocracy excepted) had ever been better calculated for the Felicity of the Subjects ; the Preservation of their Rights and Properties, having been made the Foundation thereof ; which once invaded, the whole Edifice must necessarily have fallen to Ruin. As all the different Orders of the State were interested in the Preservation of those Rights and Properties, they were also all called to all the Consultations relating to them ; at least their Representatives. No Enterprize of any Consequence was undertaken, without the Approbation of the People, who could put a Negative to it whenever they pleas'd, and had render'd themselves so formidable as to make the Senate tremble ; which was often obliged to expostulate with them in Publick, in the most submissive Manner, on her Determinations, which had but the least Appearance of touching the publick Liberty, for fear of the dangerous Consequences, their Suspicions on that great Point should be attended with ; for the

Senate was more over-aw'd by the People, than the People was by the Senate. While both acted in Concert, while the Senate executed no Project, without the Concurrence of the People, and the People took no rash Resolutions against the Determinations or Decrees of the Senate ; while there was no other Gate to enter that august Assembly, than a sincere and disinterested Love for one's Country, and no other Motive to desire being admitted a Member, than that of maintaining the publick Liberty ; while the People could not be brib'd to sacrifice that Liberty to their own private Interest, and continued in the noble Sentiments of losing their Lives, and what else they had the most dear in this World, rather than to lose it ; the Republick flourish'd, succeeded with Glory in all her Enterprizes, and was either courted or dreaded by the most formidable Powers of the Earth ; Victory and Conquest attended every where the *Roman* Eagles ; which were a Symbol of Peace and Security to the Allies of the Republick, and Birds of ill Omen to her Enemies. In those fortunate Days, *Rome* was honour'd with more Triumphs than there were Spectators to see them ; or rather they were so frequent, that the *Romans* minded them no otherwise than the common Spectacles they were used to see every Day. But when Avarice began to conquer in them that laudible Love for their Country, so far as to make it give Place in their Heart to that of Money ; when they began to set the Price of the Blood of their Ancestors to Auction ; as soon as Bribery and Corruption found Means to be introduced in the Senate, and have Merit supplanted by Wealth and Favour, then began the Eclipse of the Glory of the Republick, which ever since went on always increasing, till it became at last total ; and could never afterwards recover the least Glimpse of its former Radiance.

On the Ruins of this celebrated Republick, was built the monstrous Colossus of the *Roman* Empire, which had also a periodical Course, and vanished, at last, like all the others, into Smoak ; for what we stile, at present the Empire, is nothing but a Shadow of it.

On the Model of those antient Monarchies and Republicks, have been formed our modern ones.

Of modern Monarchies, some are absolute and despotick, where the Will of the Monarch is uncontrollable ; and others limited, where the Prince's Authority is restrained by Laws, and part of the supreme Power lodged in other Hands.

Some Monarchies are again hereditary, where the Succession devolves immediately from Father to Son ; and others elective, where on the Death of the Monarch, his Successor is appointed by Election.

The most absolute and despotick Monarchy in the World, at least of those which make the greatest Figure in it, is that of the *Turks* ; since the Pleasure, or Will of the Sovereign is the most sacred Law thereof. Their Emperor condemns to Death, of his own Authority, and without any other Formalities, not only the meanest of his Subjects, but likewise Persons of the first Rank, and even the Princes of his Blood ; and there is no Law in the Empire, which can call him to an Account, or even reprove him for it ; and no Appeal from the Sentence to any other Tribunal, not even to that of the Judge himself ; since the Sentence is no sooner pronounced, than it is executed, without allowing the least Respite to the Person condemn'd to plead in his own Defence ; nay, they very seldom ask for such a Respite, or offer to say any Thing to delay the Execution, thro' that blind, or ignorant Notion, which is one of the Corner Stones on which that tyrannical Power has been erected, that a Mussulman who dies by the Orders of his Sovereign, dies a Martyr, and is received immediately into *Mahomet's* Paradise. This destructive Doctrine is so generally receiv'd among the *Turks*, and the Grand Signor is so conscious of it, that he employs in his unjust Executions, but two or three despicable Mutes, who often could easily pass through the Windows of those to whom they are sent, with the silken String. I am surprized that even Persons of the greatest Merit among them, are susceptible of that ridiculous Infatuation, particularly such as have had the Command

mand of Armies, and have frequented other Nations; especially when reading the frequent Revolutions happened in that vast Empire, that the *Turks*, when they please, are as sensible of Oppression, as any other Nation; and that they want neither Courage nor Resolution to have their Grievances redressed, when they touch them to the Quick, without even sparing the Throne, on those Occasions, or having Recourse to fruitless Remonstrances. The People of *Constantinople* alone, has often proscrib'd of their own Authority, a Grand Vizier, and the other great Officers of the Empire; and when the Emperor has refused to condescend to their Proscriptions, they have some Times proscribed even himself. And that Proscription has been immediately follow'd by the Execution of his own Person. So that his Power, despotick as it is, is notwithstanding very precarious; and unless it be supported by a great deal of Courage and Resolution, is seldom of a long Duration. Thus the most Seditious among the Subjects, when countenanced by a powerful Faction, or by the *Janissaries*, who are the best Forces of the *Ottoman* Empire, and of which there is always a great Number at *Constantinople*, where they bear a great Sway, take in their Hands the Reins of the Government, till having obtain'd all they desire, they resign it to a new Ministry of their own chusing, or a new Emperor of their own Promotion, though they never carry their Injustice or Rebellion so far, as to place on the Throne a Prince who is not of the illustrious House of the *Ottomans*. Their Laws being defective in several Particulars, is the Cause of those sudden Revolutions; and their Legislator *Mahomet*, in pretending to give an unlimited Power to the Prince, and make his Will the fundamental Law of the Empire, has expos'd him to those great Inconveniencies. He had acted with more Prudence, if he had confin'd that Power within narrower Limits, and by putting it under the Direction of wholesome Laws, secur'd it against any Attempt of that Kind. For he could not reasonably suppose, that reasonable Creatures, let them be ever so stupid and ignorant as he would have them, could ever suffer to be govern'd like Brutes with the Whip, or to see their Fellow Creatures slaughter'd before their Eyes, and without Cause, and not resent it, when the very Brutes, and even the most stupid, nauseate when they see the Blood of their semblable spilt. To leave the Power of a Sovereign uncontroll'd, is to leave a full Career to the Inconstancy, Extravagance, and impetuous Humour of the Subjects, who think they have as much Right to oppose Tyranny, as Tyranny has to oppress them, since they run no greater Risque in opposing it, than they do in suffering it with a pusillanimous Meekness, very little becoming the Condition of a rational Man.

But however, I would not be misunderstood in this Place, and supposed an Advocate of Anarchy, Sedition, and Revolt; but I would have a just Subordination established between the Prince and his Subjects, since an Excess of Power on one Side, and a too extensive Freedom or Liberty on the other, are equally subject to very great Inconveniencies. The Power of the Prince should always be under the Direction of Laws equally founded on the Security of his Throne, and the Liberty of his Subjects, that he could not invade the one without endangering the other. Rewards and Punishments should be trusted in his Hands, but in such a Manner, that he should not bestow those, nor inflict these, but according to a certain Order established in the State, with the unanimous Consent of the different Parts it is compos'd of, to take off all Subject of Complaints.

The Grand Signor is also absolute Master of the Fortunes of his Subjects, and can be both Judge and Party, when he has a Mind to possess himself of them, under any Pretence, real or specious; and the Injustice of some of the *Ottoman* Emperors, has often gone, even so far, as to make it a Crime punishable with Death, to be immensely rich; though most of his Subjects are nothing else but his Tenants, who are pretty well off, if he allows them out of the Fruits of their Labour and Industry, the smallest Part; so that Husbandmen, throughout the whole Empire, are most of them wretchedly poor; and

those who are consider'd as Proprietors of the Land, hold them from the Crown, under such oppressive Conditions, that they are seldom themselves a little above a State of Indigency. These are called *Timariots*, and in that Quality, are obliged themselves to take the Field, or to send so many Men and Horses into the Field, more or less, according to the Extent of their Possessions, when ever the Emperor commands it.

Besides this Service, they likewise pay an Acknowledgment of one Tenth of their Revenue. If they have any Children of Age to bear Arms, and fit for the Service after their Decease, or in Defect thereof, if they have any Relations that have the least Interest, the *Timar*, or Portion of Land, is continued to them on the same Conditions; otherwise it is transferred to others, for those *Timars* are only granted for Life.

If the Revenue thus held of the Grand Signor, exceeds 15000 Aspres, or 36 Pounds Sterling, they who hold it are not called *Timariots*, but *Subassi* or *Zaeins*, and have the Administration of Justice in the Place, under the Sanjiack of the Province.

Unless the *Timar* exceeds 6000 Aspres, the *Timariots* are not obliged to march, except when the Grand Signor goes to the Army in Person, on which Occasion none are exempted.

Note, That the Origin of *Timariots* is referr'd to the first Sultans, who being Masters of the Fiefs, or Lands of the Empire, erected them into Baronies or Commanderies, to reward the Services of their bravest Soldiers; and especially to raise and keep on Foot a Number [of Troops, without disbursing any Money. But it was *Solyman II.* that first established the Order and Discipline among these Barons, or Knights of the Empire; and by his Orders it was, that the Number of Horsemen each should maintain, was regulated. Notwithstanding this, Liberty is not entirely banish'd from the *Ottoman* Empire, and the despotick Power of the Grand Signor, does not extend indifferently to all the Orders of the State; for the Clergy there, as well as every where else, have guarded themselves against it as well as they could, and the *Mufti*, who is their Chief, has usurp'd the Authority of issuing out *Fetfa's*, or Orders, even for the Deposition of the Grand Signor himself; and as those holy Impostors, help to keep the People in that blind Ignorance, which renders them Slaves, rather than Subjects, the Emperors have had the mean Complaisance, to tolerate that Usurpation, which is a Scandal to the Throne; and renders the Subjects seditious, and Rebels by a Principle of Religion. The Alcoran there, as the Gospel among *Christians*, is often interpreted according to the different Passions of the Clergy, or of those whom they want to favour most.

Persia is also a Monarchy, and its Government absolute and despotick; but as the *Persians* are better civiliz'd than the *Turks*, and not quite so ignorant, they are better treated by their Prince, and they are not so willing to resign their Lives and Fortunes to his Will, nor himself so ready to lay Claim to either, for fear of meeting with Opposition. For though the *Persians* follow, like the *Turks*, *Mahomet's* Dreams, they take the Liberty to interpret those Dreams, as it suits best their own Interest and Preservation, and none of them would make any Scruple to resist an Executioner sent to him by the Sophy; who as he seldom attempts on the Lives of his Subjects, and leaves them to enjoy peaceably, what Fortune is pleased to favour them withal, seldom, also, becomes the Victim of a Sedition. It is true, that like in *Turky*, he can take away the Life of any Subjects, without any other Formality than that of his own Will; but it is likewise as true, that he does not often make Use of that tyrannical Privilege; neither does he pretend to be the sole Proprietor of all the Lands of the Monarchy, leaving every one of his Subjects to enjoy his own patrimonial State, in which the Son succeeds his Father to the latest Generation; and contenting himself with the Taxes rais'd on those Estates, according to the Revenue they bring to the Proprietor; which is the Cause that *Persia* is far better cultivated than *Turky*, and produces a greater

greater Quantity of very useful Commodities, and beautiful Manufactures, which are exported throughout the whole World : For no Body being deprived there of the Fruits of his Labour and Industry, and all Sorts of Arts meeting with a due Encouragement, every one exerts himself in his own Profession, and few languish in that Indolence or Idleness, which seems natural to the *Turks*.

The *Persian* Monarchy is also hereditary, and had continued long in the same Family, till by a sudden Revolution, happened in our Days, *Mereweis* usurped the Throne, which is now possessed by another Usurper, *Kouli Kan* ; who after he himself had helped to restore the Son of the Sophy dethroned by *Mereweis*, rendered himself guilty of the same Crime, and usurped in his Turn, the Throne to which he had not the least Right.

There are several hereditary and absolute Monarchies in *Europe*, but no despotick ones ; *i. e.* none where the Will of the Sovereign is uncontrollable, so far as to dispose of the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects, at his Pleasure, and without any other Formalities. The *French* Government, which is represented as such by the Enemies of that Crown, is very far from being despotick, and without the least Partiality, I may venture to say, that, considering the great Difference which should be between an absolute Monarchy, and an Aristocracy or Democracy, tyrannical and oppressive Acts are less frequent in that Country than in some others, which boast of their great Freedom and Liberty.

Some will certainly laugh at this Assertion, which will seem a Paradox to those who know nothing of the *French* Government but by Hearsay, and are persuaded that all the *French* in general are very little better than voluntary Slaves ; and that, contrary to the fundamental Laws of the State, their Princes have insensibly, and by Degrees, forged their Chains, by usurping the Privileges and Liberties of the Subjects : Which Supposition is entirely false in all its Parts. For, 1. The *French* Monarchy, from its first Institution, has always been an absolute one ; and their first Kings, if we believe all the Historians and Chronologers who have wrote on that Subject, have always governed absolutely by themselves, or their Ministers ; without ever consulting their Subjects on State Affairs, or the Subjects ever pretending that they were obliged to do it, according to the fundamental Laws of their Monarchy. It is true, that at first they followed the Example of the *Romans*, and elected their Kings ; but they soon renounced that Privilege, and suffered without Opposition, or even the least Murmur, that the Right of Succession should be introduced among them. They never pretended, even while that of Election subsisted, which was but for a very short Time, to enter into the King's Council, otherwise than by their chief Officers, who were assembled as in a Council of War, when some military Expedition was on the Carpet ; minding, then, very little else but to extend their Frontiers, and to make head against the most formidable of their Enemies, by whom they were continually alarmed in their new Conquests : And we do not read, that they attempted to new modelize their Government ; or that ever after they claimed their first Right of Election. It is true, that they have sometimes since placed on the Throne, Persons who were not legitimate Heirs to it ; being forced to do it, to please the Ambition of the *Maires du Palais*, who during the Imbecillity of their *faineant Kings* had usurped the whole Royal Authority, which in them was not to be resisted, can be called an Election. But even those Revolutions, instead of enlarging their Freedom, or calling them to the Management of publick Affairs, kept them, on the contrary, at a greater Distance from them. For those *Maires du Palais* had been so well used to exert an arbitrary Power, and to govern absolutely by themselves, during the Stupidity of their Masters, to whom they used to leave only the bare Name of King, and a certain Shadow of Authority, indispensibly necessary to give a Sanction to their Conduct in the Government of the Kingdom : That it was not to be expected they would relinquish Part of that Authority, after they had ascended the Throne, and when they had a more plausible Pretence to claim a greater, if such a Thing could have been found.

If some of the Kings of the third Race (conscious that their Subjects were as much interested as themselves in the Welfare of the Kingdom, and that to call them in Consultation, when something considerable was on the Tapis relating to it, was to act with more Wisdom, Prudence, and Discretion, than to rely entirely on their own Judgment or Capacity, or that of their Ministers or Favourites) have relinquish'd Part of that absolute Power, and given Leave to assemble, what was call'd afterwards *les Etats generaux* ; *i. e.* the Nobility, Clergy, and the Commons by their Deputies ; it cannot be said that such Assembly was a Right of the Subjects founded on the fundamental Laws of the *French* Monarchy ; but only a Privilege granted by the Prince, which he could revoke when he thought it suited his own Security, and the Glory of his Throne, so to do.

I know perfectly well, that the *French* have claimed it as their Right, and as most agreeable to that natural Freedom Men are born with, and to that Difference which should always subsist between them and the Brutes, of chusing themselves their own Yoak, and be permitted (if for the Good of the Society they must necessarily be under one) to make it as easy as it is convenient it should ; but their Kings have been of a different Sentiment, and that Sentiment has prevailed so far, notwithstanding the strong Opposition it has met with, as to procure the Revocation of that Privilege, and the entire Abolition of those Assemblies, under *Henry III.*

Of this the *French* Nation has complained for a very considerable Time, as of a great Injustice ; though, in my Opinion, with very little Reason. For those Assemblies, which at first had nothing in View but the Publick Good, and were composed of Members, who consulted nothing else but the Interest of their own Country, always ready to prefer it to their own private one, were soon after composed of Parasites, Minions, and Sycophants, ready to set to Auction not only their Country, but even their Honour, and the Reputation of their illustrious Ancestors. For the Successors of those Kings, who had first called those Assemblies, having not the same disinterested Views ; and perceiving, that in them were often concerted Measures, tending towards limiting their Authority, which was supposed of too great Extent for the Good of the Subjects, attempted to debauch by Presents, Promises, and Preferments, those among the Members whom they found to have the most Credit, and most ready to oppose the oppressive Schemes of the Court ; and often succeeded therein. The Clergy was the first to desert the common Cause ; for as the King of *France* has the Nomination to all the Bishopricks, Abbeyes, and other considerable Benefices of the Kingdom, and the Tribe of *Levi* in all Countries, and in all Sects, has always prefer'd its own Interest to any other Consideration whatever, the Court found little or no Difficulty, in Hopes of an Increase of Revenue, or for Fear of losing what they possessed already, to gain them on her Side, to make them approve all her Measures, right or wrong, and exclaim against all others as sacrilegious, and contrary to the true Principles of Religion ; pushing even their Complaisance so far, as to search in the Scripture for Passages in Defence of arbitrary Power, and Oppression.

The most difficult Point was to gain the Nobility ; an Attempt which the King himself dreaded, for Fear of being disappointed : For as the *French* Noblemen, at least those who were admitted into that august Assembly, were almost all educated in the Principles of the strictest Honour and Probity, it was not a very easy Task to attack both with the least Appearance of Success. In Fact, though Luxury, Ambition, and Avarice, united their Forces to assail them at once, and gave them several frequent and rude Assaults, they found themselves every Time repulsed with Shame. Therefore another Artifice was used, which succeeded even beyond Expectation ; and that was, to give the Exclusion from that Assembly to all those illustrious Members, whom neither the Hope of Recompence, nor the Fear of Disgrace, could persuade to renounce those Principles of Magnanimity, Integrity, and Honour, they had received with their Life, and in which they had been strengthened

ed by the excellent Lessons of those who gave them Birth; and to have them supplanted by others of a new Creation, who were known for Scoundrels, capable to sacrifice, not their Honour, for they had none, but their Soul, Country, and even God himself, to favour Self-Interest.

This new Nobility (if I be not ashamed to give that Title to the despicable Agiotors of the *French* Liberties) had soon changed the Face of that Assembly, and made it the Echo of the Court; where, ever after, all that was proposed from that Side, passed *Nemine Contradicente*; or, as the *French* call it, *a volée de Bonets*; and the few honest Members, who persisted in their Integrity, were despised and laugh'd at, as impotent, or despicable Enemies: So that what was, at first, so justly called the Assembly of the States of the Kingdom, became at last a Farce of the *French* Liberties, where the Nation was obliged to pay the Actors; for as those Mercenaries did not expect to do the Drudgery of the Court without being handsomely paid for it, or rather did it with no other View; a considerable Increase of Taxes was made over and above what was necessary to defray the Expences of the Crown, to quench the insatiable Thirst for Money of those Sponges.

To stop the Course of those destructive Evils, Measures were concerted within and without Doors, which had sometimes very fatal Consequences, the last of those Assemblies, which was that of *Blois*, under *Henry III.* having been dishonoured by one of the most horrid Crimes, not only a crown'd Head, but even a Man of Honour could be guilty of, *viz.* the Murder of the Duke of *Guise*, perpetrated by *Henry's* Orders, to which that King himself was accessary, and which was the Cause of his being himself assassinated afterwards at *St. Cloud*, by *James Clement*.

Therefore I ask, if the *French* have the least Cause to repine at the Revocation of that Privilege, which was rather become oppressive to them at last, than advantageous? And if Tyranny is not more frightful, and more dangerous, when with several hundred Heads, than when it has but one? A Leach must let go its Hold when it is gorged with Blood; but what Risk does not a Man run of losing to the last Drop of his, when stung at once with a vast Number of them?

The most sensible Part of the *French* Nation, is so persuaded of that Truth (notwithstanding what is said to the contrary in foreign Parts where the *French* are often represented, as ready to shake off their Yoke if they could find a favourable Opportunity of doing it with any Appearance of Success) that they would not change their present Condition with that of their Ancestors, nor even with that of their Neighbours, who boast more of the Enjoyments of their Liberties and Properties.

In what can the *French Government* be found more tyrannical than any other? Is the King of *France* more addicted to Avarice and Luxury than any other; or less inclined to Justice, Equity, Liberality, Compassion and Clemency? Are his Favourites more parsimonious, and his Ministers less disinterested, and less inclinable to promote the Welfare of the Country, and procure the Felicity of the Subjects? Are the Impositions, or Taxes less frequent, numerous, and heavy? Are those appointed to gather those Taxes, more void of Compassion in one Country than in another? Or rather, is not Inhumanity inseparable from their Profession every where? Yes; but the Taxes in *France* are laid by the absolute Will of the King without consulting his Subjects: This would certainly make a very great Difference, if in those Countries where the Subjects are consulted, Regard was had to the Circumstances and Abilities of the Subjects, before the Impositions were laid; but if not, and their Advice is only asked for Form's sake, and never followed but when it is agreeable to the Measures concerted by the Crown; of what Signification can it be to them, their being consulted; of what Advantage is it to a Man who meets with another who asks for his Purse, and takes it with Thanks if he gives it freely, but forces him to deliver if he refuses? And what is the Difference between that Man, and one who with a Pistol to one's Breast, obliges to deliver immediately. The Comparison, I

VOL. II.

must confess, is not very becoming, but notwithstanding it is not entirely void of Similitude; though I do not pretend to say that Taxes or Impositions are not very oppressive in *France*, especially in Time of War; but only that they are not more so there than any where else; for Taxes are Taxes every where: And in my Travels thro' the different Parts of *Europe*, I have found that they are as heavy, and in some Parts much more numerous than in *France*, and far more oppressive. For in *France* an Artizan, or handicraft Man, who has no Estate, pays no other Taxes but his Capitation, and that according to his Circumstances, and which does not amount perhaps above twenty Sols a Year; and when there is a Tax upon the *Arts* and *Metiers*, as in the late long War under *Louis XIV.* that same Artisan was, perhaps, obliged to pay ten Sols more a Year. Houses pay neither for their Windows nor for their Chimneys, nor even Ground-Rent; and in some Provinces, as in ours, the Tax laid on Land, which the *French* call *La Taille*, is very moderate. The most oppressive Taxes of all, and which brings a greater Revenue to the King, is that laid on Salt, called the *Gabelle*, for it raises the Salt to an exorbitant Price; and every House-keeper is obliged to take such a Quantity of it according to the Number they are in Family. There is also a very heavy Tax on Tobacco; but then no Body is obliged to use Tobacco, and as it is not a Commodity necessary for the Support of Life, that Tax is not at all oppressive; we pay this last Tax, but we don't pay the other; for when the Season has been favourable for the making of Salt, which is made on our Coasts, we may have a Bushel of Salt weighing sixty Pounds, eighteen Ounces to the Pound, for eight Sols, and for ten when it is dearest. There are also small Taxes upon Liquors, as Wine, Brandy, Cyder, Perry, &c. but none upon any other Commodities whatever.

Besides this, every one of the Subjects enjoys his own Properties undisturbed; and if it was ever so true that this Doctrine is received among us, that the King is absolute Master of our Lives and Fortune, it is only a speculative one, and no King has ever attempted to reduce it into Practice; on the contrary, we have as many wholesome Laws to restrain him from it, as any other Country in the World; and as much Resolution as any other Nation, to make use of those Laws; as we often do, when the Crown encroaches on our Properties, for then we sue the King himself, and may expect, if we have Right on our Side, to cast him; Nay, if the Case is dubious, it is always given in favour of the Subjects, and the late King often declared, that he would, if the Thing was possible, that his Subjects should always get their Cause against him.

As for the Nobility, there is no Country in the whole World where they are less oppressed, more favoured and more respected than in *France*; and in Gratitude to the Crown, for their Exemptions from several Impositions which the Commonality pay, there are but few among them, who are not pleased to spend their Fortunes, and expose their Life in the King's Service freely, and without the least Compulsion.

If during a long and destructive War, the King is forced to raise the Militia, and every Parish is obliged to furnish so many Men, Fate decides of it; no married Man is taken, and among those who have no Family, an idle Fellow is always taken before one who is industrious; besides, in some other Countries they have far more oppressive Ways, and which smell much more of Slavery, to press Men into the Service: For they seldom make any Distinction between a Man that has a Family to maintain, and one that has none. Every one they lay their Hands upon must march, according to the Humours of a Squab of *Tarpaulins*, who haunt Men, armed with Clubs and Bludgeons, &c. as they do wild Beasts in other Countries; and whose Will, on those Occasions, is a Law from which there is no Appeal; whereas, in *France* they draw their Fate, as at a Lottery, before the Magistrates of the Place.

Another Instance, which Foreigners are pleased to give of the oppressive Government of *France*, is the Restraint put on the Subjects Conscience, to hinder them from professing what Religion they please, and obliging them

N

them to be of that of the Prince. If the Thing was in Reality, as represented by the natural Enemies of *France*, whose Interest is to render that *Government* as odious as possible, and by perfidious *Frenchmen* who thirst after nothing more than the Devastation of their Country; it would certainly be an Oppression as criminal, and as much to be exclaimed against, as the Persecution of the Pagan Emperors in Christianity's Infancy; and I would be as ready to condemn it, as those who would make us believe that they are unjustly oppressed thereby; since no rational Man can approve the enslaving of Consciences; but when I consider that those pretended Persecutions proceed rather from a Maxim of State, than from a Principle of Religion; that from the first Instant Men began to form themselves into a civil Society, Difference in Matter of Belief has always caused some Division among them, and a certain Jealousy, Hatred, and Antipathy against one another, which in Process of Time becomes natural; I am not so easily imposed upon.

To be convinced of this Truth with regard to *France*, we may only read, with an unprejudiced Mind, the Annals of that Monarchy, and we'll find, that before Calvinism had gain'd Ground in *France*, unfortunately, for the domestick Peace and Tranquility, the *French* had always been entire Strangers to civil Divisions, and the best affected to their Prince and his *Government* of any Nation on the whole Earth. *Francis I.* under whose Reign this new Doctrine appeared for the first Time, was not at all alarmed at it; and the Pretext of the Novaters, of undertaking the Reformation of the Sanctuary, where in fact several gross Abuses had been introduced, through the Ignorance of the Clergy, was even specious enough to engage the King, who was a great Admirer of Learning, and of the Learned, to approve their laudible Zeal, and even support it with his Royal Authority; and I should be apt enough to believe, that the Fear the Clergy was in at first of being obliged to reform their licentious Life, and qualify themselves for their Employment by Study, was the Cause that they persuaded the King to suffer that some violent Means should be used, to root out that growing Evil; perhaps also, that the Disorders which the new Opinions had already caused in *Germany*, were the Occasion thereof, lest the Kingdom of *France* should be exposed to the same Inconveniency as it unfortunately happened at last; for those new Doctors, instead of preaching a Christian Resignation to the Will of the divine Providence, a Submission to legitimate Superiors, Patience in Persecution, according to the Doctrine of the Gospel, of which they stiled themselves Ministers, preached on the contrary, Sedition, Rebellion, Disobedience, and Revenge. And when they saw that their seditious Discourses had made the Impression they desired, on the Mind of their Protestants, they had the sacrilegious Temerity to call to Arms, and to appear themselves in Steel against their legitimate Sovereign, committing Sacrileges, Rapes, Murders, and all Sorts of other Enormities, through a Principle of Religion, and even a Christian Religion; which Disorders continued under four Reigns successively, with the greatest Rage and Fury, viz. of *Henry II.* *Francis II.* *Charles IX.* and *Henry III.* and were renewed, but with less Violence, because opposed by the Courage of the Cardinals *Richelieu* and *Mazarin*, under *Louis XIII.* and the Minority of his Son and Successor *Louis XIV.*

But they were forced in their Belief; they should rather say, that they would have forced others, and even the Prince himself into their Belief; and when they saw that they could not effect either by their Discourses, or Writings, they had Recourse to the most violent Means, and changed soon, to colour their Rebellion, the first Pretext of reforming the Church into that of reforming the State, by the entire Subversion of the fundamental Laws of the *French* Monarchy, on the Ruins whereof they wanted to establish a monstrous Anarchy of their own Invention. Is that the true Spirit of the Gospel? Did *Christ* use the same Means to establish his Religion, or his Apostles to propagate it? Let us suppose for once that they were constrained in their Belief; were not the first Christians constrained likewise in their Belief even in

the most violent Manner? Were they not condemned by their Persecutors, to the most excruciating Torments which Hell itself could invent? And did they ever use any other Arms against them, than their Patience, entire Resignation, Tears and Prayers; if we will not believe it, let us read the Apologies written by *Justin* the Martyr, *Tertullian*, and others, where they are represented as the best and most loyal Subjects of the whole *Roman* Empire, always ready to appear in its Defence, as they did in several Encounters, the Difference of Belief never hindering them from fighting under the Standards of their Emperors, though they were at the same Time their most cruel Persecutors.

Who, after this, will have the unjust Partiality to excuse the *French* Rebels, or condemn the *French* Government, for endeavouring to extirpate a Religion whose Maxims were so contrary to those of Christianity, and to the Security of the Prince and the publick Tranquility? Must a Prince, and his Subjects, be obliged to renounce the antient Religion of the Kingdom, to espouse the new Opinions of Enthusiasts and Vagrants; or one be dethroned, and the others have their Throats cut, in case of Refusal? What had become of the late King, if while at War with all *Europe*, he had kept in his Bosom, Rebels who had been glad of the Opportunity to side with his Enemies to dethrone him; and what Judgment could we have formed of the Loyalty of the Generality of them, if the Few left in the *Severnes*, appear'd then in Arms, in that Intention? No; the *French* Government does not condemn so much their religious Principles, if they have any, as it is afraid of their seditious Maxims; and if they have been persecuted, it is not because they professed a new Doctrine, but because they had lacerated, in the most cruel Manner, the very Bosom of their Mother Country; and had they professed the Gospel in its greatest Purity, as they pretended was their Design, without meddling with State Affairs, or attempting to extort from the King a greater Extent of Privileges, than was agreeable to the publick Security, and to the religious Worship established in the Kingdom, ever since the Conversion of the great *Clovis*, it is not reasonable to suppose, that the Government would have molested them, or deprived the Kingdom of so vast a Number of useful Subjects; which I am the more inclinable to believe, because those left, at present, in the Kingdom of *France*, who are yet in very great Numbers, are treated with as much Clemency as the rest of the Subjects, provided they do not assemble together to hear their Ministers, because those Assemblies have always been the Schools of Rebellion: Neither are their Estates more taxed than those of the *Roman Catholics*.

But I will even suppose, for a Moment, which Supposition is certainly false, that they have really been more maltreated by the *French* Government, than they deserved, must the whole Nation be answerable for it, and be exposed to all Sorts of Devastations, and Cruelties, for the Crimes of few Particulars; and can those Crimes smother within us that natural Inclination, which all, but Canibals, and wild and ferocious Beasts, have for their native Country? What Idea can an *Englishman*, for Example, form of a *Frenchman*, whom he sees elevated at the least Disgrace which happens to the Kingdom, and that the greater is the Disgrace, the greater is his Joy? He will perhaps join with him publicly, while at the same Time he despises him in his Heart as the greatest of all Scoundrels; for let it be said to the immortal Honour of the *English* Nation, that if they hate a *Government*, by whom they imagine to have been maltreated, they love still their Country; nay, they often hate a *Government* but by a Principle of Love for their Country.

But however, I must do this Justice to the *French* Calvinists, that this unnatural Hatred proceeds rather from the Prejudices of Infancy strengthened within them, by the injurious Reflections of their Ministers on the *French* Government, than from a natural Inclination to Evil; for most of them, this excepted, have very good Principles of Morality, are just, charitable, laborious, courageous, and have proved very serviceable to the Countries where they have took Sanctuary, either in the Armies, where

where they have always behaved like gallant Men, or in the Commerce or Manufactures which they have made flourish, having establish'd several in those Countries, to which the Natives were perfect Strangers; so that they have rather been an Ease to the State than a Burthen, as some Nations have falsely imagin'd; and deserve rather to be encouraged, than hated or despised, since besides they are very grateful to the Nations who have taken them under their Protection; and have transferred to them that Love they should have for their own Country; for if they were bad Subjects there, they are very good ones under a foreign *Government*; and without Exaggeration, I may venture to say, that a foreign Prince can have no better.

The Clergy has no Part in the *French* Government, except the King be pleased to chuse one among them for his Prime Minister; though every Bishop takes the Title of the King's Counsellor, which is *Titulus sine re*, for he seldom consults any of them on State-Affairs. In fact, those whose Employment is to conduct Souls to Heaven, should not be disturb'd from that serious Occupation, on which depends their own Salvation, by worldly Affairs; since they are both incompatible.

The *Spanish* Monarchy is also absolute, and hereditary to the Exclusion of the Females, like that of *France*, and the *Government* very near the same; the sole Difference I find between them is, that the Catholic King seldom determines himself on any important Affair, before he has communicated it to the Council of *Castille*, for their Approbation, which Council is compos'd of Grandees, and other Persons of Distinction and Merit; and is always very tedious in its Deliberations.

The *English* Government is a Mixture of Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy. The Monarchy is hereditary, the Females not excluded, but not absolute, though the King enjoys several great Privileges, as of making War and Peace of his own Royal Authority; of creating as many Lords as he pleases, and of what Dignity he pleases, from a Duke to a Baron, who have all their Seats in what is called the *House of Lords*, of which he is the Chief. Of issuing Writs for the Election of Members, to serve in the other House, called *House of Commons*: Of convoking the Parliament, and proroguing it when he pleases, and dissolving it if he pleases: Of signing all the Acts of that august Assembly, without which they can be of no Force in the Kingdom: Of pricking Sheriffs for the several Counties of the Kingdom, which contributes much to strengthen the Interest of the Court at an Election; to appoint Officers, both military and civil, and several others of less Consequence, too long to be enumerated here.

The Aristocracy and Democracy, form what is called the *Parliament* of England, and which is an Assembly, representing both the Nobility and Commonality of the Kingdom, where all the Affairs of the *English* Nation, both foreign and domestick (I mean those which come under their Cognizance) are transacted, and where every Member has a deliberative Vote. The King opens every Session by a Speech from the Throne, where he exposes to both Houses (that of the Commons being called then by a Message from his Majesty to the Bar of the House of Lords, where they stand bare-headed, their Speaker or Orator at their Head) the present Situation of the foreign Affairs of the *English* Nation, and desires their Concurrence, to have them terminated to the Glory and Security of his Throne, and the Welfare of his Subjects; exhorting them to Unanimity and Peace in their Deliberations, and to find with all possible Expedition the necessary Supplies to defray the Expences of the Crown for the current Year; for it is one of the greatest Privileges the *English* Nation enjoys (ever since the Institution of the Parliament by *Henry I*) that the King cannot tax his Subjects, or raise any Sum of Money, without the Concurrence of both Houses, who have the Privilege to grant, or refuse Supplies ask'd for from the Throne, according as they think it suits best the Interest of the Nation; though when the House of Commons is divided into Parties, those Supplies have been sometimes refused

when they were most wanted, and granted without any apparent Necessity.

Every Thing is transacted first in the House of Commons, which is the most formidable, and in some Measure the most powerful of the two; for under several Reigns, the Lords have been nothing else but the Eccho's of that House; and in difficult Times, Acts have been receiv'd, and put in Force throughout the whole Kingdom (through a Spirit of Cabal, which reign'd then in the House of Commons, and a Disaffection to a monarchical *Government*) without the Approbation of the Lords, who were then consider'd by the Factious, as Cyphers, because they were supposed to be, as in fact all Noblemen should, the strongest Supports of the Throne. The King takes Care to have always one of the Secretaries of State, if not two, Members of this House, as well to strengthen his Interest in it, as to refute the bad Construction often given to the Measures concerted by him, or by his Ministers, with his Approbation: For the House of Commons claims the Privilege of arraigning the Conduct of the King's Ministers, and of calling them to an Account for their Malversations; and have in fact impeach'd some of them of High Treason, and brought them on a Scaffold, for having been too well affected to their Royal Master, and too punctually executed his Orders. So dangerous it is to the Security of the Prince, to have a Majority in that House disaffected to his sacred Person and Government; and who can blame him for using all his best Endeavours to prevent it? For the Disaffected are not always actuated by a Motive of disinterested Love for their Country; nor their Opposition always supported by the sole Desire of contributing all in their Power to its Welfare, though it is always the specious Pretext of it; since several of them, under that Cloak, which always dazzles the Eyes of the Vulgar, act by no other Principles than those of a disappointed Ambition, Self Interest, &c. which is plainly seen, when a *Government*, through a Maxim of the most refined Policy, pulls off the Disguise, by gratifying some of the favourite Passions of those in the Opposition, who have then appear'd such as they were in Reality, viz. as false Patriots, as bad Subjects; to be trusted neither by their King nor their Country. Though there are some among them who are not to be biassed by any Consideration whatever; who are not in the Opposition, for the Sake of Opposition only, nor condemn the Measures of the Court, because they are the Measures of the Court (which would be acting contrary to Sense and Justice) but only condemn them when contrary to the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, or the Honour of the *English* Nation; and approve them when they are agreeable to both. For it is ridiculous even to suppose that a *Government* cannot concert any other Measures than destructive ones; and that one can be esteem'd a Patriot no longer than he opposes the Conduct of the *Government*. Prejudices in those Affairs are always very dangerous; for a Pique between private Persons, seldom proves prejudicial to any Body else but to those private Persons, between whom the Pique subsists; but to make of those private Piques a national Concern, far from consulting the Interest of one's Country, is to accelerate its Ruin; and to condemn a *Government* let it act in whatever Manner it pleases, for no other Reason, but because we hate it, or have been disappointed or maltreated by it, is renouncing all Sentiments of Honour; since according to those Sentiments, Equity, Wisdom, Dexterity and Prudence, are to be admir'd and approv'd, even in our most mortal Enemies. Can a Nation be so far imposed upon, or be so blind in her own Cause, as not to discover by the different Steps taken by a *Government*, to procure the domestick Peace, that it is impossible for it to please those in the Opposition; especially when that Nation could see plainly, that the Measures which had been propos'd by them as the most agreeable to the publick Good, become oppressive when pursued by the *Government*? As if those Measures, good in themselves, or at least represented such, could change Nature in such Hands.

These unjust Prejudices, and the publick Means used

to infuse them in the Minds of the Subjects, prove more disadvantageous to the true Interest of the Nation, than those Measures could, were they even so bad as represented, if they were kept secret: For thereby the Weakness of the Country is exposed naked to the whole World in general, and to the Enemies of the *English* Name in particular, who form their Enterprises, and prosecute them accordingly. For who would be afraid of a State, the Chief whereof, and its Members, are always at Variance? Since the Strength of a Nation consists in the Unanimity and just Harmony which should subsist between both. Who would mind their Menaces? when they themselves declare publicly, that they are not in a Capacity to put them in Execution; their Finances, without which nothing can be undertaken of any Consequence, having been exhausted by the ill Management, Ignorance, and Blunders of bad Ministers. What can be imagined of their Projects, when, after themselves have formed them, they are always in quest of some Pretext, real or plausible, to deprive the Crown of the Means necessary to execute them?

Besides, what Measures can please those Persons, who seem fully determin'd to approve none, taken by any Administration whatever, was it even composed of Ministers of their own chusing, and modelized on the very Plan themselves have formed? For, are the Ministers enterprising, and warlike? a War, say they, is contrary to the real Interest of a trading People, and attended besides with too vast Expences, which render it oppressive, even when attended with the greatest Success. Are they pacifick? their Inaction renders the Body-Political languishing, gives Time to the Enemy to pursue their Conquests, and extend their Frontiers, whereby they may be invited, afterwards, to lay a Bridge over the Sea to invade *England*, when they'll find it impossible to do it otherwise. Are they for cultivating a Friendship with the Court of *France*, (which costs the Nation nothing) to divert the Storm which could threaten on that Side? they are Pensioners of that Crown, to which they sacrifice; what? they do not know it very well themselves; not the Interest of the *English* Nation, for it is not at all her Interest to quarrel with that Crown; since for one successful War, which, in Conjunction with all *Europe*, she has carried on against it, and wherein she has not so much as gain'd one single Foot of Land on the Continent, but on the contrary has spent immense Sums; all her other Enterprises, under the same King's Reign, though join'd with the same Allies, have proved very unfortunate to her, as well as to those Allies: Not her Honour, since the present King, *Louis XV.* has never attempted any Thing against it, and in all Appearance never will, as long as the august House of *Hanover* possesses the *British* Throne, and continues to cultivate the Friendship which has so long subsisted between the two Courts of *Versailles* and *London*.

If those supposed *frenchify'd* Ministers are dismissed, and others appointed in their Place, who appear more disposed to break that Friendship, in order to espouse the Interest of a House, which has always been a Burthen to the *English* Nation, and cost her several Millions of Money, and several thousand Lives, without any apparent Advantage to herself, but the Honour of having aggrandised others at her Expence, and the Sorrow of having sometime miscarried in the Attempt; they declare openly against such a Rupture, which they had before represented as absolutely necessary; so difficult it is to please those who will never be pleased, whatever Measures be taken to please them.

But, notwithstanding, I would not have the Presumption to condemn, without Distinction, the Conduct of all those who have been in the Opposition, under several different Reigns: For as it would be unjust, and even unreasonable, to controvert the just Right the Nation has to inquire, by her Representatives, into the Conduct of the Government, with regard to national Affairs; (for to censure the private one of a King, or of his Ministers, or to lampoon them for some Frailties they have in common with the rest of Mankind, is the meanest and most scandalous of all Behaviours) it is not likewise to be supposed, that all Princes have the same Discern-

ment in the Choice of their Ministers; since History informs us, that some very bad ones have been seen at the Helm, who made every Thing subservient to their own Interest, and to the Advancement of their Family, to the Prejudice of the true Interest of the Prince, who had honour'd them in a most particular Manner with his Confidence, and of that of his Subjects; who appropriated the publick Money, design'd for national Services, to their own private Use, and the Support of their usurped Authority; and who, to foment a dangerous Jealousy between the King and his Subjects, and hinder him from hearing their just Complaints, and redress their real Grievances, represented them to him as turbulent and factious, never to be easy, even under the most mild Administration; but all Ministers are not of those bad Characters; and History informs us, likewise, that there have been several very good ones; who, sensible of the great Trust reposed in them by their Royal Master, and conscious that their Malversations, or Ignorance, would be a tacit Reproach to his Wisdom, and Discernment, have taken all the Precautions imaginable, to render their Conduct, in that high Employment, regular and irreproachable; preferring the publick Esteem, and Applause, to a vain Ambition, and sordid Avarice, which commonly are the two favourite Passions of Ministers, in other Countries as well as this.

This long Digression must not make us forget, that the Commons have the Privilege to supplicate and propose Laws, provided they be not contradictory to the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; to impeach publick Delinquents, even the greatest Lords of the Kingdom, both Spiritual and Temporal; as they have often done, particularly in the troublesome Times of the Reign of King *Charles I.* when they brought Archbishop *Laud*, and Lord *Strafford* on the Scaffold; when they had also, few Years afterwards, the sacrilegious Presumption to usurp the Power, against all Laws divine and human, of impeaching, and even condemning their lawful Sovereign, whose royal Predecessors had made them what they were, and opened to them the very Gates of that House where they sat to condemn him.

Antiently all the People had their Votes in the Elections for Members of the House of Commons, and most Votes carried it; but to avoid Tumults and Trouble, it was enacted by *Henry VI.* that none should have any Suffrage in the Election of Knights of the Shire but such as were Freeholders, did reside in the County, and had a yearly Revenue of 40*s.* (which till the Discovery of the Gold and Silver Mines of *America*, was as much as 30*l.* or 40*l.* now) whence it came to pass, that the Lay-Commons were then elected as the Clergy-Commons, the *Procuratores Cleri*, were, and ever have been, viz. *Sine Prece, sine Pretio, sine Poculo, &c.*

The Persons elected for each County are to be *Milites notabiles*, or at least Esquires, or Gentlemen fit to be made Knights, as it is in the Statutes of *Henry VI.* they ought to be *de discretioribus Militibus*, and *ad Laborandum potentioribus*, as the Words in some Writs have been: They ought not to be too young, nor lazy Epicures, but Men of Years, vigorous, active, and abstemious; always ready to give their constant Attendance in Parliament, or else to enjoy neither of the Privileges of the House. They ought to be native *Englishmen*, or at least such as have been naturalized by Act of Parliament. No Alien, or Denizen, none of the twelve Judges, no Sheriff of a County, no ecclesiastical Person that has Cure of Souls, may be chosen to be a Parliament Man, to serve for any County, City, or Borough.

Two Things are said to be requisite to the Legality of sitting in Parliament; first, that a Man should be of full Age, that is, 21 Years old at least; for if no Man under that Age can dispose of his Estate, nor make one legal Act to that Purpose, then much less may he have any Authority in the supreme Council of the Nation, to judge, vote, or dispose of the Estate of the whole Realm: Yet the Practice in the House of Commons (though very rarely in the House of Lords) has often been otherwise.

The Lords House has a Power, not only in making and repealing Laws, but also, *in tractando & consiliis impen-*

impedendo, as the Words of the Writ are; also in judging of Controversies, judging in the Arraignment of any Peer of the Realm, putting Men to their Oaths, especially in Matters of Importance, as the Corruption of Judges and Magistrates, in Error, illegal Proceedings in other Courts, in Appeals from Decrees in Chancery, &c.

The Lords who, in their Religion, conform not to the Church of *England*, have been excluded ever since the Reformation from sitting in the House.

All the Lords Spiritual and Temporal have this Privilege, that if by Reason of Sicknes, or other Business, they cannot appear, they may make their Proxies to vote in their Stead, after Licence obtain'd by a Letter under the King's Signet, to be excused for their Absence: So that in every Parliament, every Person in *England*, either by himself, Proxy, or Representative, is said to be there, and to have his Suffrage for making or repealing any Law.

Note, That the Parliament of *England* has also considered as a Privilege common to both Houses, the passing of Acts relating to the Succession to the Throne; and to settle it in what Branch of the royal House, they judged most proper for the Security of their Liberties and Religion, to the Exclusion of those whom they did not suppose inclinable to maintain both; which is one of the greatest Privileges a Nation has ever enjoy'd, in an hereditary Monarchy; and which should engage them to support with all their Interest, as they do, the Prince in whose Favour they have declar'd themselves, since acting otherwise, would be arraigning their Wisdom and Discernment, or rendering themselves guilty of Inconstancy; since if a private Man, who pretends to those two great Perfections, is inexcusable, and even laugh'd at, when after the most mature Deliberation, he pretends to have been mistaken in his Choice, how much more those, who for their extraordinary Merit and Capacity, are chosen to represent a whole Nation, and be her Legislators. The same may be said of those, who chuse those Representatives, if they were susceptible of Bribery or Corruption in that Choice, since the oppressive Measures concerted by Members thus elected, could not with the least Appearance of Reason and Justice, be laid to the Charge of those Members; but to that of those Mercenaries, who have suffer'd themselves to be bribed or corrupted, and should consequently remain Mutes, when they feel the Effects of their Perfidy; since there would be no Corruption, if there were none to be corrupted. Notwithstanding which it often happens otherwise, and that those who have been the most ready to receive the Bribe, are the first to exclaim loudly against Bribery.

The Place of Meeting for this august Assembly, is in whatever City, Town, or House the King pleases; but of latter Times, it has been usually held at the King's antient Palace, and usual Residence at *Westminster*, all the Lords in a fair Room by themselves; and the Commons not far from them in another fair Room, which was heretofore the antient Chapel of *St. Stephen*. The Manner of Sitting in the Lords House is thus:

The King as often as he comes (which is, as we have already observ'd, at the Opening of the Parliament, or at the passing of Bills, or at some solemn Debates) is placed at the upper End of the Room, in a Chair, and under a Cloth of State, under which, on either Hand, sits none but the King's Children.

On the King's Right-Hand is a Seat, antiently for the King of *Scotland*, when he was summon'd to Parliament, as he sometimes was, *Fide & Legiantia*; but now it is for the Prince of *Wales*. On the King's Left-Hand is a Seat for the Duke of *York*.

On the King's Right-Hand, and next the Wall, are placed on a Form the two Archbishops; next below, on another Form, the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, and *Winchester*; then upon other Forms, on the same Side, all the rest of the Bishops sit, according to the Priority of their Consecration.

On the King's Left-Hand upon Forms, are placed the

Lords Chancellor, Treasurer, President of the King's Council, and Lord Privy-Seal, if they are Barons, above all Dukes, except those of the Royal Family; if they are not Barons, then they sit uppermost on the Wool-Sacks. On the same Side sit the Dukes, Marquisses, and Earls, according to their Creations.

Upon the first Form, a cross the House, below the Wool-Sacks, sit the Viscounts, and upon the next Form the Barons, all in Order.

The Lord Chancellor, or Keeper (if the King be present) stands behind the Cloth of State, otherwise sits on the first Wool-Sack, thwart the Chair of State, his great Seal, and Mace by him; he is Lord Speaker of the Lords House. Upon other Wool-Sacks sit the Judges, the Privy-Counsellors, and Secretaries of State, the King's Council at Law, and the Masters in Chancery. These not being Barons, have no Suffrage in Parliament, only sit to give their Advice when it is required.

On the lowermost Wool-Sack are placed the Clerks of the Crown, and Clerk of the Parliament, whereof the former is concern'd in all Writs and Pardons in Parliament; the other records all Things done in Parliament, and keeps the Records of the same. This Clerk has also two Clerks under him, who kneel behind the same Wool-Sack, and write thereon. Without the Bar of the Lords House, sits the King's first Gentleman-Usher, called Usher of the Black-Rod, from a Black Staff he carries in his Hand, under whom is a Yeoman-Usher, who waits at the Door within, a Cryer without, and a Serjeant at Mace, always attending the Lord Chancellor.

When the King is present with his Crown on his Head, none of the Lords are cover'd. The Judges stand till the King gives them leave to sit.

When the King is absent, the Lords at their Entrance do Reverence to the Chair of State (which if it was done to the Image of *Christ*, would be look'd upon as a superstitious Worship) The Judges then may sit, but may not be cover'd till the Chancellor or Keeper signifies unto them the Leave of the Lords. The King's Council, and Masters in Chancery, sit also, but are not to be cover'd at all.

The Commons in their House sit promiscuously, only the Speaker has a Chair placed in the Middle, and the Clerk of that House near him at the Table.

The Time of Sitting in Parliament, is on any Day in the Morning or before Dinner.

As to the Manner of Debating, and passing Bills in Parliament, any Member may move to have a Bill brought in for any Thing, which upon a Question put, being agreed to by the Majority, the Person with others are order'd to prepare and bring in the same. When ready, a Time is appointed for Reading; after Reading it by the Clerk, the Speaker reads the Abstract thereof, and puts the Question, whether or no it shall have a second Reading? After a second Reading, the Question is, whether it shall be committed? which is either to a Committee of the whole House, if it be of Importance, or to a private Committee, any Member naming the Persons.

The Committee appointed, and a Chairman chosen, the Chairman reads the Bill, Paragraph by Paragraph, puts every Clause to the Question, fills up the Blanks, and makes Amendments, according to the Opinion of the Majority. The Bill thus gone through, the Chairman makes his Report at the Side-Bar of the House, reads all the Additions, Amendments, &c. and moves for Leave to bring up the Report to the Table; which granted, he delivers it to the Clerk, who reads the Amendments, &c.

The Speaker then puts the Question, whether they shall be read a second Time? and if agreed he reads them himself. To so many as the House acquiesces in, the Question is now put, whether the Bill thus amended, shall be engrossed and wrote fair in Parchment, and read a third Time? The Bill engrossed, the Speaker holds it in his Hand, and asks, if it shall pass? If the Majority be for it, the Clerk writes on it, *Soit Baillée aux Seigneurs*.

Seigneurs. Or in the House of Lords, *Soit Baillée aux Communes.* If a Bill be rejected, it cannot be any more proposed, during that Session.

Upon the passing of Bills of any Importance, there arises almost always very warm Debates, especially if the House be divided into two formidable Parties, which have sometimes been distinguish'd by the Names of *Whigs* and *Tories*, *Court* and *Country*, &c. for then, the Chiefs of those Parties, which are commonly Men of Merit, or of a vast Interest, either at Court, or in the Kingdom among the Subjects, assemble, each, as many as they can of the Members they know to be in their respective Interest, the one to countenance the passing of the Bill, and the others to oppose it. It is on those Occasions, that the greatest Orators of both Parties, display their Eloquence in florid Speeches, either for or against the Bill. Those Debates when the Bill is of a national Concern, and supposed to aim at the Liberty of the Subjects, or to favour too much the Prerogative of the Crown, last long, and are even sometimes season'd with bitter Expressions on both Sides, which the Speaker, tho' the Moderator of the whole House, finds difficult to appease.

It was in those warm Debates, that *Cromwell's* Usurpation, like the Salamander in a continual violent Heat of Fire, was hatch'd and fed; the false Supposition, that the best of Kings aimed at the entire Subversion of the Liberties of the People, and had in fact already encroach'd on several of those Liberties; or rather, the Ambition of some of the greatest Sticklers in the House of Commons, who had built it on the entire Ruin of a monarchical Government, divided the House for a considerable Time, *i. e.* till they had gain'd their sacrilegious End, into two very formidable Factions, that of the Court, which should have been the prevailing one, as supported by a royal Authority, losing Ground daily, through the too great Meekness of the King, who granted so much at first, that they would at last ask more than it was in his Power to grant; since a noble Resolution is indispensably necessary in a King of *England*; as well to maintain himself secure on the Throne, as to disconcert all the destructive Measures taken by the declar'd, and hidden Enemies of the domestick Peace; since a too great Condescension in those national Ferments, instead of appeasing them, serves only to increase them, and render the Factionous or Disaffected more bold and enterprising.

The *English* ought, certainly, to enjoy in their full Extent, all the Privileges granted from Time to Time by their Kings; but in their Turn, they ought not by a Principle of Ingratitude, to make use of those same Privileges, to destroy the Source from whence they flow. A just Subordination between the King and his Subjects, as between a Chief and his Members, will always render the *English* Nation respectful to her Friends and Allies, and formidable to her Enemies. That Chief should influence these Members, but not compel them; and the Members follow the Motion of the Chief, when agreeable to the just Harmony which should subsist between them, and not force him to follow theirs, contrary to the Order of Things; since Violence on either Side is always dangerous, and threatens the whole Body-Politick with its Dissolution. When the Voice of the King is silenced in Parliament, that of Reason and Justice is seldom heard, of which we have an Example in what happen'd under *Charles I.* for could even the Factionous agree among themselves on the Form they were to give to their new Government? Could they find in the Annals of the Nation, any other Form than a monarchical One? And though they had all the while insatuated the People, with the false Notion that the *British* Government was first modelized into a Republick, where could they find that Model, which had serv'd for a Foundation for that they were going to establish? And after they had established it, on the entire Ruin of the Throne, the Devastation of their Country, the Pollution of the Sanctuary, and in Rivers of Blood of their Countrymen and Fellow-Citizens; what Advantages did the Nation reap from it? Would any Body have the

scandalous Presumption to say, that she recover'd then her lost Liberty; or must we not be convinced on the contrary by what happen'd in those Days, that she rather lost it entirely; and that the new Government was more arbitrary, despotick, and tyrannical, than even that of *Turky*? For if in *Turky* the Will of the Prince is absolute, and not to be controll'd by Laws, it is a Custom, which though very oppressive, has been tolerated from the first Establishment of that Empire, of which we see several Precedents in the History of that first Establishment; but could the rebellious Regicides, find in the History of the *English* Monarchy, any Precedent, that Laws had been made to condemn to Death the most loyal and faithful Subjects to their legitimate Sovereign, because they had espoused his Cause, and to force others to swear Allegiance to Rebels and Factionous? It is true, that they could find in the *Turkish* History, that some Sultans have been deposed, and even murder'd during popular Emotions; but could they find one, who has been arraign'd by his Subjects of High-Treason, judg'd, condemn'd, and executed by them as a Malefactor? No, but this was perhaps a Privilege peculiar to the *English* Nation. But why is not that Privilege ranked among all the others she enjoys? On what could that Privilege be founded? On the Law of Nature? But does not the Law of Nature condemn Murder? On the written Law? But that Law condemns to Death, even those who murmur'd against *Moses*, and forbids to touch the Lord's Anointed? On that of Grace, when *St. Paul* commands us to obey our Superiors, *etiam discolis*?

But however, if the Foundation of that Government was against all Laws divine and human; it notwithstanding procured to the Nation the most signal Advantages proposed thereby, *viz.* the Recovery of the *British* Freedom and Liberty; in what? In the Elections? But were ever the Elections less free, and more influenced than they were at that Time by *Cromwell*? For would he suffer any Body to be elected, but those he knew to be entirely in his Interest? In the Freedom of Speech in his mock Parliament? But where was the Member who would even have dar'd to oppose what came from the Protector, without being sure to be severely punish'd for it? the least he could have expected was to be expelled from the House, as it happen'd to several, without any other Formalities than the Protector's absolute Will, who came often himself to the House to see his Orders, in such Occasions, punctually executed, and sometimes executed them himself.

Was even the Law more tortured than in those Days, to find a specious Pretence to punish severely, or rather dispatch the Disaffected to the Protector or his Protectorship? But then, says our modern Republicans, the Nation was respected and dreaded abroad; yes, but how could it be otherwise, when all the neighbouring Princes had so much Employment at Home, that they had not Time to interfere in the *English* Affairs; besides, they were pleased to see the *English* turn their own Arms against themselves, in hopes that they were in a fair Way to destroy entirely their happy Constitution, and become thereby an insignificant Nation.

From these Reflexions, I'll return to the House of Commons, which may be constituted by forty Members, and a Committee by Eight. A Member of the Commons, to speak, stands up uncovered, and directs his Speech to the Speaker only. If what he says be answered by another, he is not to reply the same Day, unless personally reflected on; nor may any Person speak more than once to the same Bill, in the same Day.

In the House of Lords they vote, beginning at the puisne, or lowest Baron, and so up orderly to the highest, every one answering apart, Content, or Not Content. — In the House of Commons, they vote by Yea's and Nay's; and if it be dubious which is the greater Number, the House divides: If the Question be about bringing any Thing into the House, the Aye's go out; if it be about any Thing the House has already brought in, the No's go out. In all Divisions the Speaker appoints four Tellers, two of each Opinion. In a Committee of the

whole House, they divide by changing Sides, the Ay's taking the Right, the No's the Left of the Chair, and then there are but two Tellers.

If a Bill pass one House, and the other demur to it, a Conference is demanded in the Painted Chamber, where certain Members are deputed from each House; and here the Lords sitting cover'd, the Commons standing bare, the Case is debated. If they disagree, the Affair is null, if they agree, this, with the other Bills that have pass'd both Houses, is brought down to the King in the House of Lords, who comes thither cloath'd in the royal Robes, and with the Crown on, before whom the Clerk of the Parliament reads the Title of each Bill, and as he reads the Clerk of the Crown pronounces the royal Assent or Dissent.

If it be a publick Bill, the royal Assent is given in these Words, *Le Roy le veut*: If a private one, *Soit fait Comme il est désiré*. If the King refuses the Bill, the Answer is, *Le Roy S'avisera*. If it be a Money-Bill, the Answer is, *Le Roy remercie ses loyaux Sujets, accept leur Benevolence, Et aussi le veut*. The Bill for the King's general Pardon has but one Reading.

The Number of Members in the House of Lords is uncertain, as increasing at the King's Pleasure. The Members of the House of Commons, when full, are 553, viz. 92 Knights of Shires, 52 Deputies for the 25 Cities, London having 4; 16 for the 8 Cinque Ports; 2 for each University; and finally 332 for 180 Boroughs; besides 12 Boroughs for Wales, and 45 Members for Scotland.

The English Government is certainly the most judicious and prudent now existing, and the best calculated for the Security and Glory of the Prince, and the Felicity of the Subjects, when they are sensible of it; and do not endeavour by Cabals or Factions, to clog the Wheels thereof. For by its fundamental Laws, the Power of a King is confin'd within very reasonable Limits, beyond which it cannot be extended, without shaking, more or less, the whole Frame of that noble Edifice; and transgressing the Laws which his august Predecessors themselves have judged necessary to secure the Subjects against Tyranny and Oppression; and the Liberties of the Subjects so well regulated, that they cannot transgress those Regulations, without becoming Rebels; the whole being concerted to make a King of England really a King, not the Shadow of a King, nor a Tyrant; and his People really Subjects, not Slaves. For in fact, tho' the Authority of the Crown be in some Measure under a Restraint, and in some Cases under the Direction of the Laws; its Radiancy, far from suffering thereby the least Eclipse, is rather heighten'd, and appears with a still greater Lustre and Splendor; for nothing exposes more the Diadem to Changes, than an unlimited Power, whereby a Prince is but too often tempted to forget that he is the Father of his People, and by his Unkindness and ill Usage, prompt them to Disobedience; for it is against our Nature to suffer long unjustly, especially when we have the Laws of the Land on our Side, and can call to them for a Redress of our Grievances. For every just and unprejudiced Mind which is not insatuated with his own Merit, nor led with the false Notion of an Independancy without Bounds, though jealous of their Liberty, with the rest, considers, notwithstanding, that Liberty, when not directed by Prudence and Reason, is the most dangerous Libertinism, and the most prejudicial to good Order of a civil Society.

The Government next in Dignity to Monarchy, is Aristocracy, which is a Form of Government where the supreme Power is lodg'd in the Hands of the Optimates, i. e. of a Council or Senate, composed of the principal Persons of State, either in Respect of Nobility, Capacity, or Probity. The Government of the Republick of Venice is of this Kind; and the only one since the Creation, which has maintain'd itself so long in the flourishing State we see it at present, considering that it is environ'd on all Sides with very formidable Neighbours; who, notwithstanding all their strongest Efforts, could never deprive it of its Freedom, or render it Tributary.

The Venetians have often defy'd the whole Ottoman Empire, and have even some Times, by their Resolution and Courage, found the Secret to curb it. It is true, that the Unanimity which reigns in the Senate, the Members whereof being Persons of the first Rank, Capacity, and Merit, contributes much to the publick Security, which is the sole Object of their Deliberations; otherwise the Venetian Government is very oppressive, for the Commons are never admitted into the Senate, not even to make Remonstrances of their Grievances, which are very heavy and very numerous; for it is a Crime there, sometimes punishable with Death, to censure the Conduct of the Senate, or to complain of the Measures they take let them be ever so oppressive. Not that the Laws of the State condemn them as such, but a Russian is hir'd, when the Complaints are too clamorous, and especially when they are so justly grounded, as to be capable to open the Eyes of the rest, and make the Murmur general, to dispatch secretly those who have been the Authors thereof; either by causing them to be assassinated in the Night Time, or to be thrown into the Sea. I did not hear, while at Venice, that those Executions are so frequent as they have been; because, perhaps, the Venetians, conscious that their Complaints will avail nothing, otherwise than to cause them to be severely punished for it, judge it more proper to be silent, and to wear patiently a Yoke, which it is not in their Power to render less burthensome; neither would it be consistent with the Security of the State; for if the Venetians were allow'd the same Freedom of Speech, which some other Nations claim as a natural Right, that Freedom would have occasion'd Riots, Tumults, and Seditions, as it has really done in Venice itself; and those Seditions, meeting with little or no Obstacle, had degenerated into open Revolts, which had been follow'd at last by the entire Subversion of the State.

All the noble Venetians are not admitted into the State, but a certain Number of them, distinguished from the rest, by a more illustrious Birth, their rare Merit, great Capacity, and Dexterity in the Management of publick Affairs.

The chief Magistrate of this Republick is called Doge, which Word properly signifies Duke; his Office or Dignity is elective, and he holds it *durante vitâ*, for Life. He is address'd under the Title of Serenity, which among the Venetians is superior to that of Highness.

The Doge is Chief of the Council, and the Mouth of the Republick, he being always to answer for her; yet the Venetians do not go into Mourning at his Death, as not being their Sovereign, but only their first Minister. In Effect, the Doge of Venice is no more than the Phantom or Shadow of the Majesty of a Prince, all the Authority thereof being reserv'd to the Republick, he only lends his Name to the Senate. The Power is diffused throughout the whole Body, though the Answers are all made in the Name of the Doge. If he gives any Answer on his own Bottom, it must be very cautiously express'd, and in general Terms, otherwise he is sure to meet with a Reprimand; so that it is absolutely necessary he be of an easy, pliable Disposition.

Antiently the Doges were Sovereigns, but Things are much alter'd, and at present all the Prerogatives reserv'd to the Quality of Doge, are these which follow. He gives Audience to Ambassadors, but does not give them any Answer on his own Head, in Matters of any Importance; only he is allow'd to answer as he judges good, to the Compliments they make to the Signory; such Answers being of no Consequence. The Doge, as being first Magistrate, is Head of all the Councils; and the Credentials which the Senate furnishes its Ministers with in foreign Courts are wrote in his Name; and yet he does not sign them, but a Secretary of State signs them, and seals them with the Arms of the Republick. The Ambassadors direct their Dispatches to the Doge, and yet he may not open them but in Presence of the Counsellors. The Money is struck with the Doge's Name, but not with his Stamp, or Arms. All the Magi-

Magistrates rise, and salute the *Doge*, when he comes into the Council; and the *Doge* rises to none but foreign Ambassadors.

The *Doge* nominates to all the Benefices in the Church of St *Mark*; he is Protector of the Monastery *Delle Virgine*; and bestows certain petty Offices of Ushers of the Household, called *Commanders of the Palace*. His Family is not under the Jurisdiction of the Master of the Ceremonies; and his Children may have Staff-Officers, and Gondoliers in Livery.

His Grandeur, at the same Time, is temper'd with Abundance of Things which render it burthensome. He must not go out of *Venice* without Leave of the Council, and if he goes out he is liable to receive Affronts, without being entitled to demand Satisfaction, and if any Disorder should happen where he was, it belongs not to him, but to the *Podesta*, as being invested with the publick Authority to compose it.

The Children and Brothers of the *Doge*, are excluded from all the chief Offices of State. They may not receive any Benefice from the Court of *Rome*; but are allow'd to accept of the Cardinalate, as being no Benefice, nor including any Jurisdiction. The *Doge* may not divest himself of his Dignity, for his Ease; and after his Death his Conduct is examined by three Inquisitors, and five Correctors, who sift it with a deal of Severity.

The Government of the Republick of *Genoa*, is also *Aristocratical*, but the *Doge* is elected only for two Years.

The Government of the *United Provinces*, is *Democratical*, which is a Form of Government wherein the Sovereignty or supreme Authority, is lodg'd in the People, who exercise the same by Persons of their own Order, deputed for that Purpose.

The *Spanish* Oppression and Tyranny was the Foundation of this Republick; and the Protection and Assistance of the Kings of *France*, has much contributed towards rendering it a most sumptuous and magnificent Edifice.

Holland, says *Grotius*, is a Republick made by Chance, which maintains itself thro' Fear of the Spaniards; but Times are very much changed since *Grotius*; for the *Dutch* have not been in Fear of the Spaniards for a great many Years past.

The Assembly of the Deputies of the seven *United Provinces*, is what we call *States General*. In this Assembly the Deputies of each Province, what Number soever they be, have only one Voice, and are esteemed as but one Person; the Votes being given by the Provinces, each Province presides at the Assembly in its Turn, according to the Order settled among them. *Guelderland* presides first, then *Holland*, &c.

This Assembly is the Representative of the Sovereignty of the Union, which resides properly in the general Assembly of the States themselves of all the Provinces: But as that Assembly ordinarily consists of seven or eight hundred Persons, it was resolved after the Departure of the Earl of *Leicester*, in order to avoid Expence, and the Confusion of so numerous a Body; that the provincial Estates should for the future be ordinarily represented by their Deputies, under the Name of the *States General*, who were always to reside at the *Hague*, and who alone are now called *States General*.

Since that new Regulation, there have been but two general Assemblies of the States of the Provinces; the former held in 1600, at *Berg-op-zoom*, to confirm the Truce agreed on with the Archduke *Albert*, with a greater Solemnity; and the latter in 1651.

Each Province has besides its particular Assembly, consisting of the Deputies of the Councils, or Colleges of each City, wherein resides the Sovereignty of that Province. That of the Province of *Holland*, is called the *States of Holland*; in which, originally, none but the Nobility and six principal Cities had Seats and Voices. At present there are the Deputies of eighteen Cities; and the Nobility have the first Voice.

The first Minister of the States of the Province of *Holland*, is called *Pensionary*. He is Chairman in Assem-

blies of the States of the Province; he proposes the Matters to be consulted on; collects the Votes; forms and pronounces the Resolutions of the States, opens Letters, confers with foreign Ministers, &c.

He is charged with inspecting the Finances, preserving the Rights of the Province, maintaining the Authority of the States, and seeing to the Observation of the Laws; &c. for the Good of the State. He assists in the College of Deputy-Counsellors of the Province, who represent the Sovereignty in the Absence of the States; and is perpetual Deputy of the States General of the *United Provinces*. His Commission is only given for five Years; after which it is deliberated whether or no it shall be renew'd. Death only puts a Period to the Functions of this important Minister. Formerly he was called the *Advocate of the Province*: The Title of *Pensionary* was only given at the Time *Barneveldt* had the Office. *Orotius* calls him in *Latin*, *Adjessor Jurisperitus*; *Merula*, *Advocatus Generalis*; *Matthæus*, Professor at *Leyden*, *Consiliarius Pensionarius*, which is the Title the States give him in their Instruments.

Pensionary, is also the first Minister of the Regency of each City, in the same Province; whose Office is to give his Advice in Matters relating to the Government, either of the City in particular, or of the State in general; and in Assemblies of the States of the Province is Speaker in Behalf of his City. Yet the Functions of these Pensionaries is not alike every where. In some Cities they only give their Advice, and are never found in Assemblies of the Magistrates, except when expressly called thither: In others they attend constantly, and in others they only make the Propositions on the Part of the Burgher-Masters, draw up their Conclusions, &c. They are called Pensionaries, because they receive an Appointment or Pension.

Note, That there was once in this Province of *Holland*, a *Statholder*, or first Member of the Republick, who was Chief of all the Courts of Justice, and could preside therein when he pleased. All Sentences, Judgments, &c. were dispatched in his Name. When an Office became vacant, in any of the Courts, the States used to propose three Persons to the *Statholder*, who was to chuse one of them. He could even pardon Criminals, which is a sovereign Prerogative; and had the Choice of Scabines or chief Magistrates of each City; to which End the Council of the City presented him two Persons, one of which he appointed. In several Cities he had the same Right of nominating the Burgher-Masters and Counsellors; as had *Rotterdam*, *Dort*, &c. He had also a Power to cashier the Magistrates, and put others in their Room, when he found it agreeable to his Interests, or necessary; upon giving some Reasons real or plausible for the same. By Article VI. of the Union of *Utrecht*, the States constitute him Arbiter of all the Differences that may arise between the States of the several Provinces; or between the Cities, and the Members of the States of the Province. To the Dignity of *Statholder*, was inseparably annexed, that of Captain, and Admiral-General of the Province; in which Quality he named all the Officers, and disposed of all the military Posts. It was he who took Care of the Execution of the Ordinances of the States; and his Authority gave him a Right to receive and give Audience to Ambassadors from foreign Princes, and even to send Ambassadors on his own private Affairs.

The Office of *Statholder* was very antient; the Counts not being able to reside in *Holland*, appointed *Statholders* to command in their Absence, in the several Provinces; besides a Governor General of all the seventeen Provinces of the *Netherlands*. *William I.* Prince of *Orange*, was *Statholder* of *Holland* and *Zeland*, at the Time when the *Dutch* shook off the *Spanish* Yoke; which contributed greatly to that great Event, which proved afterwards very advantageous to some of his Descendants. In 1567, the States thought fit to suppress the Office of *Statholder*,

holder by Edict; and resolved it should never be conferred on any Person for the future: But in 1672, *William III. Prince of Orange*, afterwards King of *England*, being elected Captain, and Admiral-General by the States; some Months afterwards he made them revoke the Edict of Suppression in his Favour, and declare him hereditary Stadtholder. But some imagine that he then held, in fact, the State so tight, that the *Dutch* will have no more mind for a Stadtholder, who was a little less arbitrary than an absolute Prince; unless they meet with a Prince of the same enterprising Genius; but as, notwithstanding his great Capacity and Courage, he could never have arrived to that Pitch of Power, if the States themselves had not led him to it, through the other most eminent Posts of the Republick; some of which they have suppressed since King *William's* Death, conferring the others on Persons, whom they know to be very well satisfied with the Honour, without aspiring higher.

The *Government* of the *Dutch* is very mild, encourages in a particular Manner, Commerce and Industry, and tolerates all Sorts of Religions; though the Catholick is under more Restraint than any other, not that they reckon it worse than any other, but because they are yet afraid of a *Government* like that of the *Spaniards*, if they were to admit in their Assemblies any Member professing that Religion; though at the same Time they are fully convinced that they have no better Subjects, therefore they do not exclude them from any military Employment; wherein they have always seen the *Roman Catholics* behave as gallantly, and with as much Zeal for the Service of the Republick, as those who professed the Religion of the Country; even in Enterprizes where their Zeal should have been more suspected, such as that of King *William*, whose Army when he landed in *England* was half composed of *Roman Catholick* Officers, and Soldiers; and it is unheard yet, that those who professed that Belief have ever revolted against their Sovereign by a Principle of Religion: And I dare say, that in *England* they may be ranked among the best Subjects the King has, and would be more ready to draw their Swords in Defence of his sacred Person and *Government*, though represented otherwise by the Enemies of both. I do not speak thus as prejudiced in their Favour, or to gain theirs; for in a Country where all Sorts of Sects are tolerated, there should be no other Difference made between them by a *Government*, but according to their different Behaviour to that *Government*; and never under false and malicious Suppositions, that one can't be a loyal Subject while he professes such and such Religion, but more particularly the *Roman*, which is represented by the declared Enemies of that Church as diametrically opposite to Loyalty, when the Prince on the Throne is of a different Belief; when on the contrary, the *Catholicks* have been seen here in *England*, while all the other Sects were armed against their legitimate Sovereign, both to dethrone and murder him, by a Principle of Religion, stand by him, and die in his Defence, by a Principle of Religion, because he was their lawful King, though a Protestant.

Government is also used for the Manner or Form of governing Cities, Corporations, Boroughs, &c. which in *England* are usually governed by Mayors, with Aldermen and Common-council-men.

The City of *London*, as the Metropolis of the Kingdom, is distinguished from all others, as well for the Excellency of its Government, as by the other signal Advantages it has over them all.

The chief Magistrate of this great Metropolis is called *Lord Mayor*, and is chosen from among the Aldermen, by the Liverymen of the several Companies of Artificers, and Traders of the City of *London* at *Guild-Hall*, on the 29th of *September*, being Michaelmas-Day. Sometimes that Election has been made according to the Seniority among the Aldermen, and sometimes it has been left entirely to the Liverymen, to chuse of the two Persons proposed to them by the Court of Aldermen, which they pleased, as it is practised at present. For the Citizens

of *London*, who most of them are Persons of Merit and Penetration, imagining that Seniority alone is not capable to give the Qualities requisite to be their chief Magistrate, and that thereby they were exposed to the Inconveniency of having now and then one imposed on them, not at all qualified for that great Trust, have thought fit to claim the antient Right of Election; that if they should chance to be mistaken in their Choice, they should have no room left to reproach any Body else but themselves with the Mistake; and should likewise have the Liberty to give the Exclusion to all those, whom they could suspect of being not entirely in the Interest of their Country in general, and of the City of *London* in particular.

This great Magistrate upon the King's Death, is said to be first the Person in the Kingdom; and therefore when King *James* was invited to come and take the Crown of *England*, *Robert Lee*, then Lord Mayor of *London*, subscribed in the first Place, before all the great Officers of the Crown, and all the Nobility.

The Lord Mayor on the Day of the King's Coronation claims to be chief Butler of the Kingdom.

His Authority reaches not only all over the City of *London*, and a Part of the Suburbs, but also on the famous River of *Thames* Eastward, as far as *Tendal* or *Tonleſt*, and the Mouth of the River *Medway*; and Westward as far as *Colony Ditch*, above *Staines Bridge*. He has Power to punish all that shall annoy the Stream, Banks, or Fish; and for that End he keeps during his Mayoralty, several Courts called of Conservacy, in the Counties adjacent to the *Thames*.

The two Magistrates of the City of *London*, next the Lord Mayor, for the executive Power, are the Sheriffs, annually chosen by the Citizens from among themselves, at *Guild-Hall* upon *Midsummer-Day*; but they are not sworn till the 28th of *September*, and then are also presented to the Exchequer to be allowed by the Barons and sworn; after which they enter upon their Office. If the Persons so elected refuse to hold, they incur a Penalty, unless they will take a solemn Oath, that they are not worth 15,000 *l*.

The twenty-six Aldermen preside over the twenty-six Wards of the City. When any of these die the Lord Mayor and Aldermen chuse another out of the most substantial Men of the City; which Election has always been attended with Party-Cabals more or less, according to the Difficulties of the Times; for most of the worthy Citizens of *London*, the most judicious, and most prudent of the whole Earth, being very jealous of their Privileges and Liberties, endeavour to have Aldermen entirely in the Interest of the City, and not to be biased under any Consideration of Self-interest, Ambition, &c. and the Court sometimes would, if possible, promote the Election of her Partisans; which occasions sometimes very great Struggles. If any Alderman when elected, refuses to hold, he is usually fined 500 *l*. but this happens very seldom.

All the Aldermen that have been Lord Mayors, and the three eldest who have not yet been invested with that Dignity, which is the *Fastidium honorum* for a Citizen, are by their Charter Justices of the Peace for the City.

To the Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, belong several Courts of Judicature, the most ancient, and most considerable of which is the *Hustings*, for the Maintenance of the Laws, Rights, Franchises, and Customs of the City. Then the Court of *Requests*, or *Conscience*; the Court of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, where the Recorder and Sheriffs sit. Two Courts of the Sheriffs, one for each Compter. The Court of the City Orphans, who are under the Guardianship of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. The Court of *Common-Council*, consisting (like the Parliament of *England*) of two Houses; one for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and the other for the Commoners; in which Court all By-laws, which bind all the Citizens of *London*, are made; for every Citizen either by himself, or his Representative gives his Assent thereunto. The Court of the Chamberlain of *London*, to whom belongs the Receipts of the Revenues of the City, and the Business of Apprentices, over whom he has a great Authority. To the Lord Mayor also belongs the

Courts of Coroner and of Echeator, and another Court for the Conservancy of the River *Thames*. Lastly the *Court of Gaol-Delivery*, held usually eight Times a Year at the *Old-Baily*, both for the City and County of *Middlesex*, for the Trial of Criminals, whereof the Lord-Mayor is the chief Judge; and has the Power of relieving condemn'd Persons.

There are other Courts called *Wardmotes*, or the Meeting of Wards, whereof there are 26 in the City; in which Court Enquiry is made into all Things conducive towards well regulating and governing the City. Also the *Court of Hallmote*, or Assembly of every Guild or Fraternity; for regulating what belongs to each Company in particular.

The Traders of *London* are divided into Companies or Corporations, and are so many Bodies politick; of these twelve are called the chief Companies, and he who is chosen Lord-Mayor must be free of one of them. These twelve Companies, are those of the *Mercers, Grocers, Drapers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Skinners, Merchant-Tailors, Haberdashers, Salters, Ironmongers, Vintners, Clothworkers*. And if it happens that the Lord-Mayor elect is of any other Company, he presently removes to one of the twelve. It has been the Custom of some of the Kings of *England*, to honour some of these Companies, by taking their Freedom thereof, King *Charles II.* was made free of the *Grocers* Company; *K. William III.* while yet Prince of *Orange*, was free of the Company of *Drapers*. And that truly good Prince, who could reasonably be stiled the *Titus* of the Age, his present Royal Highness *Frederick* Prince of *Wales*, is free of the *Sadlers* Company.

Each Company or Mystery, has a Master annually chosen from among themselves, and has other subordinate Governors, called Wardens, or Assistants; these exactly correspond to the general Government of the City, by a Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council; who are selected out of these several Companies.

There are besides near sixty other Companies or Corporations, all enjoying large Privileges, and Immunities granted them by several Kings; though the Citizens of *London* complain that they have lost some of those Privileges, and even the most considerable of them; which if true, would be (according to the small Knowledge I have acquir'd of the *English* Affairs) a very unpolitical Step, taken by those whose Interest it is, and who should have made it one of their principal Cares to manage the Citizens of *London*, as the most powerful Body-Politick of the whole Kingdom; and whose Example influences all the other Corporations; which Sentiment could be supported by several undeniable Facts, whereby it is plainly seen, that the City of *London* is not so insignificant, as those who are unacquainted with the *English* History would imagine. That when well used, they can be by their Wealth and Courage, the strongest Support of the Throne; and when maltreated, or they think

themselves so, can likewise employ both otherwise. There should always be a good Intelligence subsisting between a King of *England* and this Metropolis; since in the most difficult Times he can find there always an immediate Relief; and as far as I can judge from Precedents in History, the City of *London* have often repaid a thousand Fold, the least Favour they have receiv'd from their King, who has never wanted any Thing, when they could persuade themselves, that they were ranked by him among the most faithful of his Subjects; for they not only can assist their Prince with their Purse, which is almost inexhaustible, but likewise with their Counsel, if he should want it, since there are some among them so well versed in foreign, as well as domestick Affairs, and so well acquainted with the true Interest of the *English* Nation in both, as it appears by their eloquent, florid, and pathetick Speeches in the grand Council of the Nation, that they are capable, not to govern a single City only, but even a whole Kingdom; besides their profound Capacity, they have all the other Qualities requisite to make them fine and accomplish'd Gentlemen; for they are really very polite, without Affectation, liberal, affable, compassionate, Friends to Learning, and to the Learned, and most of them very good Judges of that real Merit of which themselves are possessed. This is no Flattery, since nothing can induce me on that Side to be an Adulator, but my real Sentiments, which must be those of every unprejudiced Mind.

The Government of the City of *Paris* is very different from that of the City of *London*, and the Magistrates all different. For the chief Magistrate of that great Metropolis of the Kingdom of *France*, is the *Provost of the Merchants*, which is an Office for Life, and who presides at the City-Courts, and together with the Sheriffs and Bailiffs, decide all Differences relating to Trade and Merchandize; takes Cognizance of the Affairs of Officers of Policy of the City with Regard to their Functions; of the Delinquencies of Merchants, Commissioners and Factors; inspects the Ports, Rivers, Duties, Imposts, &c.

Authors attribute the Institution of *Provost of the Merchants* of *Paris*, to *Philip Auguste*. *Du Haillan* refers its Epocha to the Year 1190.

The next great Magistrate to this is, the *Lieutenant of the Policy*, whose Office is very little different from that of the Lord-Mayor of *London*; except that he appoints of his own Authority, Officers in every Quarter of the City, and of its Suburbs, called Commissaries, to maintain a good Order, appease Riots, Tumults, terminate Differences between House-keepers, &c. seize Vagrants, commit them or banish them from the City, &c. The *Lieutenant of the Policy* can also commit Prisoners of State, when directed by the Ministers; make as many new Ordinances as he judges proper for the Security, and good Order of the City, is to take Care that the Streets be well lighted in the Night, and kept clean in the Day-time, &c.

G R A M M A R.

GRAMMAR is the Art of Speaking properly, and Writing correctly; according to the best Method, and greatest Ease and Accuracy of those whose Language we learn.

I say, 1, that *Grammar* is an Art, not a Science, because it has no infallible Rules. 2. Of *Speaking properly, and Writing correctly*, to distinguish it from the common Manner of learning a Language, by Conversation or Reading; whereby, tho' we may make very great Progresses in a Language, even so far as to speak it as properly as the Natives themselves, we notwithstanding are often guilty of many Faults, of which those who have learn'd by the Rules of *Grammar* are very sensible; some of whom are such scrupulously Observers of those Rules, that they would sooner deviate from Sense and Reason, than to neglect the least of them. 3. Ac-

cording to the best Method, and greatest Ease and Accuracy of those whose Language we learn; without which it is absolutely impossible we could ever reckon ourselves perfect in a Language. For if we follow first a bad or even indifferent Method, we contract an ill Habit, which being vitiated in its Principle, degenerates afterwards into a certain *Modus Loquendi*, which is rather a *Jargon* or *Patois*, than a Language; and which it is almost impossible afterwards to reform. This last Method, does not consist entirely in making Choice of the best and most modern Grammar that can be found, but likewise in the Master who is expected to teach according to the Rules of that Grammar; in which People are daily mistaken. For I would give to understand, that a Person can never be perfect in a Language, while he searches his Words, or is uncertain which is the best to signify what he wants to express

expres or takes one Word for another, or pronounces them improperly, or has no Regard to Genders, nor to Declensions, of Names, nor to Conjugation of Verbs, Construction, &c.

Grammar is divided by some Authors into four Parts, Orthography, Prosody, Etymology, and Syntax.

Others chuse to divide Grammar somewhat more obviously, into the Doctrine of Letters or Sounds, which coincides with Orthography, and Orithopy; that of Syllables, their Accent, Time, &c. which falls in with Prosody; that of Words, their Kinds, Derivations, Changes, Analogy, &c. which amounts to Etymology; and that of Sentences, which considers the placing or joining of Words together, called Syntax.

Note, That Grammar is the same in all Languages, as to its general Principles and Notions which it borrows from Philosophy, to explain the Order and Manner wherein

we expres our Ideas by Words; but as each Language has its particular Turns, its several Characters, and Genius different, from the Genius and Character of other Languages, hence arise as many Grammars as Languages; and to give a true Notion of those several different Languages, I must take Notice in this Treatise of the most essential Rules peculiar to each different Grammar; and as the Doctrine of Letters is the first Part of our Division of Grammar, we'll learn first that Doctrine, beginning, as all Grammarians do, by the Alphabet, which is the several Letters of a Language, dispos'd in their natural or accustom'd Order; and as there are as many Sorts of Alphabets, as there are Languages, I'll give here some of those different Sorts, viz. the English, French, Latin, Hebrew, and Greek Alphabets.

A L P H A B E T S.

ENGLISH.			FRENCH.		LATIN.		HEBREW.				GREEK.		
26 Letters	24 Letters	Pronunciation.	22 Letters	Pronounc'd like French	Names	Figures	Similitudes	Powers		Figures	Names	Powers	
a	a	aw	a		Aleph	א	ז	spiritus		A α	Alpha	a	
b	b	bé	b		Bheth	ב	כ	lenis	1	B β ε	Beta	v	
c	c	cé	c		Ghimel	ג	נ	bh	2	Γ γ Ϛ	Gamma	g	
d	d	dé	d		Dhaleth	ד		gh	3	Δ δ	Delta	d	
e	e	eé	e		He	ה		dh	4	E ε	Epfilon	e, breve	
f	f	ef	f		Vau	ו		h	5	Z ζ Ϸ	Zeta	z	
g	g	gé	g		Zajin	ז		v, Con.	6	H η	Eta	e, longum	
h	h	ashe	h		Cheth	ח		z	7	Θ θ	Theta	th	
i	i		i		Teth	ט	ד	hh	8	I ι	Iota	i	
j	l	ell	l		Jodh	י		t	9	K κ	Kappa	k, c	
k	m	m	m		Chaph	כ	ך	j, Con.	10	Λ λ	Lambda	l	
l	n	n	n		Lamed	ל		ch, x	20	M μ	Mu	m	
m	o	o	o		Mem	מ	ם	l	30	N ν	Nu	n	
n	p	pé	p		Nun	נ	ן	m	40	Ξ ξ	Xi	x	
o	q	kûu	q		Samech	ס		n	50	O ο	Omicron	o, parvum	
p	r	r	r		Ghnajin	ע		f, acutum	60	Π π ϖ	Pi	p	
q	f	f	f		Phe	פ	ף	ghn, ngh	70	Ρ ρ ϱ	Rho	r	
r	t	té	t		Tzade	צ	ץ	ph	80	Σ σ ς	Sigma	f	
f	u	ue	u		Koph	ק		tf	90	T τ Ϛ	Tau	t	
t	w		x		Refch	ר		k	100	Υ υ	Upfilon	u	
u	x		y		Schin	ש		r	200	Φ φ	Phi	ph	
v	y	e Greek	z		Sin	ש		fch, fh	300	Χ χ	Chi	ch	
w	z	zede			Thau	ת		f		Ψ ψ	Pfi	pf	
x								th	400	Ω ω	Omega	o, magnum	
y													
z													

Note, That the Chaldee, Syriack, and Samaritan Alphabets, have, like the Hebrew, each 22 Letters; the Arabick 28; the Persian 31; the Turkish 33; the Georgian 36; the Coptick 32; the Muscovite 43; the Sclavonian 27; the Dutch 26; the Spanish 27; the Italians of Bengal 21; the Baramas 19; and the Ethiopick no less than 202; there being 7 Vowels, which they combine with each of their 26 Consonants; to which they add 20 other aspirated Syllables. The like is said of the Tartarian, each of their Letters is a Syllable, having one of the Vowels join'd to its Consonant, as la, lé, li, &c. The Chinese have no Alphabet, properly speaking, except we call their whole Language their Alphabet; their Letters are Words, or rather Hieroglyphicks, and are in Number about 80,000.

Note also, That Alphabets were not contrived with Design, according to the just Rules of Reason, and Analogy; but successively framed and altered, &c. as Occasion offered. And hence many grievous Complaints as to their Deficiencies, and divers Attempts to establish new and more adequate ones in their Place. Bishop Wilkins charges the Alphabets extant with great Irregularities, with Respect both to the Order, Number, Power, Figure, &c. As to the Order it appears inartificial, precarious, and confused; in that the Vowels and Consonants are not reduced into

Classes, with such Order of Precedence and Subsequence as their Nature will bear. Even the Hebrew Order is not free from this Imperfection.

As to the Number they are both redundant and deficient; redundant either by allotting several Letters to the same Power and Sound, as in the Hebrew ם and ן and the ordinary Latin c and k, f and ph; or by reckoning double Letters among the simple Elements of Speech, as in the Hebrew ם the Greek ξ and ψ, and the Latin q cu, x c i, and the j consonant, or jod. Deficient in divers Respects, especially in regard of Vowels, of which there are seven or eight Kinds commonly used; though the Latin Alphabet only takes Notice of five, whereof two, viz. i and u, according to the English Pronunciation, are not properly Vowels, but Diphthongs. Add, that the Difference among Vowels in respect of long and short, is not sufficiently provided for: The Antients we know, used to expres a long Vowel by doubling its Character; as Amaabam, Naata, Rec, Seedes, Sanctissimis; though the Vowel i, instead of being doubled, was frequently prolonged, as AEdilis, Pliso, Vius. The Ways used in English for lengthening and abbreviating Vowels, viz. by adding e quiescent to the End of a Word, for prolonging a Syllable; and doubling the following Consonants, for the shortening of a Vowel, as wane wam, ware, warr, &c. or else inserting some other Vowel for the lengthening of it,

as *meet met*, *read red*, &c. are all improper, in that that the Sign ought ever to be where the Sound is.

As to their Powers again, those are not always fixed to the same Signification: The Vowels, for instance, are generally acknowledged to have each of them several Sounds: *Vocales omnes plurisonæ*, says *Lipsius*; and *Vossius* assures us, the Antients used their Vowels very different Ways, *Aliquando tenuius exiliusque, nunc crassius, nunc intermedio sono*. Thus the Power of the Vowel *e*, is expressed in Writing no less than six several Ways, viz. by *e*, as in *he, me, she, ye*: By *ee*, in *thee, free*:—By *ie*, in *Field, yield, shield, chief*:—By *ea*, in *near, dear, beat*:—By *eo*, in *People*; by *i*, in *Privilege*. So is the Power of the Vowel *a*, as in *all, aul, aw, fault, caught, brought*: Which are all only various Ways of writing the same long Vowel; besides the other distinct Ways of expressing the same Vowel when used short: Again, the Power of the Vowel *o* is written five Ways; *o*, as in *to, who, move*;—*oe*, as in *doe*;—*oo*, in *Shoe, Moon, Noon*;—*ou*, in *could, would*;—*wo*, in *two*; and so of the rest. Nor are the Consonants of more determinate Power; witness the different Pronunciation of the same Letter (*c*) in the same Word *Circo*; and of *g*, in *Negligence*. To say no more, the Letters *c, f, t*, are used alike to denote the same Power; and the Letter *f* is commonly used for *z*; and which is yet worse, some Letters of the same Name and Shape, are used at one Time for Vowels, and at another for Consonants, as *j, v, w, y*; which yet differ from one another, says Bishop *Wilkins*, *sicut corpus, & anima*.

From this Confusion in the Power of Letters, there arise divers Irregularities; as that some Words are distinguished in Writing, which are the same in Pronunciation, *e. gr. Cessio, and Sessio, &c.* and others are distinguished in Pronunciation, which are the same in Writing; as *give, dare, and give, vinculum, &c.* Hence also the Latin *malé* is a Dissyllable, and the English *Male* a Monosyllable.

The Names, also, in most Alphabets, are very improperly expressed by Words of divers Syllables, as *Alpha, Beta, &c.* in which respect, the *Roman* and *English* Alphabets, which only name the Letters by their Powers, are pretended to have a great Advantage over the rest.

Lastly, Their Figures are not well concerted; there being nothing in the Characters of the Vowels answerable to the different Degrees of Operation: Nor in the Consonants, analogous to the Agreements, or Disagreements thereof.

Note again, That it is no Wonder that the Number of Letters in most Languages should be so small, and that of the Words so great; since from a Calculation made by *M. Prostet*, it appears that, allowing only 24 Letters to an Alphabet, the different Words, or Combinations that may be made out of those 24 Letters, taking them first one by one, then two by two, three by three, &c. would amount to the following Number: 1391,724288,887252,999425,128493,402200.—Every Combination may make a Word, even tho' that Combination have not any Vowel in it; because the *e* mute, or quiescent, insinuates itself imperceptibly between the Consonants, or after the Consonants, where there are but two, the latter of which would not be heard without it.—The Use of this silent *e*, is very remarkable in the *Armenian, Welsh, and Dutch* Languages; wherein the Generality of Words have several Consonants together.

Nor must it be omitted, that every single Letter may make a Word: Which is very apparent, where that Letter is a Vowel. Words of that Kind being found in most Languages; thus *a*, and *o*, make Words in the *Greek*; *a, o*, in the *Latin*; *a, i, o*, in the *English*; *a, o, y*, in the *French*; *a, e, i, o*, in the *Italian*; *a, y*, in the *Spanish*; *a, o*, in the *Portuguese*; *o*, in most Languages, and even in the *Dutch* and *Swordish*: Any Consonant, also, becomes a Word, by adding an *e* mute to it, in Pronunciation.

In fine, though a considerable Number of the

possible Combinations of 24 Letters were retrenched, yet the Number remaining would still be immenſe, and vastly superior to that of the Words in any Language known.

Note besides, that to avoid all the aforesaid, and several other Inconveniencies, which the Diversity of Characters, used in the different Sorts of Alphabets, occasion, several Authors have proposed Plans of Characters that should be universal, and which each People should read in their own Language. The Characters here should not be nominal Characters, or Letters, but real ones, *i. e.* such as should, instead of Names, express the Things themselves, and Ideas: Yet to be mute like Letters and arbitrary; not emblematical like Hieroglyphicks.—Thus every one should retain their own Language, yet every one understand that of each other, without learning it; only by seeing a real or universal Character, which should signify the same Thing to all People; by what Sound soever each expresses it in his particular Idiom. For Instance, by seeing the Character destined to signify to drink, an Englishman should read *to drink*; a Frenchman, *boire*; a Latin, *bibere*; a Greek, *πιβειν*; a Jew, *שָׁמַר*; a German, *Trincken*; and so of the rest: In the same Manner, as seeing a Horse, each People expresses it after their own Manner; but all mean the same Animal. This real Character is no Chimera; the *Chinese* and *Japanese* have already something like it; they have a common Character, which each of those Nations understand alike in their several Languages; though they pronounce them with such different Sounds, that they do not understand a Tittle of one another in Speaking.—The first, and most considerable Attempts for a real Character, or philosophical Language in *Europe*, are those of Bishop *Wilkins*, and *Dalgarno*: But these, with how much Art soever they were contrived, have yet proved ineffectual. *M. Leibnitz* had some Thoughts the same Way; he thinks those great Men did not hit the right Method. It was probable indeed that by their Means, People who do not understand one another might easily have a Commerce together; but they have not hit on true real Characters. According to him the Characters should resemble those used in Algebra; which in effect are very simple, yet very expressive, without any Thing superfluous or equivocal, and contain all the Varieties required. The real Character of Bishop *Wilkins* has its just Applause; Dr. *Hook* recommends it on his own Knowledge and Experience, as a most excellent Scheme; and to engage the World to the Study thereof, publishes some fine Inventions of his own therein. *M. Leibnitz* tells us, he had under Consideration an Alphabet of *Human Thoughts*; in order to a new philosophical Language on his own Scheme; but his Death prevented its being brought to Maturity. *M. Lodovic*, in his philosophical Transactions, gives us a Plan of an universal Alphabet, or Character of another Kind: This was to contain an Enumeration of all single Sounds or Letters, as are used in any Language, by means whereof People should be enabled to pronounce truly and readily any Language; to describe the Pronunciation of any Language that shall be pronounced in their Hearing; so, as others accustomed to this Language, though they never had heard the Language pronounced, shall at first be able truly to pronounce it: And lastly, this Character to serve as a Standard to perpetuate the Sounds of any Language.

In the *Journal Littéraire*, Anno 1720, we have a very ingenious Project for an universal Character: The Author, after obviating the Objections that might be made against the Feasibleness of such Schemes in general, proposes his own: His Characters are to be the common Arabick, or numeral Figures. The Combinations of these nine are sufficient to express distinctly an incredible Quantity of Numbers; much more than we shall need Terms to signify our Actions, Good, Evil, Duties, Passions, &c. Thus is all the Trouble of framing, and learning any new Character

rafter at once faved : The Arabick Figures having already all the Univerfality required. The Advantages are immense ; for, 1. We have here a ftale faithful Interpreter, never to be corrupted or changed, as the popular Languages continually are. 2. Whereof the Difficulty of pronouncing a foreign Language, is fuch as ufually gives the Learner the greateft Trouble, and there are even fome Sounds which Foreigners never attain to ; in the Character here propofed, this Difficulty has no Place : Every Nation is to pronounce them according to the particular Pronunciation that already obtains among them. All the Difficulty is the accuftoming the Pen, and the Eye to affix certain Notions to Characters, that do not at firft Sight exhibit them ; but this Trouble is no more than we find in the Study of any Language whatever. The Inflexions of Words are to be expreffed by the common Letters : For instance, the fame Character fhall exprefs a *Filly*, or a *Colt*, a *Horfe* or a *Mare*, an *old Horfe* or an *old Mare*, as accompanied with this or that diftinct Letter, which fhall fhew the Sex, Youth, Maturity, or old Age ; a Letter alfo to exprefs the Bignefs or Size of Things ; thus, *v. g.* a Man with this or that Letter, to fignify a *great Man*, or a *little Man*, &c.

The Ufe of thefe Letters belong to the *Grammar*, which once well underftood, would abridge the Vocabulary exceedingly. An Advantage of this *Grammar* is, that it would have only one Declenfion, and one Conjugation : Thofe numerous Anomalies of Grammarians are exceeding troublefome, and arife hence, that the common Languages are governed by the Populace, who never reafon on what is beft ; but in the Character here propofed, Men of Senfe having the Introduction of it, would have a new Ground whereon to build regularly. But the Difficulty is not in inventing the moft fimple, eafy and commodious Character, but in engaging the feveral Nations to ufe it ; there being nothing they agree lefs, in than the underftanding and purfuing their common Intereft.

The *Characters* all Alphabets are compofed of, are called *Literal* ; which may be divided with regard to their Ufe, into *Particular* and *General*.

Particular Characters are thofe peculiar to this, or that Nation ; or that have been fo : Such are the *Roman*, *Italian*, *Greek*, *Hebrew*, *Arabick*, *Gothick*, *Chinefe*, &c.

Univerfal Characters, are thofe above-mentioned ; which have not been received yet by the Generality of Mankind.

The *Characters* now ufed in all the Alphabets of modern Languages, throughout all *Europe*, are the *Latin* Characters of the Antients.

Thefe *Characters* are divided, by us *Grammarians*, into Vowels and Confonants ; into Mutes, Diphthongs, Liquids, and Characterifticks ; and are commonly called *Letters*.

A *Vowel*, is a Letter which affords a compleat Sound of itfelf ; or a Letter fo fimple, as only to need a bare Opening of the Mouth to make it heard, and to form a diftinct Voice. Such are *a, e, i, o, u* ; which are called *Vocales, Vowels*, in Contradiftinction to certain other Letters, which depending on a particular Application of fome Part of the Mouth, as the Teeth, Lips, or Palate, can make no perfect Sound without an Opening of the Mouth, that is, without the Addition of a Vowel ; and are therefore called Confonants.

Though we ordinarily only reckon five Vowels, yet, befides, that each of thefe may be either long, or fhort, which occasions a confiderable Variety in the Sound ; to confider only their Differences refulting from the different Aperture of the Mouth in the *Englifh* Pronunciation, one might add four or five more Vowels to the Number. —For the *e* open, and the *e* clofe, are different enough to make two Vowels, as in *Sea* and *Depth* ; fo alfo the *o* open, and *o* clofe, in *Hoft* and *Organ*. Add, that the *u* pronounced *ou*, as the *Latins* did, and as *Italians* ftill do, has a very different Sound from the *u*, as pronounced by the *Greeks*, and as at this Day by the *French* and *Eng-*

lifh. —Again *eo*, in *People*, make but one fingle Sound, though written with two Vowels.

Laftly, the *e* mute is, originally, no more than a Surd joined to a Confonant, when that is to be pronounced without a Vowel, as when it is immediately followed by other Confonants, as in the Word *Scammum*. This is what the *Hebrews* call *Sheva*, efpecially when it begins the Syllable : And this *Sheva* is found in all Languages, though over-looked in many of them, particularly the *Latin*, *Englifh*, &c. by Reafon it has no proper Character to denote it ; though in fome of the vulgar Tongues, particularly *French* and *High-Dutch*, it is expreffed by the Vowel *e* adding its Sound to the reft. Thus, without regarding the Differences of the fame Sound, or Vowel, as to Length or Shortnefs, one may diftinguifh ten feveral Vowels, expreffed by the following Characters, *a, é, i, o, ô, eu, ou, u, e*, mute.

The *Confonant*, is a Letter which produces no Sound alone, or without fome other Letter, either Vowel or Confonant joined along with it.

A *Confonant*, confidering it philofophically, is nothing elfe but the Modification of a Sound, produced by Means of the Organ of the Voice, not a Production of Sound itfelf : Thus, *v. gr.* the Sounds fignified by the Characters, *a, e, i, o, u*, are differently modified, when we fay *ab* than when we fay *ac*, or *ca*, *ad*, or *da* ; and thofe Modifications are called *Confonants*.

Confonants are divided into fingle, as *b, h, m, q*, &c. and double, as *Ax*, in *Axillary* ; correfponding to the ξ of the *Greeks*.

Confonants, again, are divided into Liquid, as *l, r, m, n* ; and Mute, as *b, d*, and the reft, which make no Sound at all without a Vowel.

But the moft natural Divifion of Confonants is that of the *Hebrew* Grammarians, who have been imitated therein by the Grammarians of other oriental Languages : Thefe divide the Confonants into five Claffes, with Regard to the five principal Organs of the Voice ; which has contributed, it is true, but one more notably than the reft, to certain Modifications, which make five general Kinds of Confonants. Each Kind, or Clafs, comprehends feveral Confonants, which refult from the different Degrees of the fame Modification, or from the different Motions of the fame Organs.

Thefe Organs are the *Throat*, *Palate*, *Tongue*, *Teeth*, and *Lips* ; whence the five Claffes of Confonants are denominated *Guttural*, *Palatale*, *Lingual*, *Dental*, and *Labial*.

We account fixteen Confonants in the *Englifh* Alphabet, *viz.* *b, c, d, f, g, k, l, m, n, p, q, r, s, t, x, z* ; to which there are three others to be added, *viz.* the *h*, the *j*, Confonant, and *v* Confonant, which makes the whole Number of Confonants nineteen ; one whereof is *Guttural*, *viz.* the Aspirate *b* ; five *Palatal*, *viz.* *c*, as when pronounced before *a, o*, and *u*, as in *Cavern*, *Corn*, *Curiofity* ; *g*, as in *Geneva* ; *j* Confonant in *Julep* ; *k*, in *Kernel* ; and *q*, in *Query*. —The four *lingual* Confonants are *d, l, n, t* ; the four *dental* are, *r, s, x, z* ; the three laft whereof are Hiffers ; and five *labial*, *b, f, m, p*, and *v*, Confonant.

With Regard to which Divifion, it may be obferved, that though the *g* be modified in three different Manners, as it comes before an *a*, an *o*, or an *u* ; yet it is ftill a Confonant of the Palate ; that the *j* Confonant differs in nothing but its Figure, from the *g* before *e*, or *i* ; that *k* has the fame Pronunciation with the *c* ; that *x* comprehends the Sound of two Letters in its Sound, *viz.* *c*, or *k*, and *f*, or another *c*, as in *Alexander*, and in *Alexis*, which we pronounce as if wrote *Alecfander*, and *Allecfis*, or *Alecfis* ; and that the *e* before an *e* or *i* is no Confonant of the Palate, becaufe in that Cafe it lofes its proper Sound, and affumes the hiffing Sound of the *f*.

The Abbot *Dangeau* thinks the Nature of the Divifion of the *Hebrew* Grammarians very reafonable ; but does not acquiefce in the Distribution they have made of them ; to find a natural and juft Divifion of the Confonants, he obferves, no Regard muft be had to the Characters that represent them ; nor any Thing be confidered but their Sound, or the Modification they give the Sound.

On this Principle, the fame Author finds in the *French* five

five labial Consonants, *b, p, v, f,* and *m*; five palatal ones, *d, f, g, k,* and *n*; four Hissers, *i, z, j, ch*; two Liquids, *l* and *r*; two that run into and mix with each other, as *ll*, and *gn*; which last however is peculiar to the *French* Language and the *b* Aspirate.

He adds, 1. That *m* and *n* are properly two nasal Consonants; the *m* a *b* passed the Nose; and the *n* a *d*, in like Manner, pronounced through the Nose; and, in Effect, People, in a Cold, pronounce *Barket* for *Market*, *deed* for *need*, &c.—2. That among the Consonants some are weak, others strong; their Difference consisting in this, that the former are preceded with a small Omission of the Voice, which softens them, which the latter have not. The weak are *b, c, d, g, z, i*; the strong, *p, f, t, k, s, ch*.

It may be here observed, that when we speak of a Person's talking through the Nose, it must be understood in a Sense quite different from what the Words seem naturally to import: Since the Nose in this Case concurs less to the Pronunciation, than when we do not speak through the Nose; is returned into the Mouth, where it forms a dull, obtruse Sound, called *Nasal*.

From the whole we may conclude, that the Excess of Consonants, in one Language above another, only consists in this, that there are more Modifications of Sound received, and established in the one than the other; for all Men, having the same Organs, may form the same Modifications; so that it is entirely owing to Custom, nothing to Nature, that the *English* have not the *θ* of the *Greeks*, the *Ain* and *Heth* of the *Hebrews*, the *ch* of the *Germans*, the *gn* of the *French*, the *gl* of the *Italians*, the *ll* of the *Welsh*, &c.

Also that the *Chinese* have no *r*, the *Iroquois* no labial Consonants, the *Hurons* Abundance of Aspirates; and the *Arabs* and *Georgians* Abundance of double Consonants; which last is owing to this, that they make several Organs concur strongly, and equally to the Modification of a Sound; whereas, in the rest, only one Organ is moved very strongly and sensibly, and the rest weakly.

It is hence, also, visible, that, in all Languages, the Aspirates, or Guttural Letters, are real Consonants, since the Throat modifies the Sound as much as the Palate, Tongue, or Lips.

Lastly, To find all the Consonants that may be formed in any Language, there needs nothing but to observe all the Modifications that the Sounds of Speech will admit of, by which we shall have all the Consonants practicable.

Note, That an *Aspirate* is also a *Modificative*, or *Consonant*, as having all the Properties of a *Consonant*; for, 1. It results from a Motion of the Organ, which of itself produces no Sound; thus the *Spiritus* of the *Greeks*, the *French*, and *English b* Aspirate, has no more Sound of itself than *b, c, d*, &c. and the same Thing may be observed of the *Aleph*, *Beth*, and *Caph*, of the Eastern Languages. 2. On the contrary the *English b*, the *Spiritus* of the *Greeks*, and the other Aspirates just mentioned, are pronounced with all the Vowels, in the same Manner as *Consonants* are. They modify those Vowels, and are Effects of a Motion of the Organ superadded to the Motion necessary to form the Vowel. Thus to pronounce *ba*, two Motions of the Organ are required as well as for *ba* or *ca*, &c. one for *a*, which itself is a Sound; the other for *b*, which yields no Sound no more than *b*, but adds something to *a*, which modifies it, and makes that *ba* in not mere *a*, nor *ba*, nor *ca*, &c. and this must hold still more sensibly in the stronger Aspirates of the oriental Tongues; in all which there are evidently two Motions, the one for the Vowel, and the other to modify it: Now this being the Nature and Essence of a Consonant, it follows, that let them be denoted in what Manner they will, whether as the *English b*, as the Oriental *do*, i. e. by proper Characters in the Course of the Words themselves; or, as the *Greeks* do some of theirs, by a Sign of Aspiration placed over the Vowel, it matters not. The Aspirate is no less a Consonant in *αἶψα* than

in *χαίρω*; in *εω*, than in *ζεω*; in *όλη*, than in *χόλη*; and so of others. The third and last Reason is, that the Eastern Languages, which do not express the Vowels, do yet express the Aspirates. Add, that the Aspirate is frequently changed into a Consonant, and expressed by a Consonant: Thus if *εἶξ* is made *Sex*; of *ἐπτα*, *Septem*, of *ἐσπερος*, *Vesperus*, &c. of the *Hebrew* *יין*, *וין*, and thence *Vinum*, &c. may even in the same Language, *Hesiod* speaking of *Hercules's* Buckler, uses *Ἡρῶν* for *Θηρῶν*; making no Difference between a *Θ* and an Aspirate. Hence it evidently follows, that Aspirates are real Consonants; and that it must be an Error to rank *κ, π, γ*, of Eastern Languages among the Vowels; and to exclude the *b* in *English* out of the Number of Letters.

Mute Letters, are those which are not founded, or heard in the Pronunciation, or Letters which yield no Sound of themselves, and without a Vowel.

The *Mutes* in the *English* Alphabet are eleven, viz. *B, C, D, F, G, I, K, P, Q, T, V*. They are called *Mutes*, because a Liquid cannot be founded in the same Syllable before them, as *repo*; but a *Mute* may be pronounced in the same Syllable before a Liquid, as *pro*.

Liquids, are certain Consonants opposed to *Mutes*; *l, m, n,* and *p*, are *Liquids*.

Diphthong, is a double Vowel, or the Union, or Mixture of two Vowels pronounced together, so as only to make one Syllable; as the *Latin a e, æ, o e*, or *æ*; the *Greek αι, ει*; the *English ai, au*, &c.

Æ answers to *ai*, the proper, and *α* the improper Diphthong of the *Greeks*, e. g. *Αἰνείας*, *Aneas*; *σφαῖρα*, *Sphaerae*, &c. And on the contrary, the *Romans* when they had Occasion to divide their *æ*, changed it into the *Greek ai*, e. g. *Aulai* for *Aulae*, &c.

Ai by some is made a *Latin* Diphthong, as in *aio, catus*, &c. But in *ais* and *ait*, *i* manifestly belongs to the latter Syllable; and the *Greeks* write not *Γαῖος*, but *Γαῖος*; whence it seems plain that *ai* in the *Latin* Tongue is not a Diphthong as in the *Greek*.

The *Latins* pronounced the two Vowels in their *Diphthongs* much as we do, with this Exception, that the two were not heard equally, but the one was somewhat weaker than the other, though the Division was made with all the Delicacy imaginable. Among the *English* most of the *Latin* Diphthongs are lost in the Pronunciation; their *æ* and *æ* are only spoke as *e's*, so as also the *English ea, oa*, &c. though wrote with two Characters, are pronounced as simple Sounds.

In *French*, *English*, and divers other Languages, one may distinguish *Diphthongs* with regard to the Eye, from *Diphthongs* with regard to the Ear.

A *Diphthong* with regard to the Eye, is formed of two Vowels meeting in the same Syllable, whether the particular Sound of each of them be heard in the Pronunciation, or whether the Sound of one of them be drowned; or lastly, whether a new Sound different from either of them result from both. In the two latter Cases it is with some Impropriety, that we call them *Diphthongs*. The first only are real *Diphthongs*, as being such both to the Eye and Ear.

Diphthongs with regard to the Ear, are either formed of two Vowels meeting in the same Syllable, whose Sounds are severally heard; or of three Vowels in the same Syllable, which only afford two Sounds in the Pronunciation. In this last Occasion, *Diphthongs* with regard to the Ear, are *Triphthongs* with regard to the Eye.

English Diphthongs, with regard both to the Eye and Ear, called *proper Diphthongs*, are *ai*, as in *fair*; *au*, in *laud*; *ee*, in *bleed*; *oi*, in *void*; *oo*, in *food*; and *ou*, in *house*.

English improper Diphthongs, or Diphthongs with regard to the Eye, are *aa*, pronounced only like *a*, as in *Alaron*; *ea*, like *a*, as in *sear*, *heart*; or like *e*, as *already*; or like *ee*, as *Veal*: *eo*, like *e*, in *scoffe*; or like *o*, in *George*: *eu*, or *ew*, like *u*, as *Deuteronomy*; *ie*, like *e*, as *Cieling*, *field*: *ei*, like *a*, in *feign*; or like *e*, in *Deceit*: *oa*, as in *Cloak*, *Doat*: *oe*, as *Doc*, *Economy*: *uo*, as in *Guest*: and *ui*, as in *Guile*, *Recruit*.

From these different Divisions of Letters, I'll pass to the

the Examen of every Letter of our Alphabet in particular, beginning with the first.

A, is a Vowel, and the first Letter of the *French*, *English*, and most other Alphabets. The Grammarians will needs have A, the first Letter of all Languages; and some of them assign a natural Reason for it, viz. that it is the most simple, and the easiest pronounced of all articulated Sounds. To confirm this, *Julius Scaliger* observes that A, is the first Sound Nature puts forth at the Crying, or Smiling of Infants, and that it needs no other Motion to form it, but a bare Opening of the Lips.

But it is in vain that Authors compare the A of the *Latin*, *French*, *English*, &c. with the *Aleph* of the *Hebrews*, or the *Eliph* of the *Arabs*. Those two Letters have no Conformity with our A, except in this, that they are the first of their several Alphabets: What sets them far asunder, is, that these oriental A's are not Vowels.

Some Criticks take the Hebrew *Aleph*, to be neither Vowel, nor Consonant, but an Aspirate, or pneumatick Letter, like the H in the *Latin*; adding, that St. *Jerom* appears to have had the same Thought, who probably learn'd it from the *Jews* of the School of *Tiberias*. But later Writers give the Thing another Turn; having shewn that the Hebrew *Aleph*, Arabick *Eliph*, and Syriack *Olaph*, are real Consonants; and that the same holds of all other Aspirates. This is a Paradox in *Grammar*; but it is not the less true for being a Paradox.

Of all the Letters, A is observed to be that which dumb Persons are soonest taught to pronounce. The Reason is, that it does not depend on the Muscles, and other Organs of the Mouth and Tongue, which are generally wanting in Mutes; but on those of the Throat, and Nose, which they commonly have.

This first simplest Sound serves us to express most of the Vehemence of the Soul. It is so much the Language of Nature, that upon all sudden and extraordinary Occasions we are necessarily led to it, as the Instrument readiest at Hand. With this we speak our Admiration, Joy, Anguish, Aversion, Apprehension of Danger, &c. where the Passion is very strong, we frequently enforce the A, by adding an Aspirate, as *Ah*.

It is observed of the *English* Pronunciation, that they speak the A with a slenderer and more puny Sound than any of their Neighbours: Ordinarily it is scarce broad enough for a *French* E neuter; and comes far short of the gross A of the *Germans*, which would make their *au*, or *aw*, or *o*.—In some Words, however, as *Talk*, *Wall*, *Stall*, &c. the A is broad, and deep enough; but this, it is observed, may not be the mere Sound of A, but the Effect of the antient Orthography, which, as low as Queen *Elizabeth*, frequently added an *u* to the A, and wrote *Taulk*, &c.

The *Romans* laid a mighty Stress on their A; and distinguished exactly, both in Writing and Speaking, when it was long, and when short. To denote it long, they first wrote it double, *Aala* for *Ala*; which not being enough, they inserted an *b* between them, *Abala*: At length they fell to the common long Accent *Ala*.

B, the second Letter of most Alphabets (except in the antient *Irish* Alphabet, where B is the first, and A the seventeenth; and in the *Abyssinian*, where A is the thirteenth) is the first Consonant, and first mute, and in its Pronunciation is supposed to resemble the Bleating of a Sheep; upon which Account *Pierius* tells us in his Hieroglyphicks, that the *Egyptians* represented the Sound of this Letter by the Figure of that Animal.

B is also one of those Letters which the Eastern Grammarians call *Labial*, because the principal Organs employed in its Pronunciation are the Lips. It has a near Affinity with the other *Labials* P and V, and is often used for P, both by the *Armenians*, and other Orientals; as in *Betrus* for *Petrus*, *Apsens* for *Absens*, &c. and by the *Romans* for V, as in *Amabit* for *Amavit*, *Berna* for *Verna*, &c. Whence arose that Jest of *Aurelian* on the Emperor *Bonafus*, *Non ut vivat natus est, sed ut bibat*.

B requires an entire Closure and Pressure of the Lips to pronounce it, and therefore can scarce ever end the Sound of a Word: But when you endeavour to pro-

nounce it there, you are obliged to add an E to open the Lips again; as in *Job*, which is founded *Jobe*.

This Letter also, if it pass through the Nose, becomes an M, as appears in those who have the Nostrils stop'd by a Cold, or otherwise when they endeavour to pronounce the Letter M; for instance, *many Men*, is by such a one founded, *bany Ben*.

C, is the third Letter, or second Consonant of the Alphabet, and is formed according to *Scaliger*, from the α of the *Greeks*, by retrenching the Stem, or upright Line; though others derive it from the α of the *Hebrews*, which has in effect the same Form; allowing only for this, that the *Hebrews* reading backwards, and the *Latins*, &c. forwards, each have turned the Letter their own Way. However the c, not being the same as to sound with the *Hebrew* Caph; and it being certain the *Romans* did not borrow their Letters immediately from the *Hebrews*, or other Orientals, but from the *Greeks*; the Derivation from the Greek K is the most probable. Add, that F. *Monfaucon* in his *Palaeographia*, gives us some Forms of the Greek K, which come very near that of our C; this, for instance, and that *Suidas* calls the C the *Roman* Kappa.

All the Grammarians agree that the *Romans* pronounce their q like our c, and their c like our k: F. *Mabillon* adds, that *Charlemagne* was the first who wrote his Name with a C; whereas all his Predecessors of the same Name wrote it with a K, and the same Difference is observed in their Coins.

D, is the fourth Letter of the Alphabet, and the third Consonant; and is generally ranked by the Grammarians among the lingual Letters, as supposing the Tongue to have the principal Share in the Pronunciation thereof. Though the Abbot *Dangeau* seems to have Reason in making it a palatal Letter. The Letter D is the fourth in the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Samaritan*, *Syriack*, *Greek*, and *Latin* Alphabets; in the five first of which Languages it has the same Name, though somewhat differently spoke, e. gr. in *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* *Daleth*, in *Syriack* *Dolath*, and in *Greek* *Delta*.

The *Arabians* have three D's in their Language, the first called *Dal*, which is the eighth of the 28 Letters; the second called *Dhsal*, is only distinguished from the former by having a Point added over it; though its Sound is much the same with that of the Z: The third, which is their seventeenth Letter, is called *Da*, and pronounced like our D, though in Form it resembles the Arabick *Ta*, all it differs in being a Point added a-top. The Form of our D is the same with that of the *Latins*, and the Latin D is no other than the Greek Δ , rounded a little by making it quicker, and at two Strokes the Δ of the *Greeks* again is borrowed from the antient Character of the *Hebrew* *Daleth*; which Form it still retains on the *Samaritan* Medals. All the Alteration the *Greeks* have made in it, is the making it sloop a little, and taking away a little Line: Nor would it be difficult to shew that the *Syriack* *Dolath*, and the Arabick *Dal*, are both borrowed from the antient *Hebrew*, as well as the γ *Daleth* of the modern, or *Chaldee* *Hebrew*.

Some indeed will have it, that the Greek Δ , *Delta*, is borrowed from the *Egyptians*, who made their D of three Stars disposed in a Triangle; which was a Hieroglyphick that among them denoted God the sovereign Being, as if they had had some Notion of a Trinity: But this Surmise is but weakly supported.

E, is the fifth Letter of the Alphabet, and the second Vowel, and admits of some Variety in the Pronunciation in most Languages; whence Grammarians usually distinguish several E's, or Kinds of E. The *Greeks*, e. gr. have their short and long, viz. ϵ and η , *Epsilon* and *Eta*. The *Latins* have an opener e, called *castus*, such was the second e in the Word *here*, Matter; and another closer, as that in the Adverb, *here*, yesterday. This later e they frequently used promiscuously with i; thus for *here* they wrote *heri*, and in divers Places we meet with *sibe*, *quase*, &c. for *sibi*, *quasi*, &c.

The Roman e, was likewise sometimes wrote by Corruption ϵ ; for which Reason F. *Hardouin* takes that Medal of *Galienus*, GALLIENÆ AUGUSTÆ, not to be a falsity.

^a satyrical one, as others have imagined; nor to be a Dative Feminine, but a Vocative Masculine, *Galliene Auguste* wrote with an *æ*.

In *English* they easily distinguish three *E*'s, or Sounds of *E*; the first Mute, and not heard at all, as in *Amsterdam*, *Sense*, *Blue*, &c. the second close, or short, pronounced with the Lips nearly shut; as in *Equity*, *Nettle*, &c. the third open or long, as in *Fear*, *Ease*, &c.

The *French* have, at least, six Kinds of *E*; the first pronounced like *A*, as in *Emporter*, *Orient*, &c. the second a final Mute, in the last Syllable of diverse Words not pronounced at all; as in *bonne*, *donne*, &c. the third an imperfect Mute, pronounced much like the Diphthong *ea*, as *je*, *de*, *te*; the fourth *e ferme*, or *e* Masculine, mark'd at the End of Words with an *é*, as in *Jugé*, *Chasté*, &c. the fifth is *e ouvert*, or *long*, having the same Sound with *ai*, as in *Mere*, *Feste*, &c. in the Middle of Words it is sometimes marked with a Circumflex, and in the End with an Accent *é*; the sixth is an intermediate *e*, between the *ouvert* and *ferme*, as in *Cabaret*, *Lettre*, &c. Some add a seventh Kind of *e*, not reducible to any of the former, as that in *Grammarien*, *Historien*, &c. and others admit of only three Kinds, *viz.* the mute, open, and shut; but they make Variations therein, which amounts to the same Thing.

As to the Figure of the Letter *E*, we borrow it from the *Latins*, who had it from the *Greeks*, and they from the *Phœnicians*, by *Cadmus*, who first brought it them. Now the *Phœnicians* had the same Character with the *Hebrews*. Accordingly the Form of the antient *Hebrew* *He*, was the same with that of our *E*, as may be seen in the *Hebrew* Medals, and *F. Souciet's* Dissertation thereon, p. 143; all the Difference between them consists in this, that the *Hebrew* reading from right to left, turn their Letters that Way; whereas the *Moderns*, reading from left to right, write their Letters accordingly.

The little *e* was formed of the great one, by writing it fast, and making the cross Strokes at Top and Bottom without taking the Pen off the Paper, and then adding the Stroke in the Middle.

The *Greek* η , *H*, *Eta*, or *Ita*, was no original Letter; but added to the Alphabet in After-times. Of this we have Proofs still extant in the antient Monuments; particularly the *Farnese* Columns brought to *Rome* from the *Via Appia*, where the *Epsilon* ϵ is used in Lieu of the *H*, *v. gr.* ΔΕΜΕΤΡΟΣΚΟΡΕΣ, or ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΣΚΟΡΗΣ. It is said to have been added by *Simonides*.

The Pronunciation of the η seems to have been varied; having been, sometimes, the same with the *Latin* *e*, sometimes with *i*. *Terentianus* assures us of the former; and the *Greeks* themselves for many Ages have only used the latter.

It has been much disputed how the *Latins* rendered the η , in their Language; the common Opinion is, that they rendered it by an *e*, as in Δημήτριος, Βήτα, Θησεύς, Θησαυρός, &c. which they rendered *Demetrius*, *Beta*, *Theseus*, *Thesaurus*, &c. though there are Persons exceedingly well versed in Antiquity, who hold that they pronounced it like an *i*. *Lud. de Dieu*, one of the most learned Grammarians of his Age, observes as much on his Animadversions on *Genesis* vi. 24. adding that it is for this Reason, that the *Hebrews*, *v. gr.* the Paraphrast *Jonathan*, express it by a *Ibhirick*, חסר, חסר.

J. Rod. Westien proves the same in his learned Oration on the true Pronunciation of the *Greek* Tongue, from an Infinity of Instances.

F is the sixth Letter of the Alphabet, and the fourth Consonant; and may be considered absolutely, and in itself, or with Regard to the particular Languages where it is found. In the first View *f* is generally placed by some Grammarians among the Mutes, like the ϕ among the *Greek* Grammarians; though others give it the Quality of a Semi-vowel.

This Letter is derived to us from the *Romans*, who borrowed it from the *Æolians*; among whom it is called *Digamma*, or *double Gamma*, as resembling two Γ 's one over the other. Add, that the *Digamma* seems in its Origin to have been no other than the *Greek* ϕ , which being

made at three Strokes degenerated at length into the Figure *f*; for the Letter ϕ being compounded of an *Omi-cron*, with a perpendicular drawn through it, if that Perpendicular be made first, and the *O* at two Strokes afterwards, *viz.* first, the upper, then the under Part; it may happen, especially, in writing fast, that the two Parts shall not join; and even, instead of two Arches of Circles, Haste and Conveniency may naturally enough make two strait Lines.

Such appears to be the Origin of the Letter *f*, which, of Consequence, is no other than a Corruption of the *Greek* ϕ : And, accordingly, on the Medals of the *Falisci*, the *f* is ordinarily put in lieu of the *Greek* ϕ ; but it must be added, that though the *Greek* and *Latin* Letter were thus the same Thing, yet the Sound was much softer among the *Latins* than among the *Greeks*; as was long ago observed by *Terentianus*.

The *Romans*, for some Time, used an inverted *f*, ƒ , in Lieu of an *V* Consonant, which had no peculiar Figure in their Alphabet: Thus in Inscriptions we meet with TERMINAƒIT, DIƒI, &c.

It may be added that the Pronunciation of the *f* is almost the same with that of the *V*; as will be evident by attending to the Manner of pronouncing the following Words, *Favour*, *Vanity*, *Felicity*, *Vice*, *Foment*, *Vogue*, &c. We *French*, particularly, in borrowing Words from other Languages, usually turn the final *v* into an *f*, as *Chetif*, of the *Italian* *Cattivo*; *Neuf*, of the *Latin* *Novus*; *Nef* of the *Latin* *Navis*, &c.

In the latter *Roman* Writers we find the *Latin* *f* and *Greek* ϕ , *ph*, frequently confounded; as in *Falanx*, for *Phalanx*; *Filosofia*, for *Philosophia*, &c. which is still retained by many *French* Writers, who write *Filosofie*, *Filippe*, *Epifane*, &c. and by the *English*, as in *Fantasy*, *Filtre*, &c.

G is the seventh Letter of our Alphabet, and the fifth Consonant; though in the Alphabets of all the oriental Languages, the *Hebrew*, *Phœnician*, *Chaldee*, *Syriac*, *Samaritan*, *Arabick*, and even *Greek*, *G* is the third Letter.

The *Hebrews* call it *Ghimel*, or *Gimel*, *q. d.* *Camel*, by Reason it resembles the Neck of that Animal; and the same Appellation it bears in the *Samaritan*, *Phœnician*, and *Chaldee*: In the *Syriack* it is called *Gomel*, in the *Arabick*, *Gim*, and in *Greek*, *Gamma*.

The Letter *G* is of the mute Kind, and cannot be any Way sounded without the Help of a Vowel: It is formed by the Reflection of the Air against the Palate, made by the Tongue, as the Air passes out of the Throat. So that *G* is a palatal Letter.

The *Latins* took the Liberty to drop the Letter *G* at the Beginning of Words before an *n*; as in *Gnatus*, *Gnosco*, *Gnobilis*, *Gnarrat*, &c. which they ordinarily wrote *Natus*, *Nosco*, *Nobilis*, *Narrat*, &c. they also frequently changed it into *C*, as *Gamelus* into *Camelus*; *Gragulus* into *Graculus*, &c. sometimes it was put instead of *N* before a *C*, and another *G*; as *Agchises*, *Agora*, *Agguilla*, &c. for *Anchises*, *Anchora*, *Anguilla*, &c.

The Northern People frequently change the *G* into *V* or *W*; as in *Gallus*, *Wallus*; *Gallia*, *Wallia*, *Vallia*, &c. for in this Instance it must not be said that the *French* have changed the *W* into *G*, by reason they wrote *Gallus* long before *Wallus*, or *Wallia* were known, as appears from all the antient *Roman* and *Greek* Writers.

Diomed. lib. II. c. de Litera, calls *G* a new Letter: His Reason is, that the *Romans* had not introduced it before the Punick War, as appears from the rostral Column, erected by *C. Dulcius*, in which we every where find a *C* in Lieu of *G*: It was *Sp. Carvilius*, who first distinguished between those two Letters; and invented the Figure of the *G*, as we are assured by *Terentius Scaurus*; the *C* served very well for *G*, it being the third Letter of the *Latin* Alphabet, as the *G* or γ was of the *Greeks*.

The *G* is found instead of *C* on several Medals, *Vaillant, Num. imp. t. i. p. 39.* *M. Beger* produces a Medal of the *Familia Ogubina*, where *GAR* is read instead of *CAR*, which is on those of *M. Patin*. But the *C* is more frequently seen on Medals, in lieu of *G*; as *AUGUSTALIS*, *CALLACCIA*, *CARTACINENSES*, &c. for *AUGUSTALIS*, &c. not that the Pronunciation of those

of those Words was alter'd, but only that the *G* was unartfully, and negligently cut by the Workmen, as is the Case in divers Inscriptions of the Eastern Empire; where *Auc*, *Acuc*, *Acucc*, are frequently found for *Auc*, &c.

The Form of our *G* is taken from that of the *Latins*, who borrow'd it from the *Greek*; the *Latin G* being certainly a Corruption of the *Greek Gamma Γ*, as might easily be shewn, had our Printers all the Characters and Forms of this Letter, which we meet withal in the *Greek* and *Latin MSS.* through which the Letters passed for *Γ* to *G*.

As to the *Gamma* of the *Greeks*, it is manifestly the *Ghimel* of the *Hebrews* or *Samaritans*. All the Difference between the *Gamma* and *Ghimel* consists in this, that the one is turned to the Right, and the other to the Left, according to the different Manner of Writing and Reading, which obtain'd among those different Nations: So that all the Pains *Salmasius* has taken on *Solinus*, to prove that the *G* was derived from the *Greek Kappa* are lost.

H is the eighth Letter of the Alphabet, and the sixth Consonant. *Varro, de re rusticâ, Lib. 3. c. 1.* calls it *Afflatus*; and *Martianus Capella* says it is pronounced by only a gentle Contraction of the *Trachea*. Hence it has been disputed, whether or no the *h* be a real Letter. Some will only have it an Aspiration or Spirit, in Regard its Sound is so weak. And accordingly the *Greeks*, of latter Ages at least, do not place it in the Lines with the other Letters, but put it over the Head of the following Letter; though it should seem they antiently wrote it in the same Line with the rest.

The *Latin* Grammarians, as they were strict Imitators of the *Greeks*, have, on their Authority, generally rejected the *h*, and the Moderns have herein followed the *Latins*. But we have already shewn that the *h*, like all the other Aspirates, from the Time it is aspirated, and for this very Reason that it is aspirated, is not only a Letter, but a real Consonant; it being a Motion, or Effort of the *Larynx*, to modify the Sound of the Vowel that follows; as is evident in the Words *Heaven, Health, Hero, &c.* where the Vowel *e* is differently modified from what it is in the Words *Endive, Eating, Eleet, &c.* and such Modification is all that is essential to a Consonant.

Upon the whole, the *h* is either a Letter, or *f* and *z* are none, those being no more than hissing Aspirations; and they who exclude the *h* from among the Letters, as conceiving it only a Mark of Aspiration, might as well exclude the labial Consonants *b p*, and say they are only Marks of certain Motions of the Lips, &c.

The *h* then is a Letter, and a Consonant of the guttural Kind, *i. e.* a Consonant, to the Pronunciation whereof, the Throat concurs in a particular Manner, more than any other of the Organs of Voice. It is true, in many Words beginning with *h*, the Aspiration is very weak and almost insensible; the *h* in those Cases not doing its Office: But it does not cease to be a Consonant on that Score, more than various other Consonants, which we write, but do not pronounce; as the *k* in *quick, &c.* and several other Letters, particularly in the *Hebrew, French, &c.* nor does it cease to be a Consonant, because it does not hinder the Elision of the foregoing Vowel, when another Vowel follows in the subsequent Word; for then *m* would undergo the same Disqualification.

M. Menage distinguishes two Kinds of *h*, the one an Aspirate, which he allows a Consonant, the other a Mute, which he considers as a Vowel. Now it is certain the aspirated *h* is a Consonant, but the Mute *h* is no Vowel, as having no peculiar or proper Sound, distinct from that of the Vowel or Diphthong immediately following it.

When the *h* is preceded by *a c*, the two Letters together have frequently the Sound of the *Hebrew w*, with a Point over the right Horn, as in *Charity, Chyle, &c.*

The Aspirate, or sharp Accent of the *Greeks*, which is the same with our *h*, is frequently changed for an *f*, as *αλφες, Sal, επτα, Septem, &c.*

Antiently the *h* was put for *ch*; thus of *Chlodovicus*, was formed *Illudovicus*, as it is read in all the Coins

of the 9th and 10th Centuries; and it was on this Account, that they wrote *Illudovicus* with an *b*. In Course of Time the Sound of the *b* being much weaken'd, or entirely suppressed, the *b* was dropt, and the Word was wrote *Ludovicus*.

F. Lobineau will have this Difference to have arose from the Differences in Pronunciation. Such, says he, as could not pronounce the guttural, wherewith those two Words begin, substituted *ac* for it; and they who pronounced it so, wrote it after the same Manner: But such as were accusom'd to pronounce the guttural, wrote it likewise.

I, is the ninth Letter of the *English* Alphabet, and is both a Vowel and a Consonant, agreeable to which two different Powers, it has two different Forms.

The *Hebrews* called the *j* Consonant *Jod*, יוד, from יד, *Hand* and *Space*; in Regard it is supposed to represent the Hand clenched, so as to leave the Space underneath void. With them it was pronounced as the Consonant *y*, as it still is among the *Germans*, and some other People. The *Greeks* had no *j* Consonant, and for that Reason used their Vowel *i* instead of it, as coming the nearest in Sound. The *French* and *English* have two Kinds of *j* Consonants, the first has a snuffling Kind of Sound, and serves to modify that of the Vowels, pretty much like *g*; as in *Jew, Just, Jovial*; the latter is pronounced like the *Hebrew Jod*; Instances of which we have in some of our Words, which are indifferently wrote with a *y* or an *i* before a Vowel, as *Voyage, Voyage, Loyal, Loyal, &c.* in which Cases the *i* is apparently a Consonant, as being a Motion of the Palate, which gives a Modification to the following Vowel.

The Vowel *i*, according to *Plato*, is proper for expressing fine and delicate, but humble Things, on which Account that Verse in *Virgil*,

Accipiunt inimicum imbrem, rimisque fatiscunt.

which abounds in *i*'s, is generally admired,

The Vowel *i* was the only Vowel the *Romans* did not mark with a Dässi of the Pen, to shew when it was long; instead of which to denote it long, they used to make it bigger than ordinarily; as in *Pliso, Vivus, &c.* According to *Lipsius* they repeated it when it was to be long, as in *Dii*. They sometimes also denoted the Length of this Letter, by adding *s* to it, and turning it into a Diphthong, as *Divei* for *Divi*, *Omucis* for *Omniis*, &c.

K, is a double Consonant, and the tenth Letter of the Alphabet. It is borrow'd from the *Greek Kappa*, and was but little used among the *Latins*. *Prescian* look'd on it as a superfluous Letter, and says it was never to be used except in Words, borrow'd from the *Greek*. *Dausquius*, after *Salust*, observes, that it was unknown to the antient *Romans*. Indeed we seldom find it in any *Latin* Author, except in the Word *Kalendæ*, where it sometimes stands in lieu of a *c*. *Carthage*, however, is frequently spelt on Medals with a *K*: *SALVIS AVG. ET CAES. FEL. KART.* and sometimes the Letter *K* alone, stood for *Carthage*. *M. Beger* has observed, that a Capital *K*, on the Reverse of Medals of the Emperors of *Constantinople*, signified *KONSTANTINUS*; and on the *Greek* Medals, he will have it to signify *KOIAH EYPIA, Cale-Syria*.

Quintilian tells us, that in his Time some People had gotten a mistaken Notion, that wherever the Letter *c* and *a* occurred at the Beginning of a Word, *k* ought to be used instead of the *c*. *Lipsius* observes, that *K* was a Stigma, antiently mark'd on the Foreheads of Criminals with a red-hot Iron.

The Letter *K*, has various Significations in old Characters, and Diploma's; for Instance, *K R* stood for *Chorus*; *K R. C.* for *Cara Civitas*; *K R M* for *Carmen*; *K R. A M. N.* *Carus Amicus Noster*; *K S*, *Chaos*; *K T*, *Capite Tonsus*, &c.

The *French* never used the Letter *K*, except in a few Terms of Art, and proper Names borrow'd from other Countries. *Abblancourt*, in his Dialogue of the Letters, brings in *K*, complaining that it has been often in a fair Way to be banished out of the *French* Alphabet, and confined to the Countries of the North.

In the *English* the *k* is used much more than need be, particularly at the Ends of Words, after *c*, as in *Publick*, *Physick*, where it is of no Manner of Service.

L, is a Semi-Vowel, or Liquid; making the eleventh Letter of the Alphabet. It has a sweet Sound, and is pronounced by applying the Tongue to the Palate.

Passerat observes, that *l* was frequently used among the Antients for *b*, as in *Cillibæ* for *Cibillæ*; for *d*, as *Alipe* for *Adipe*, &c. and for almost all the other Letters.

The double *ll* is a modern Contrivance, and was never used among antient Roman Authors: They wrote *Alium*, not *Allium*; *Macelum*, not *Macellum*; *Polucere*, not *Pol-lucere*.

The double *ll* of the *Greeks* was sometimes changed by the *Romans* into *li*, as in *αλλομαι*, *salio*, &c. *r* has also been turn'd into two *ll*'s, as *Hira*, *Hilla*, &c. and *l* into *x*, or *xill*; as *Ala*, *Axilla*; *Mala*, *Maxilla*; *Velum*, *Vexillum*, &c.

The *Spaniards* and *Welch* usually double the *l* at the Beginning of a Word, which sounds nearly the same with the *English* *hl*, or *fl*.

The Figure of our *l* we borrow from the *Latins*, they from the *Greeks*, and they again from the *Hebrews*, whose *Lamed* is much like our *l*, excepting that the Angle is somewhat more acute.

M, is a liquid Consonant, and the twelfth Letter in the Alphabet. It is pronounced by striking the upper Lip against the lower; in which the Pronunciation of this Letter agrees with that of *b*; the only Difference between the two, consisting of a little Motion made in the Nose, in pronouncing *m*, and not in *b*; whence it happens, that those who have taken cold, for *m* ordinarily pronounce *b*.

Quintilian observes, that the *m* sometimes ends *Latin* Words, but never *Greek*; the *Greeks* always changing it, in that Case, into *n*, for the Sake of the better Sound.

N, is a liquid Consonant, and the thirteenth Letter of the *Greek*, *Latin*, *French*, *English*, &c. Alphabets. Its Sound is that of a *d*, passed through the Nose. The Abbot *Dangeau* observes, that in the *French* the *n* is frequently a mere nasal Vowel, without any Thing of the Sound of a Consonant in it; he calls it the *scavonick* Vowel. The *Hebrews* call their *n* Nun, which signifies *Child*, as being supposed the Off-spring of *m*; partly on Account of the Resemblance of Sound, and partly on that of the Figure. Thus from the *m*, by omitting the last Column, is formed *n*; and thus from the Capital *N*, by omitting the first Column, is form'd the *Greek* Minuscule *ν*.

N before *p*, *b*, and *m*, the *Latins* change into *m*, and frequently into *l* and *r*, as *in-ludo*, *illudo*; *in-rigo*, *irri-go*, &c. in which they agree with the *Hebrews*, who in lieu of *Nun*, frequently double the following Consonant; and the *Greeks* do the same, as when for *Manlius*, they write *ΜανλλιϞ*, &c. the *Greeks* also, before *κ*, *γ*, *χ*, *ν*, changed the *ν* into *γ*; in which they were followed by the antient *Romans*; who for *Angulus*, wrote *Ag-gulus*, &c.

The *Latins* retrench the *n*, from *Greek* Nouns ending in *ων*; as *λεων*, *Leo*, *δρακων*, *draco*, &c. On the contrary, the *Greeks* add it to those ending in *ο*; as *Καλων*, *Νερων*, for *Cato*, *Nero*.

O, is the fourteenth Letter of the Alphabet, and the fourth Vowel. The Grammarians call it a close Vowel, because pronounced with the Mouth shut.

Among the *Latins*, the *o* bore so great an Affinity with the *u*, that they frequently confounded them; writing *Consol*, and pronouncing *Consul*.

The *Greeks* had two *o*'s, *viz.* Omicron, *ο*, and Omega, *ω*; the first pronounced on the Tip of the Lips with a sharp Sound, the second in the Middle of the Mouth with a full Sound, equal to *oo* in *English*. The long and short Pronunciation of the *English* *o*, are an Equivalent to the two *Greek* ones; the first as in *sup-pose*, the second as in *obey*.

P, is a Consonant, and the fifteenth Letter in the *English* Alphabet. When the *P* is followed with an *b*, in the same Word, it has the Sound of an *P'*; thus *Philosophy* is pronounced *Philosophy*.

P and *R* are so like each other, that *Quintilian* declares that in the Word *obtinnit*, his Reason requir'd him to put a *b*, but that his Ears could bear nothing but a *p*, *optinnit*: Hence in antient Inscriptions, and old Glossaries, it appears these two Letters have been often confounded. Several Nations still pronounce one for the other, the *Germans* particularly, who say *ponum vinum*, for *bonum vinum*. *Plutarch* observes, it was usual for those of *Delphos* to say *βόλειν*, for *πόλειν*; and among the *Latins*, as often as an *f* followed, the *b* was changed into a *p*, as *scribo*, *scripsi*.

Q, is a Consonant, and the sixteenth Letter of the Alphabet, and has this particular to it, that it is always followed by an *u*.

The *Q* is formed from the *Hebrew* *ק*, *Chaph*; which most other Languages have borrow'd, though some of them have rejected it again, particularly the *Greeks*, who now only retain it as a numeral Character, called *κοππα επισημον*.

In Effect, there is that Resemblance between the *Q* and *C* in some Languages, and *K* in others, that many Grammarians, in Imitation of the *Greeks*, banish the *Q* as a superfluous Letter. *Papias* even affirms, that all the *Latin* Words now wrote with a *Q*, were wrote among the antient *Romans* with a *C*, but we want better Authorities. For though that may hold in many Cases, inso-much that we still write indifferently *quur* or *cur*, *cum*, or *quum*, *quotidié*, or *cotidié*, &c. yet does it not thence follow, that they wrote *cis*, *cæ*, *cid*, for *quis*, *quæ*, *quid*? What Inscriptions authorize such Reading? Far from this, the Antients sometimes substituted *q* for *c*; and wrote *quojus*, *quos*, for *cujus*, *cus*, &c.

Varro however, and some other Grammarians, as we are told by *Censorinus*, &c. would never use the *q*. The Truth is, its Use or Disuse seems to have been so little settled and agreed on, that the Poets used the *q* or *c* indifferently, as best suited their Measures; it being a Rule, that the *q* join'd the two following Vowels into one Syllable; and that the *c* imported them to be divided. Hence it is, that *Lucretius* uses *cui-ret*, for three Syllables in lieu of *quiret*; *acua* for *aqua*; and that *Plautus* uses *relicuum* for *reliquum*; as in *quod dedi datum non vellem relicuum non*; where the *cuum* must be two Syllables, otherwise the *Trochaick* Verse will be lame of a Foot.

In the *French*, the Sound of the *q* and *k* are so near akin, that some of their nicest Authors think the former might be spared. *Ramus* adds, that till the Establishment of Royal Professors in the University of *Paris*, under *Francis I.* they always used *k* in the *Latin*, the same as in the *French*, pronouncing *kis*, *kalis*, *kantus*, &c. for *quis*, *qualis*, *quantus*.

Some very learn'd Men make *q* a double Letter, as well as *k* and *x*. According to them, *q* is evidently a *c* and *u* joined together. It is not enough that the Sound is the same; but they see the Traces of *c u* in the Figure of *Q*; the *V* being only laid obliquely, so as to come within the Cavity of the *C*, as *C<V*. To confirm this, they say the Antients wrote *qi*, *qæ*, *qid*; tho' *Jof. Scaliger*, *Littleton*, &c. think this no Proof of the Point; for in *Gruter's* Inscriptions, we find not only the *q*, but also the *c* put for *q u*; as *cintus* for *quintus*, *sicis* for *siquis*, &c. yet no Body ever imagined the *c* a double Letter.

R, is a liquid Consonant, and the seventeenth Letter of the Alphabet. The Grammarians hold it a Semi-Vowel; especially in the *Greek*, where, in common with the other Vowels, it admits an Aspirate, &c. tho' whether the Aspirate should be sounded before, or after it, is some doubt. We find Instances of each, thus *ῥεδν*, the *Latins* wrote *rheda*; and *ῥοδιον*, the *Æolians* wrote *βροδιον*. The antient *Goths* and *Teutons*, *Littleton* observes prefixed *b* to *r*.

The *Hebrews* allow the *r* the Privilege of a Guttural, that is, they never double it, which yet is done by the *Arabs*, *Greeks*, and *Latins*, &c.

Perfius calls the *r* *litera canina*, because the Dogs seem to pronounce it in Snarling; yet it should seem to have had a softer Sound among the *Romans*, than among us, by its being frequently interposed to prevent the Clashing

of Vowels; as in *rarus*, from ἀραιός, &c. and this Softness was such as frequently occasioned its being dropt as useless in Writing. Thus for *Hetrusci*, they frequently wrote *Thusci*, and even *Tusci*; and for *Sursum*, *Rursus*, *prorsus*; *Susum*, *Rufus*, *Profus*.

In Effect, there was that Agreement between the Sound of the *s* and *r*, that as the *Romans* avoided the doubling of their Consonants, it was no Wonder they here dropped the *r*; the *s* supplying the Place of both. Hence too it came to pass, that what they at first pronounced *Asa*, *Asena*, *Casmen*, was afterwards *Ara*, *Arena*, *Carmen*; and those first named *Fusii*, and *Valesii*, were afterwards called *Furii*, and *Valerii*. *Cicero* tells us, the *Papirii* were first called *Papisii*; and even fixes the Time when the Change was made, viz. in the Year of Rome, 415.

From the same Softness of the Sound of the *r*, it came to be used indifferently with the *l*, in many Words, e. gr. *Latialis*, and *Latialis*, *Palilia*, and *Parilia*, &c.

Tho' the *r* more frequently degenerated into *l*; thus *Remures* became changed into *Lemures*, *Interlego*, *Perluceo* into *Intelligo*, and *Pelluceo*, &c.

In the *French* the *r* is never pronounced at the End of a Word, unless it be immediately before a Vowel, e. gr. *Aimer son Roy*, that *r* in *Aimer* is not sounded, and the Word is pronounced as if there was none, and as if it was wrote *Aimé son Roy*; on the contrary, in *Aimer à boire*, the *r* is pronounced, because immediately before a Vowel; but then the Pronunciation of the *r* must be very soft; as if the Tongue should pass slightly over it, to lay the whole Strefs on the *a*.

S, is a Consonant, and the eighteenth Letter of the Alphabet; and is accounted one of the three hissing Consonants; the other two being *z* and *z*. It is also held a Semi-Vowel, as forming a Kind of imperfect Sound, without the Assistance of any Vowels.

Some of the Antients avoided all Use of the *s*, very studiously, particularly *Pindar*, who has whole Poems without once mentioning it. And hence also in *Plautus*, and some other of the *Latin* Poets, we find it cut abruptly off, as in *Dignú*, *Omnibú*, &c. Others on the contrary, affected the Use of it every where, inserting it where 'twas not wanted; as *Casmenæ*, for *Camænæ*, *Cæsna*, for *Cæna*, &c.

Of all the others, the *s* is nearest a-kin to the *r*; hence it was frequently changed, by Reason of its disagreeable Sound into *r*.

In the Inflections of Nouns, *s* is variously changed; sometimes into *rs*, as *flos*, *floris*; sometimes into *n*, as *sanguis*, *sanguinis*; sometimes into *d*, as *pes*, *pedis*; sometimes into *t*, as *nepos*, *nepotis*. On the contrary, in Verbs it is frequently put for other Letters; for *b*, as in *jubeo*, *jussi*; for *c*, as in *parco*, *parsi*; for *d*, as in *ludo*, *lusi*; for *g*, as in *spargo*, *sparsi*, &c.

The *Latins* also frequently changed the *Greek* *s* into *l*, as Ἀννίβας, *Annibal*; into *d*, as μέσον, *medicum*, &c. The double *ss* was frequently changed into *x*, as πίσσα, *piss*; and sometimes even the single one, as Αἶας, *Ajax*.

The old and the new Orthography of the *French*, differ chiefly on the Use of the *s*; the latter omitting it in Writing, where it is not heard in the Pronunciation, and the former retaining it. Thus the Followers of the one, particularly the Academy, in their Dictionary, write *Tempeste*, *Huître*, *Flûte*; those of the other, *Tempête*, *Huître*, *Flûte*, &c. In the same Language, *s* is never pronounced, or sounded at the End of a Word, unless, like the *r* it be immediately before a Vowel, e. gr. *Javois Chanté*, *s* in *Javois*, is not sounded before *Chanté*, and the Word is pronounced as if there was no *s*, viz. *Javoi Chanté*; but it is not the same in *Javois Aimé*, where the *s* is pronounced as if it was wrote *Javoi Saimé*.

T, is a Consonant, and the nineteenth Letter in the Alphabet. In Sound it bears a Resemblance to the *d*, for which Reason they are often put for each other; and *Quintilian* even rallies those who made any Scruple of writing the one for the other; as *at* for *bad*, *set* for *sed*, *baut* for *baud*, &c.

The *t* is one of the five Consonants, which the Abbot *Dangeau* calls palatal, and which are *d*, *t*, *g*, *k*, and

u; the four first whereof have the same Relation to each other, as the labial *b*, *p*, and *v*, *f*, have. *D*, for Instance, having the same Relation to *t*, that *b* has to *p*, or *v* to *f*.

The *t*, the same Author observes, is a Letter of a strong Sound; so that a feeble one cannot be heard before it. Hence to form the Supine of *rego*, the *t* of *tum* changes the *g*, and strengthens it to the Sound of a *c*; so that we say *rextum*, as in the Preterperfect Tense *rexti*, which we pronounce *rexti*.

U, is the fifth Vowel, and the twentieth Letter in the Alphabet. Besides the Vowel *u*, there is a Consonant of the same Denomination, wrote *v*, or *V*.

The Pronunciation of the *u*, as now used among the *English*, *French*, &c. is borrow'd from the antient *Gaulish*; for all the other western People, with the *Romans*, pronounce it *ou*.

W, is a Letter particular to the northern Languages and People, as the *English*, *Dutch*, *Polish*, and others of *Teutonic* and *Sclavonic* Original.

The *w* is also sometimes admitted into the *French*, *Italian*, &c. in proper Names, and other Terms, borrowed from the Languages where it is used.

In *English*, the *w* is usually a Consonant, and as such may go before all the Vowels, except in *u*; as in *Want*, *Weapon*, *Winter*, *World*, &c.

It is sometimes also a Vowel, and as such follows any of the Vowels, *a*, *e*, *o*, and unites with them into a Kind of double Vowel, or Diphthong; as in *Law*, *Ewe*, *Sow*, &c.

The *English* *w* is sounded as in *Latin*, *u*, in *quantum*, *suadeo*, *lingua*, its Sound is also commonly like the gross or full *u*, rapidly pronounced. In *French*, the Sound of the *w* does not differ from that of the single *v*.

X, is a double Consonant, and the twenty-second Letter of the *English* Alphabet.

The *x* of the *Latins*, and *ξ* of the *Greeks*, are composed of *c s*, and *x s*; whence to this Day the Letter *x*, in the *English* and *French*, has the same Sound with *c s*, or *k s*. Thus we pronounce *Alexander*, as if wrote *Alecander*, or *Aleksander*.

The *Italians* have no *x* at all in their Language, but both speak and write *Alessandro*. The *Spaniards* pronounce the *x* like the *English* *c* before *a*; viz. *Alexandro*, as if it were *Alecandro*. The *Portuguese* pronounce it like *sh*.

In foreign Words used in *English*, they sometimes soften the *x* into a double *ff*; as *Brussels*, for *Bruxelles*, &c.

The Letter is not known in the *Hebrew*, or other oriental Languages; but in lieu of it, they write the two simple Letters whereof it is compounded; and the like do the modern *Germans*.

Y, is the twenty-third Letter, in the *English* Alphabet, borrowed originally from the *Greek* *υ*.

It is occasionally both Vowel and Consonant. As a Vowel, some Authors have judged it unnecessary in *English*, in Regard its Sound is precisely the same with that of the *i*. Accordingly it is but little used, except in Words borrow'd from the *Greek*, to denote their Origin, by representing the *Greek* *υ*.

The Vowel *y* has a Place in some Words purely in *English*; and that both in the Middle thereof, as in *dying*, *frying*, &c. and at the End as in *lay*, &c.

Some ascribe the Use of the *y* in pure *English* and *French* Words, and those that have no *y* in *Latin* or *Greek*, to this, that antiently each of those Words were pronounced with a double *ii*, which having something awkward in it, the *y* was substituted in lieu thereof.

Others say that those Words being antiently wrote, as well as pronounced with a double *ii*, which they still are in the *Walloon*, as *paing*, *pailsan*, &c. to avoid their being mistaken for an *ü* with two Dots over it, they made the second *ij* longer than the first, and so formed the *y* without designing it. Some give a particular Reason why Words ending in *i*, came to be wrote with *y*, viz. that the Copists found the Tail of the *y* very commodious to adorn the Margins and Bottoms of Pages withal.

When it follows a Consonant, it is a Vowel; and when

when it precedes a Vowel, it is a Consonant, and should be called *ye*, and not *wy*.

The *Romans* used the *y* for the Vowel *u*, which they had no Characters for, distinct from the *v* Consonant: Their Way being to pronounce the common *u*, as we do the Diphthong *e*, and the *Greek* $\upsilon\phi\alpha\omega$, as the *English* and *French* *u*.

In *English*, and some other modern Tongues, Authors begin to dispense more and more with the precise Orthography, which requires all Words that have an *Upsilon* in the *Greek*, to be wrote with a *y*; and with Reason, since the *English Greek* *y*, has lost the Sound it had, in the Language whence they borrow it. But is certainly ridiculous to use it as many do, in Words which indeed have a *Greek* Origin, but have no *u* in the *Greek*, as in *Eclipse*.

Z, is the last Letter in the Alphabet, and one of the double Consonants, both among the *Latins* and *Greeks*. Its Pronunciation is much more soft and obtuse than the *x*, which makes *Quintilian* call it *Jucundissima*, and *Dulcissima*. Nevertheless the Sound was not always the same as it is now, which is but as it were half that of an *S*.

It had something also in it of the *d*, but only what founded very smoothly. Thus *Mezentius* was pronounced, as if it had been *Medsentius*, &c.

The *Z* had also an Affinity with the *9*: Thus *Capella*, *Z à Græcis venit, licet etiam ipsi primo 9 Græcâ utebantur*.

Note, That all the Letters of the Alphabet, heretofore mentioned, were also numeral Characters among the Antients, viz.

A, signified 500, with a Dash a-top \overline{A} it stood for 5000, but we shall here observe, once for all, that it was not strictly observ'd among the Antients, that this Use of numeral Letters had Place, as is commonly supposed. *Isidore Hispalensis*, an Author of the seventh Century, affirms it expressly; *Latini autem numeros ad literas non computant*. The Usage was really introduced in the Days of Barbarism. *M. du Cange* explaining what that Usage was, at the Beginning of each Letter of his Glossary, the Generality of Dictionary-Writers who take it from him, mistake him. The Account, they all say, is found in *Valerius Probus*; whereas *du Cange* says no such Thing, but only that it is found in a Collection of Grammarians, among whom are *Valerius Probus*, and *Petrus Diaconus*.

B, stood for 300, as appears by this Verse,

Et B trecentum per se retinere videtur.

When a Line was drawn above the \overline{B} it stood for 3000; with a kind of Accent below it for 200; but among the *Greeks* as well as *Hebrews*, this Letter signified only two.

C, among the *Romans* signified 100, according to the Verse,

Non plus quam centum C litera fertur habere.

Some add, that a Dash over it made it signify a hundred Thousand; but it would be hard to find an Instance hereof among the Antients.

D, signified 500; which arises hence, that in the *Gothick* Character the *D* is half the *M*, which signifies a Thousand. Hence the Verse,

Litera D velut A, quingentos significabit.

A Dash added a-top \overline{D} , denotes it to stand for 5000.

E, signified 250, according to the Verse,

E quoque ducentos, & quinquaginta tenebit.

F, signified 40; according to the Verse,

Sexta quaterdenos gerit, que distat ab Alpha.

G, signified 400; according to the Verse,

G, quadringentos demonstrativa tenebit.

When a Dash was added a-top \overline{G} , it signified 40,000.

H, signified 200; according to the Verse,

H quoque ducentos, per se designat habendos.

†

When a Dash was added a-top \overline{H} , it signified 200,000. *I*, signified 100; according to the Verse,

I. c. compar erit, & centum significabit.

I, in the ordinary *Roman* Way of Numbering, signifies One; and when repeated, signifies as many Units as it is repeated Times.

K, signified 250; according to the Verse,

K, quoque ducentos, & quinquaginta tenebit.

When it had a Stroke a-top, \overline{K} , it stood for 250,000.

L, among the Antients, and still in the *Roman* Cyphering signifies 50; according to the Verse,

Quinquies L denos numero designat habendos.

When a Dash was added a-top of \overline{L} , it stood for 50,000; *L* was used for 50, as being half a *C*, which signified 100, and was formerly written thus \overline{L} , which, according to *Pasquier*, makes two \overline{LL} , the one upright and the other inverted.

M, signified 1000, according to the Verse,

M, Caput est numeri, quem scimus mille tenere.

When a Dash is added a-top of it, as \overline{M} , it signified a thousand times thousand.

N, signified 900, according to the Verse in *Baronius*.

N, Quoque nongentos numero designat habendos.

And when a Line or Stroke over \overline{N} it stood for 9000.

O, signified eleven, as in the Verse,

O, Numerum gestat, qui nunc undecimus extat.

When a Dash a-top, as \overline{O} , it signified 11,000.

P, signified the same with *G*, viz. 100, according to the Verse of *Ugutio*.

P, Similem cum G numerum monstratur habere.

Though *Baronius* thinks it rather stood for seven. When a Dash was added a-top of \overline{P} , it stood for 400,000.

Q signified 500, as in the Verse,

Q Velut A cum D quingentos vult numerare.

A Dash over it, as \overline{Q} , denoted it to signify 500,000.

R, signified 80, according to the Verse,

Octoginta dabit tibi R, siquis numerabit.

With a Dash a-top, as \overline{R} , it signified 80,000.—The *Greek* *r*, *P*, signified 100.

S, signified seven, according to the Verse,

S, Vero septenos, numeratos significabit.

T, signified 160, according to the Verse,

T, Quoque centenos, & sexaginta tenebit.

With a Dash a-top of \overline{T} , it signified 160,000.

V, signified five, according to the Verse,

V, Vero quinque dabit tibi, si recte numerabis.

With a Dash a-top of \overline{V} , it signified 5000.

Y, signified 150, or according to *Baronius* 159, as in the Verse,

Y, Dat centenos, & quinquaginta novenos.

With a Dash a-top of \overline{Y} , signified 150,000.

Z, signified 2000, according to the Verse,

Ultima Z tenens, finem bis mille tenebit.

With a Dash a-top of \overline{Z} , it signified two thousand times two thousand.

Note, also, That the numeral Characters, now chiefly in Use, are the common and the *Roman*; to which may be added the *Greek*, and another called the *French* Character; as also the Letters of other Alphabets, which have been made use of to express Numbers.

Common

Common Characters, are those ordinarily called the Arabick, as supposed to have been invented by the Arabick Astronomers; though the *Arabs* themselves call them the *Indian Characters*, as if they had borrowed them from the People of *India*. The Arabick Characters are ten, viz. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 0, the last called Cypher.

The *Roman Character*, consists of the Majuscule Letter of the *Roman Alphabet*; whence probably its Name, or perhaps from its being used by the ancient *Romans* on their Coins; and in the Inscriptions of their publick Monuments erected in honour of their Gods, and great Men, on their Sepulchres, &c.

The numeral Letters that compose the *Roman Characters*, are in Number seven, viz. I, V, X, L, C, D, M. The I denotes one, V five, X ten, L fifty, C hundred, D five hundred, M a thousand. The I repeated twice makes two, II; thrice, three III; four is expressed thus, IV. I before V or X taking an Unit from the Number expressed by each of those Letters. To express six, an I is added to a V, VI; for seven, two, VII; and for eight, three, VIII; nine is expressed by an I before X, IX, agreeable to the preceding Remark. The like Remark may be made of the X before L or C, except that the Diminution is by Tens, not Units, thus XL signifies forty, and XC ninety; and L followed with an X sixty, LX, &c. the C before D or M, diminishes each by a hundred. Besides the Letter D which expresses five hundred, that Number may also be expressed, by an I before a C inverted, thus IO, and thus in lieu of the M, which signifies a thousand, is sometimes used an I between two C's, the one erect, the other inverted, thus CIO: Agreeable to this six hundred may be expressed IOC, and seven hundred IOCC, &c.

The *Greeks* had three Ways of expressing Numbers: The most simple was for every single Letter, according to its Place in the Alphabet, to denote a Number from α 1, to ω 24; in which Manner the Books of *Homer's Ilias* are distinguished. Another Way was by dividing the Alphabet into 8 Units; α 1, β 2, &c. Tens; ι 12, κ 20, &c. Hundreds; ρ 100, σ 200. Thousands they expressed by a Point, or Accent under a Letter. e. gr. α 1000, ς 2000, &c. A third Way was by six capital Letters, thus I (ἰα for μῖα) 1, Π (πεντε) 5, Δ (δεκα) 10, Η (ἑκατον) 100, Χ (χίλια) 1000, Μ (μυρία) 10000.

The *Hebrew Alphabet* was divided into 9 Units: א 1, ב 2, &c. — 9 Tens; י 10, כ 20, &c. 9 Hundreds; ק 100, ר 200, &c. 7 500, נ 600, י 700, ש 800, ע 900. — Thousands were sometimes expressed by Units prefix'd to Hundreds, as, ארלר, 1534, &c.

French Character so called, because invented, and chiefly used by the *French*, consists of six Figures; Part taken from the Letters of the usual current Hand, and partly invented by the Contriver. — The six Characters are j, b, x, L, C, γ, the j Consonant standing for one, b for five, the x for ten, the L for fifty, the C for an Hundred, and the last Character γ for a Thousand. — This Character is only an Imitation of the *Roman Character*; and its Use is in most Respects the same, particularly in what relates to the Combination of certain Letters, which placed before, or after others, diminish or increase their Value: Indeed it has these Things peculiar to it, that when several Units occur successively, only the last is expressed. 2dly, That ninety, and the following Numbers to one hundred, are expressed thus, jxxjxxx, ninety; jxxjxxxj, ninety-one; jxxjxxxjj, ninety-two, &c. — It is principally used in the Chamber of Accompts, in the Accompts given in by Treasurers, Receivers, Farmers, and other Persons concerned in the Management of the Revenue.

According to *Criminus*, *Moses* invented the *Hebrew Letters*, *Abraham* the *Syriack* and *Chaldee*; the *Phenicians* those of *Attica*, brought into *Greece* by *Cadmus*, and thence by the *Pelasgians* into *Italy*, *Nicostrata* the *Latin*, *Isis* the *Egyptian*, and *Vulsilas* those of the *Goths*. As to the first Letters, what they were who first in-

Vol. II.

vented them, and among what People they were first in Use, there is still room to doubt; however setting aside Conjectures, and Prejudice, the Business of Antiquity seems to lie between the *Egyptians* and *Chinese*. *Philo* attributes the first Invention of Letters to *Abraham*; *Josephus*, *St. Irenaeus*, and others to *Enoch*; *Bibliander* to *Adam*; *Eusebius*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Cornelius Agrippa*, to *Moses*; *Pomponius Mela*, *Herodian*, *Festus*, *Pliny*, *Lucan*, &c. to the *Phenicians*; *St. Cyprian*, to *Saturn*; *Tacitus* to the *Egyptians*; and some to the *Ethiopians*.

The *Egyptian Mummies*, and *Obelisks*, prove a great Antiquity on the Side of the *Hieroglyphicks*; but if the *Chinese Chronology* may be credited, their Characters are vastly more antient than those of the *Egyptians*. The *Chinese* make *Fohi*, the first of their Kings, the Inventor of their Letters, and compute him to have lived 2950 Years before Christ. During all which Time, they pretend to have certain and written Accounts in their Books. If this hold true, their Characters must be older than *Moses* by 1400 Years, and even before *Menes*, the first King of *Egypt*, by 500 Years; so that the *Chinese Letters* appear to be the most antient of that Kind; and the Book *Tekim*, said to be written by *Fohi*, the most antient Book.

But as *China* is so remote, and had so little Communication with these Parts of the World; we may reasonably make another Enquiry into the Original of Letters, in the hither Parts of *Asia*, *Egypt*, and *Europe*. Here indeed the *Egyptians* seem to have the best Title. It is more than probable from the *Obelisks*, &c. That the *Hieroglyphicks* was the first Manner of writing, and the original Characters in these Parts, as being Prior to *Moses*; and made, at least in great measure, while the *Israelites* were Slaves among them, and consequently not well qualified for Inventions so very curious.

Whether *Cadmus*, and the *Phenicians* learnt Letters from the *Egyptians*, or from their nearer Neighbours of *Judea* and *Samaria*, is a Question; since some of the Books of the *Old Testament*, being written in Letters, is more likely to have given them the Hint, than the *Hieroglyphicks* of *Egypt*. But when, or wherefoever the *Phenicians* learn'd this Art, it is generally agreed that *Cadmus*, the Son of *Agenor*, first brought Letters to *Greece*; whence, in the following Ages, they spread over the rest of *Europe*.

Rudbecks, who in his *Atlantica* claims the Glory of all Inventions from all other Nations; for the *Swedes*, maintains, that the *Ionians* had Letters before *Cadmus*; that at the Time of the Siege of *Troy*, the *Greeks* had but 16 Letters; whereas the *Phenicians* had 22: Whence he concludes, that it was not either *Cadmus* or the *Phenicians*, who taught this Art to the *Greeks*. But, in regard the other northern Nations had just 16 Letters, like the *Greeks*, he concludes the *Greeks* must either have taught them the People of the North, or have learn'd 'em of them: But because the Form and Make of the *Runic Letters* is more artless and coarse than that of the *Greek Letters*, he concludes that those last must be derived from the former.

There are few Things on which there has been so much written, as on the original *Hebrew Letters*; since *Origen*, *Eusebius Caesariensis*, *St. Jerom*, &c. have made it the Subject of their Enquiry. If they do not always go back to the Beginning of the World, and the Origin of Letters, it is at least enquired, what were the Letters made use of by *Moses* to transmit the Law to Posterity, or those used by the other Historians and Prophets of the *Old Testament*, or even those used by the *Hebrews* before the *Babylonian Captivity*? With regard to which, there are three principal Opinions: Some imagine, the antient *Hebrew Letter* the same with that now in Use; of this Opinion are several Doctors of the *Talmud*, *Postellus*, *Buxtorf*, &c. The second Opinion is, of those who believe the *Samaritan Letter* more antient; which is now a more common Opinion, as without doubt it is the elder: Several *Mischnick* and *Germanick* Doctors, many of the *Rabbins*, and Fathers, *Origen*, *St. Jerom*, *Eusebius*, *Beda*, *Genebrard*, *Ramban*, *Bellarmino*, *Scaliger*, *Drussus*, &c. are of this Opinion.

The third is that from the Beginning there were two *Hebrew* Characters, the one sacred the other prophane ; which is the Opinion of *Azuras*, *R. de Ratenora*, *Postel*, *Buxtorf*, *Conringius*, &c. But this Distinction of two *Hebrew* Characters seems a mere Chimera, for Father *Souciot* on the *Samaritan* Medals proves, that the Letters in the Inscriptions of those Medals, are the genuine original *Hebrew* Characters.

Having thus examined all the different Letters of ours, and several other Alphabets, we'll attempt next to join them together, which is the Doctrine of *Syllables* ; a Syllable being part of a Word, consisting of one or more Letters, which are pronounced together ; or a compleat Sound, uttered in one Breath, consisting either of a Vowel alone, or of a Vowel, and one or more Consonants, not exceeding seven : Or according to *Scaliger*, a *Syllable* is an Element under one Tone or Accent, that is, which can be pronounced at once : Or, according to *Priscian*, a Comprehension of several Letters falling under one Accent, and produced at one Motion of the Breath. Or a literal or articulate Voice, of an individual Sound.

In every Word therefore, there are as many *Syllables* as there are vocal Sounds, and as many vocal Sounds as there are simple, or compound Vowels ; each whereof requires a distinct Motion of the pectoral Muscles. Thus *a, a, a*, make three *Syllables*, formed by so many Motions, distinguished by small Stops between each Expiration.

In the *Hebrew* all the *Syllables* begin with Consonants, allowing *Aleph* to be one ; nor has any *Syllable* more than a single Vowel.

From the Number of *Syllables* in Words they become denominated *Monosyllables*, *Bisyllables*, *Trisyllables*, *Polisyllables*, &c. Words of *one Syllable*, *two Syllables*, *three Syllables*, and many *Syllables*.

This leads us insensibly into the Doctrine of *Words*.

WORDS, are defined by Mess. of *Port Royal*, distinct articulate Sounds agreed on by Mankind, to convey their Thoughts and Sentiments by.

Words, as we have already observed, are divided into *Monosyllables*, *Bisyllables*, &c.

Monosyllables, are Words of a single Syllable, or which consist of one or more Letters pronounced together.

The *French* Language abounds in *Monosyllables*, more than any other. This renders it the more perplexing to Foreigners, and yet the Beauty of the Language seems to consist in it. One of the best and smoothest Lines in *Malherbe* consists of twelve *Monosyllables* ; speaking of *Calista*, he says,

Et moy je ne voy rien quand je ne la voy pas.

In this the Genius of the *English* Tongue differs very much from the *French*, an uninterrupted Series of *Monosyllables* in the former having always an ill Effect. This Mr. *Pope* intimates and exemplifies in the same Verse,

And ten low Words oft creep in one dull Line.

Pasquier cites an Elegy of forty-two Verses, consisting wholly of *Monosyllables*.

Words, again, are divided into *primitives* and *derivatives*, *simple* and *compound*, *synonymous* and *equivocal*.

Primitive, is a *Root*, or a Word in a Language, which is neither derived from any other Language, nor compounded from any other Word of the same.—Thus *God* is a *Primitive*, *godly* a *Derivative*, *God-like* a *Compound*.—In *French* *gloire* is a *Primitive*, *glorieux* a *Derivative*, *glorifié* a *Compound*.

Derivative is a Word which takes its Origin from another Word, called its *primitive*. Such is the Word *Derivative*, which takes its Origin from its primitive *Rieus*, a Rivulet or Channel, out of which lesser Streams are drawn ; and thus *Manhood*, *Deity*, *Lawyer*, &c. are derived from *Man*, *Deus*, *Law*, &c.

Equivocal, is a Word or Expression that is dubious, and ambiguous, or that may have several Senses, one true, and another false. Equivocal Terms answer to what are otherwise called *homonymy*, or *homonymous Terms*.—Such is the Word *Emperor*, which is both the Name of a Dignity, the proper Name of a Person, and the

Name of a Plant.—So also the Latin *Gallus*, which stands indifferently for a Cock, and a *Frenchman*.

In these Cases one Word denotes divers Conceptions, one Word divers Things : Whence that common Definition of *Equivocals* in the Schools, *Quorum nomen est commune, ratio vero essentialis secundum illud nomen diversa*.

Synonymous, is a Word that has the same Import, or Signification with another.

Some severe Criticks condemn all Use of synonymous Words in the same Period, but this is to condemn all Antiquity : So far is the Use thereof from being vicious, that it is frequently necessary ; as *Synonyma's* contribute both to the Force, and Clearness of the Expression. If the first Word sketch out the Resemblance of the Thing it represents, the Synonym that follows, is, as it were, a second Touch of the Pencil, and finishes the Image. Indeed they must be used with a deal of Discretion and Economy. The Style must be raised and brightened, not stuffed, or loaded with synonymous Terms. They must be used as Ornaments, and to render the Expression more forcible, without making a Shew of the Riches thereof, or heaping *Synonyma's* on *Synonyma's*.

But though *synonymous Words* be laudible, *synonymous Phrases* are inexcusable : The Reason is, that two synonymous Phrases keep the Mind at rest, and let it flag and languish.

Note, That *simple*, and *primitive Words* have no natural Connection with the Thing they signify ; whence there is no Rational to be given of them : It is by a mere arbitrary Institution and Agreement of Men, that they come to signify any Thing.—Certain Words have no natural Propriety or Aptitude to express certain Thoughts, more than others : Were that the Case there could have been but one Language. But in *derivative* and *compound Words*, the Case is somewhat different ; in the forming of these, we see a Regard is had to Agreement, Relation, and Analogy ; thus most Words that have the same Ending, have one common and general Way of denoting and signifying Things ; and those compounded with the same Propositions, have a similar Manner of expressing, and signifying similar Ideas in all the learned Languages where they occur.

For the Perfection of Language it is enough, Mr. *Locke* observes, that Sounds can be made Signs of Ideas ; unless these can be made use of, so as to comprehend several particular Things ; for the Multiplication of Words would have perplexed their Use, had every particular Thing needed a distinct Name to be signified by.

To remedy this Inconvenience, Language had a further Improvement in the Use of general Terms, whereby one Word was made to mark a Multitude of particular Existences ; which advantageous Use of Sounds was obtained only by the Difference of the Ideas, they were made Signs of ; those Names becoming general, which are made to stand for general Ideas ; and those remaining particular, where the Ideas they are used for, are particular.

It is observable, that the Words which stand for Actions and Notions quite removed from Sense, are borrowed from sensible Ideas ; as *to imagine*, *apprehend*, *comprehend*, *understand*, *adhere*, *conceive*, *instil*, *disgust*, *Disturbance*, *Tranquility*, &c. which are all taken from Operations of Things sensible, and applied to Modes of Thinking.—*Spirit*, in its primary Signification, is no more than Breath ; *Angel*, is a Messenger. By which we may guess what Kind of Notions they were, and whence derived, which filled the Minds of the first Beginners of Languages ; and how Nature, even in the naming of Things, unawares suggested to Men the Original of all their Knowledge ; whilst, to give Names that might make known to others any Operations they felt in themselves, or any other Ideas that came not under their Senses, they were forced to borrow Words from the ordinary and known Ideas of Sensation.

The Ends of Language in our Discourse with others, are chiefly three : First, to make our Thoughts, or Ideas

Ideas known one to another. This we fail in, 1. When we use Names without clear and distinct Ideas in our Minds. 2. When we apply received Names to Ideas, to which the common Use of that Language doth not apply them. 3. When we apply them unsteadily, making them stand now for one, and anon for another Idea.

Secondly, to make known our Thoughts with as much Ease and Quickness as is possible. This Men fail in, when they have complex Ideas, without having distinct Names for them; which may happen, either through the Defect of a Language which has none, or the Fault of the Man which has not yet learn'd them.

Thirdly, to convey the Knowledge of Things. This cannot be done but when our Ideas agree to the Reality of Things.—He that has Names without Ideas, wants Meaning in his Words, and speaks only empty Sounds.—He that has complex Ideas, without Names for them, wants Dispatch in his Expression.—He that uses his Words loosely and unsteadily, will either not be minded, or not understood.—He that applies Names to his Ideas, different from the common Use, wants Propriety in his Language, and speaks Gibberish; and he that has Ideas of Substances, disagreeing with the real Existence of Things, so far wants the Materials of true Knowledge.

But the most celebrated Division the Grammarians make of Words, is into eight Classes, called *Parts of Speech*; which are *Noun, Pronoun, Verb, Participle, Adverb, Conjunction, Preposition, and Interjection*; to one or other of which, all the Words, and Turns in all Languages, which have, or may be invented to express our Ideas, are reducible.

NOUN, is a Name or Word, which expresses the Subject spoke of; or expresses a Subject, whereof something is, or may be affirm'd; as *Man, Food, Whiteness, Henry, &c.* A *Noun*, therefore, in Language, answers to an Idea in Logick.

The Generality of Subjects spoke of, have particular Names; yet there are others, which, without being attached to the same particular Subject, are yet real Nouns. Thus besides the particular Name which each Person bears, and whereby others denote him, he gives himself another when he speaks of himself; as *I*, or *myself*.

It is only the more particular Names, that in *Grammar* have retain'd the Quality of Nouns; the more general ones are called *Pronouns*.

Nouns again, are to be view'd in another Light, viz. as divided into *Nouns Substantive*, or *Nouns Adjective*.

They are called *Substantives*, when the Objects they design, are consider'd simply in themselves, and without any Regard to their Qualities.

They are called *Adjectives*, when their Objects are considered as cloath'd with any Qualities. Thus, when I say simply, the *Heart*, in *English*, or *Cœur*, in *French*, the Word *Heart*, or *Cœur*, is called a *Noun Substantive*, inasmuch as it does not express any of its Qualities; but if I say in *English*, the *generous Heart*, or in *French*, *le Cœur généreux* (for in *French*, the Substantive is always put before the Adjective, and in *English*, the Adjective almost always before the Substantive) I then consider the *Heart* or *Cœur*, accompanied with the Quality of *generous*. For this Reason, the Word *generous* is called *Noun Adjective*, because it adds a Quality to the Object.

But in Effect, the Object is alone design'd by the Nouns Substantive, which in this View, are alone the proper Nouns.

Adjectives at Bottom, are only Modificatives of Nouns, though in one View they may be consider'd as Nouns, viz. as they do not so much represent a Quality or Circumstance of the Object, as the Object itself, cloath'd with that Quality or Circumstance. Nor must it be omitted, that a Noun Adjective frequently becomes a Substantive; for as its Nature is to express the Quality of an Object, if that Quality happens to be the Object itself spoke of, then,

according to our first Definition, it becomes a Substantive. Thus if I say *a good Intention*, the Word *good* is here an Adjective, representing the Intention as cloath'd with the Quality of Goodness; but if I say *the Good is to be chosen*, or in *French*, *le Bon est préférable*, it is evident, that *Good* or *Bon* is the Subject here spoke of, and of Consequence is a Noun Substantive, nor are there Cases wanting, wherein Nouns Substantives become Adjectives.

It is true, in the common Use of *Grammar*, Nouns that are really Adjectives are not reckon'd as such; none being esteem'd Adjectives but those which without any, or at least any considerable Change in their Inflection and Termination, are join'd indifferently to Nouns Substantives of different Genders.

Nouns are again divided into proper and appellative. Nouns proper, are those which express a particular Thing or Person, so as to distinguish it from all other Things of the same Kind, as *Socrates, Peter, Paul, James, &c.* Nouns appellative are those common to several Individuals, of the same Kind, as *Man, Angel, &c.*

There are also heterogeneous Nouns, which are such as are of one Gender in the singular Number, and of another in the plural. These Nouns are also called *Heteroclite*, of which we have various Sorts, viz. *defective* and *redundant Heteroclites, &c.* Under the Class of *Heteroclites* come *Aptotes, Diptotes, Monaptotes, Triptotes, Tetraptotes, Pentaptotes, &c.*

Aptote, is a Noun indeclinable, or which is without any Variation of Case; such are the Words *fas, nefas, &c.*

Diptote, is a Kind of irregular Noun, having only two Cases; as *fors, forte*.

Triptotes, are defective Nouns, which have only three Cases; such is *fors, fortis, forte*; or *dica, dicas, dicam*.

Tetraptote, is a Name given to such defective Nouns as have only four Cases, as are, *Astas, Repetundæ, &c.*

Pentaptote, is a Noun which has only five Cases.

PRONOUN, is a Part of Speech, used in lieu of Noun, or Name; whence the Denomination from *Pro* and *Nomen*, q. d. for *Noun* or *Name*.

As it would have been disagreeable to have been always repeating the same Name, there are Words invented in all Languages, called *Pronouns*, to save the Necessity thereof, and to stand in the Place of Names; as in *English*, *I, thou, he*; in *French*, *moy, toy, or vous, luy, &c.*

As *Nouns* are the Marks or Signs of Things, *Pronouns* are the Signs of *Nouns*. Father Buffier, however, shews that *Pronouns* are real *Nouns* or Names; and that all the Difference between what the Grammarians call *Nouns* and *Pronouns*, is, that the former are more particular, and the latter more general.

They are called *Pronouns*, because used in the Place of particular *Nouns*. Indeed sometimes they do not fill the Place of *Nouns* entirely, but need other Words to assist them, to express the Object spoken of; such, e. gr. are *who, whoever*, or in *French*, *qui, qui que ce soit*, which do not express any determinate Object, whereof a Thing may be affirm'd, unless accompanied with another Word, especially a Verb, as *whoever labours deserves a Reward*; or in *French*, *quique ce soit qui travaille merite d'estre recompensé*.

These Father Buffier calls *incomplete Pronouns*, to distinguish them from those which express an Object completely; as *I, thou, he*; in *French*, *moy, toy, or vous, luy, &c.*

The Grammarians ordinarily distinguish *Pronouns* into four Classes, with Regard to their different Signification, Formation, &c. viz. *Pronouns personal, relative, possessive, and demonstrative*, to which may be added, *indefinite Pronouns*.

Personal Pronouns, are those used in lieu of Names of particular Persons; such are *I, thou, he, we, ye, they*; or in *French*, *moy, toy, luy, nous, vous, eux*.

Pronouns relative, which Buffier calls *modificative*, or *determinative*, are those placed after *Nouns*, with which they

they have such Affinity, that without them they signify nothing, such are *who*, *that*; or in *French*, *qui*, *cela*, &c.

Pronouns possessive, are those which express what each possesses, or what belongs to him, as *mine*, *thine*, *his*; or in *French*, *mien*, *tien*, *sien*, &c. These are pure Adjectives, and only differ from the rest by the Relation they bear to *Pronouns*, whence they are derived, and by some particular Inflections, which they have in some Languages.

Pronouns demonstrative, are those which serve to indicate or point out the Subject spoken of; as *this*, *those*; or in *French*, *cecy*, *cela*, *ceuxla*, or *cellesla*, &c.

Pronouns indefinite, are those which express their Subject indeterminately; as *however*, *any*, &c. these coincide with what Father Buffier calls *incomplete Pronouns*.

Pronouns are likewise divided into *Substantive* and *Adjective*. To the first belong *I*, *thou*, *he*; to the second, *my*, *mine*, *who*, *what*, &c.

Pronouns may also be consider'd in two States; the first or foregoing State, as *I*, *we*; the second or following one, as *me*, *us*.

Note, That it has been thought proper, in order to render Discourse more express and distinct, as also to embellish it by a Variety of Terminations, to contrive certain Diversities in Adjectives, accommodated to the Substantives they are applied to: Whence from a Regard to that notable Difference there is between the two Sexes, all Nouns Substantive have been distinguished, into *Masculine* and *Feminine Genders*; and the Nouns Adjective also varied to correspond therewith.

But as there was an Infinity of Words, which had no proper Relation, either to the one Sex or the other, they had *Genders* assign'd them, rather out of Caprice than Reason; and hence it is that the *Gender* of a Noun, is frequently dubious and fluctuating.

Note also, That this Institution of *Genders*, was not made with Design and Deliberation by the Masters of Language, but was introduced by Custom and Usage. At first there was only a Difference between the Names of Animals, when spoke of Males and Females; by Degrees the same Regulation was extended to other Things: The Grammarians have only noted and allow'd what Usage had establish'd.

Note again, That the oriental Languages frequently neglect the Use of *Genders*; and the *Persian* Language has none at all, which some imagine, is no Disadvantage; pretending that the Distinction of *Genders* is in some Measure useless. The *Latins*, *Greeks*, &c. generally content themselves to express the different *Genders* by different Terminations; as *bonus Equus*, a good Horse; *bona Equa*, a good Mare; but in *English* they go farther, and express the Difference of Sex, by different Words; as Boar, Sow; Boy, Girl; Buck, Doe; Bull, Cow; Cock, Hen; Dog, Bitch, &c. The *French* follow in some Things the Practice of the *Latins*, and in others that of the *English*. For they sometimes express the Difference of *Genders*, by different Terminations; as *Asne*, *Asnesse*; *Chien*, *Chiene*; *Chat*, *Chatte*, &c. and sometimes by different Words; as *Garçon*, *Fille*; *Toreau*, *Vache*; *Cerf*, *Biche*, &c.

The *English* have only about twenty-four Femines, distinguished from the Males, by the Variation of the Termination of the Male into *ess*; of which Number are Abbot, Abbess; Count, Countess; Actor, Actress; Heir, Heiress; Prince, Princess, &c. which is all the *English* know of any Thing like *Genders*.

The eastern Languages, as well as the vulgar ones of the West, have only two *Genders*; the Masculine and Feminine. The *Greeks* and *Latins* have likewise the Neuter, Common, and the Doubtful *Gender*; and besides these, they have the *Epicene* or Promiscuous, which under one single *Gender* or Termination, includes both the Kinds.

The *Masculine GENDER*, is that which belongs to

the Male Kind, or something analogous to it.

Most Substantives are ranged under the Heads of Masculine or Feminine. This in some Cases, is done with a Shew of Reason, but in others is merely arbitrary; and for that Reason is found to vary, according to the Languages, and even according to the Words introduced from one Language into another. Thus the Names of Trees are generally Feminine in *Latin*, and Masculine in *French*. Further, the Genders of the same Word, are sometimes varied in the same Language; thus *Albus*, according to *Priscian*, was antiently Masculine, but it is now become Feminine. And *Navire*, a Ship, in *French*, was antiently Feminine, but is now Masculine.

The *Feminine GENDER*, is that which denotes the Noun or Name to belong to a Female. In the *Latin*, the Feminine *Gender* is formed of the Masculine, by altering its Termination; particularly by changing *us* into *a*. Thus of the Masculine *bonus Equus*, a good Horse, is formed the Feminine *bona Equa*, a good Mare; so of *parvus Homo*, a little Man, is formed *parva Femina*, a little Woman; in *French*, the Feminine *Gender* is expressed either by a different Termination, or different Words, as we have already observed, and likewise by a different Article; thus *le* is join'd to a Male, and *la* to a Female.

The *Neuter* is a Sort of Gender of Nouns, which are neither Masculine nor Feminine. In *English*, and other modern Languages, there is no such Thing as Neuter Nouns.

Epicene, is a Term applied to Nouns, which under the same *Gender* and Termination, mark indifferently two Kinds or Sexes; such in *Latin* is *Aquila*, *Vespertilio*, &c. which signify equally a Male or Female Eagle, or Bat.

Grammarians distinguish between *Epicene* and *Common*.—A Noun is said to be common of two Kinds, when it may be joined either with a Masculine or a Feminine Article; and *Epicene*, when it is always joined to some one of the two Articles, and yet signifies both *Genders*.

The Inflection of a Noun, according to its different Cases, is called *Declension*, which is a different Thing in the modern Languages, which have not properly any Cases, from what it is in the antient *Greek* and *Latins* which have.

Declension in Languages, wherein the Nouns admit of Changes, whether in the Beginning, Middle, or End, is properly the expressing or reciting of all those Changes in a certain Order, and by certain Degrees, called *Cases*.

In Languages wherein the Nouns do not admit of Changes, *Declension* is the expressing of the different States or Habitudes a Noun is in, and the different Relations it has; which Difference of Relations is mark'd by Particles, called *Articles*, as *a*, *the*, *to*, *from*, &c. and in *French* (in the singular Number) *le*, *la*, *du*, *ó*, *au*, or *á*, *le*; and in the plural Number, *les*, *des*, *aux*, *les*, &c.

Every Declension has commonly two Numbers, viz. the singular and the plural; which Numbers are a Modification of Nouns, &c. to accommodate them to the Varieties in their Objects, consider'd with Regard to Number.

When a Noun indicates an Object, consider'd as single or alone, or a Number of them consider'd as united together, it is said to be of the singular Number; as a *Tree*, a *Troop*, a *Temple*, &c. or in *French*, *un Homme*, *un Fille*, *un Temple*, &c.

When it indicates several Objects, and those as distinct, it is of the plural Number; as *Trees*, *Temples*, &c. or in *French*, *Hommes*, *Filles*, &c. Thus when I speak of myself, as making Part of several others, instead of *I*, I say *we*, in *French*, *nous*, &c.

The *Greeks* have a third Number, which they call the *dual Number*, as signifying two. The *Hebrews* have something like it, but then it only takes Place when the Words signify a Thing double by Nature, as the Hands, the Eyes, &c. or by Art, as Scissars, Tonges, &c.

As to common and appellative Names, they seem all naturally

naturally to require a plural Number; yet there are several which have none, as the Names of *Gold, Steel, &c.*

The Difference of Numbers in Nouns, is express'd by a Difference of Termination or Ending.

In *English* and *French*, the singular is usually converted into plural, by adding *s*; as *Tree, Trees, Hand, Hands*; and in *French, Arbre, Arbres, Main, Mains, &c.* where the Pronunciation requires it, in *English*, as when the singular ends in *s* or *x*, *sh* or *ch*, it is usually done by the Addition of *es*, instead of *s*.

The Plurals of Adjectives, though varied from the Singulars in most other Languages, yet in *English* are generally the same.

Every Number has commonly six Cases, or different Inflections, or Terminations of Nouns; serving to express the different States or Relations they bear to each other, and to the Things they represent.

There is a great Diversity among Grammarians, with Regard to the Nature and Number of Cases. They generally, as already observ'd, find six, even in most of the modern Languages, which they call the *Nominative, Genitive, Dative, Accusative, Vocative, and Ablative*: But this seems only in Compliance with their own Ideas, which are form'd on the *Greek* or *Latin*, and which they transfer to other Languages. The Truth is, if by Case be only meant an occasional Change in the Termination of a Noun or Name, which seems to be the just Idea of Case (Regard being had, either to the Reason of the Thing, or the Sound of the Word *Casus*, from *Cadere*, to fall) there will, in this Sense, be just as many Cases as there are different Terminations of Nouns in the same Number, *i. e.* in some Languages more, in others less, and in others none at all.

Indeed the Generality of Authors, either have not any precise Notion of Cases at all, or they wander strangely from that Notion; for they always reckon five Cases of Nouns in the *Greek*, and six in the *Latin*: Though several of these Cases be frequently alike, as the *Genitive* and *Dative* singular, of the first Declension of the *Latin*; the *Dative* and *Ablative* plural of the second, &c. the *Genitive* and *Dative* dual of the *Greek*, &c. so that the Termination is not the sole Criterion of the Case.

It seems, however, much more agreeable to the Principles of *Grammar*, which only consider Words materially, to make as many different Cases, as there are Changes in the Termination of a Name; which would free the *English*, and other modern Tongues, from the Embarrass of Cases; most of them expressing the various Relations, not by Changes in Termination, as the Antients, but by the Opposition of Articles and Propositions. On this Footing, it is certainly wrong to say, *v. gr.* that *of a Father*, is the *Genitive* Case of Father; and *to a Father*, the *Dative*; for *of* and *to* are no Part of the Name *Father*: They are no Cases nor Terminations, but Articles or Modificatives, which shew the different Relations of the Word *Father*. And the same may be said of the Cases of Nouns, in the *French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese* Tongues, &c.

But the Case is otherwise in the *Greek* Name *πατήρ*, or the *Latin* *Patris*; which are real Cases of the Word *πατήρ*, and *Pater*, and different from them; and somewhat like this may be said of the *Hebrew, Arabick, Armenian, Polish, and German* Languages, which in the same Number admit of Changes in the Termination of Words; and yet in these Languages, Cases are pretty different from what they are in the *Greek* and *Latin*. The *Hebrew* Names, for Instance, are not properly declin'd by Cases: The Relation expressed by the *Genitive* Case, it is true, occasions an Alteration in them; but then this Alteration, instead of being in the Noun govern'd, as in the *Latin*, in the *Hebrew* is in that which governs; as *וְבֵרַךְ יְשׁוּעָה*, *verbum falsitatis*; where the Change is not in *יְשׁוּעָה*, *falsitas*, but in *וְבֵרַךְ* for *יְבֵרַךְ*, *verbum*.

F. Galanus makes ten Cases in the *Armenian*; observing, that besides the six ordinary Cases, there is one which serves to express the Instrument wherewith any Thing is done; another for Narration to express the Subject; a third to shew that one Thing is in another; and a fourth to shew a Relation, between one

Thing and another. Authors make but three Cases in the *Arabick*, as having only three Terminations, *on, in, and an*.

It must be observ'd however, that though many of the Languages have not properly any Cases of Nouns; yet most, if not all of them, have a Kind of Cases in their Pronouns, without which it would be hard to conceive the Connection, or Syntax of a Discourse; and which therefore make a necessary Part of *Grammar*.

But to give a more particular Account of Cases, we must inform the Reader, that the simple Position, or laying down of a Noun or Name, which is declinable, is called the *Nominative Case*, yet it is not so properly a Case, as the Matter, or Ground whence the other Cases are to be form'd, by the several Changes and Inflections given to this first Termination. Its chief Use is to be placed in Discourse before all Verbs, as the Subject of the Proposition or Affirmation, as *Dominus regit me*, the Lord governs me; *Deus exaudit me*, God hears me.

The Relation of one Thing, consider'd as belonging in some Manner to another, has occasioned a peculiar Termination of Nouns, called the *Genitive Case*.

In *English*, the *Genitive Case* is made by prefixing the Particle *of*; in *French*, *de*, or *du*, &c. though in Strictness there are no Cases at all in either of those Languages, inasmuch as they do not express the different Relations of Things, by different Terminations, but by additional Propositions.

In the *Latin*, this Relation is expressed in divers Manners; thus we say *Caput hominis*, the Head of a Man; *Color rosæ*, the Colour of a Rose; *Opus Dei*, the Work of God, &c.

As the *Genitive Case* serves to express very different, and even opposite Relations, there sometimes arises an Ambiguity therefrom: Thus in the Phrase, *vulnus Achillis*, the Wound of *Achilles*, the *Genitive Achilles*, may either signify the Relation of Subject, in which Sense it is taken passively for the Wound *Achilles* has received, or the Relation of a Cause, in which Sense it is taken actively for the Wound *Achilles* has given: Thus in that Passage of *St. Paul*, *Certus sum quod neque mors, neque vita, &c. Nos poterit separare a Charitate Dei in Christo, &c.* The *Genitive Dei*, has been taken by Interpreters in two different Senses; some giving it the Relation of Object, and understanding the Passage of the Love which the Elect bear to God, in *Jesus Christ*, whereas others give it the Relation of Subject, and explain it of the Love which God bears the Elect in *Jesus Christ*.

In the *Hebrew* Tongue, the *Genitive Case* is mark'd after a Manner very different from that of the *Greek* and *Latin*, for whereas in those Languages the Noun governed is varied, in the *Hebrew* the Noun governing undergoes the Alteration.

The third Case in the Declension of Nouns, is the *Dative*, which expresses the State or Relation of a Thing to whose Profit or Loss some other Thing is referr'd. It is called *Dative*, because usually govern'd by a Verb implying something to be given to some Person; as *commodare Socrati*, to lend to *Socrates*; *utilis Republicæ*, useful to the Commonwealth.

In *English*, where they have properly no Cases, this Relation is expressed by the Sign *to* or *for*; and in *French*, by the Sign *a*, or *au*.

The *Accusative* is the fourth Case of Nouns that are declin'd. Its Use may be conceived from this, that all Verbs which express Actions that pass from the Agent, as to beat, &c. must have Subjects to receive those Actions; for if I beat, I must beat something; so that such Verb, evidently requires after it a Noun or Name, to be the Object of the Action expressed. Hence in all Languages which have Cases, the Nouns have a Termination, which they call *accusative*, as *Amo Deum*, I love God; *Cæsar vicit Pompeium*, *Cæsar* overcame *Pompey*.

In *English* and *French*, they have nothing to distinguish this Case from the *Nominative*; but as they ordinarily place Words in their natural Order, it is easily discovered; the *Nominative* constantly preceding, and the *Accusative* following the Verb. Thus when we say the Prince loves

loves the Princess, and the Princess loves the Prince; the Prince is the *Nominative* in the first, and the *Accusative* in the last; and the Princess the *Accusative* in the first, and the *Nominative* in the last.

The *Vocative* is the fifth Case, or State of Nouns. When we name the Person we are speaking to, or address ourselves to the Thing we are speaking of, as if it were a Person, the Noun or Name acquires a new Relation, which the *Latins* and *Greeks* express by a new Termination, called *Vocative*. Thus of *Dominus*, Lord, in the *Nominative*, the *Latins* have made *Domine*, O Lord, in the *Vocative*; of *Antonius*, *Antonii*, &c. But as this was a Thing not absolutely necessary, and as the *Nominative Case* might serve on such Occasions, this new Case or Termination, was not universal in the plural; for Instance, it was the same with the *Nominative*, even in the singular, it was only practised in the second Declension among the *Latins*; and in *Greek*, where it is the most common, it is frequently neglected, and the *Nominative* used instead of it; as in that Passage in the *Greek Psalms*, quoted by St. Paul, to prove the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*, *Θεὸς οὐ ὁ Θεός*, thy Throne O God!

In *English*, and most of the modern Tongues, this Case is ordinarily expressed in Nouns, that have an Article in the *Nominative*, by suppressing that Article; as *The Lord is my Hope*. *Lord, thou art my Hope!* Though on many Occasions we use an Interjection.

The *Ablative* is the sixth Case of *Latin* Nouns. The *Ablative* is opposite to the *Dative*; the first expressing the Action of taking away, and the latter that of giving.

The *Ablative* scarce answers to the just Idea of a Case, at least it is the least in Vogue of all others: Even in the antient Languages, from which the Notion of Cases is borrow'd, it is suggested the *Ablative* is only a Sort of supernumerary, or Supplement to the rest. The five proper Cases not being found sufficient to express all the Relations of Things to each other, Recourse was had to an Expedient, viz. the putting a Proposition before some of the other Cases, and this made the *Ablative*. It may be added, that in the plural Number, the *Ablative* is still more obscure, as being only the *Dative* repeated.

In *English*, *French*, &c. there is no precise Mark, whereby to distinguish the *Ablative* from other Cases; and we only use the Term in Analogy to the *Latin*. Thus in the two Phrases, *the Magnitude of the City*, and *he spoke much of the City*; we say, that *of the City*, in the first is *Genitive*, and in the latter *Ablative*; by Reason it would be so, if the two Phrases were expressed in *Latin*.

From the Nouns, Pronouns, &c. I'll pass to the VERBS, thus called of the *Latin*, *verbum*, Word, by Way of Eminence; the Verb being the principal Word of a Sentence.

The common Definition given by Grammarians, is, that a Verb is a Word that betokens *being*, *doing*, or *suffering*.

To conceive the Origin and Office of Verbs, it may be observed, that the Judgment we make of any Thing, as when I say, *the Earth is round*, necessarily includes three Terms. The first call'd the *Subject*, is the Thing we affirm of, *e. gr.* *Earth*. The second call'd *Attribute*, is the Thing affirmed, *e. gr.* *round*. The third, *is*, connects those two Terms together, and expresses the Action of the Mind, *affirming* the Attribute of the Subject.

This last is what we properly call *Verb*; and which some of our later Grammarians, particularly those of *Port-Royal*, at *Paris*, chose to call by a more significant Word, *Affirmation*; the Reason is, that its principal Use is to signify *Affirmation*; that is, to shew the Discourse wherein that Word is used, is the Discourse of a Man, who does not only conceive Things, but judges and affirms somewhat of them.

By this Circumstance a Verb is distinguished from Nouns, which also signify an Affirmation, as *affirmans*, *affirmatio*; those only signify an Affirmation, as that, by a Reflection of the Mind, is render'd an Object of Thought; so that they do not shew that the Person

who uses them affirms, but only that he conceives an *Affirmation*.

Though the principal Use of Verbs be to signify *Affirmation*, they also serve to express the other Motions of the Soul; as *to desire*, *pray*, *command*, &c. but this they only do, by changing the Mood, or Inflection.

Here we only consider the Verb in its primary Signification, which is, that it has in the Indicative Mood. On this Footing the *Verb* should have no other Use, but to mark the Connection which we make in the Mind, between the two Terms of a Proposition: But the *Verb*, *esse*, to be, is the only one that has retained this Simplicity: Nor, in Strictness, has this retained it, but in the third Person, as *est*, is.

In Effect, Men being naturally inclined to shorten their Expressions, to the Affirmation they have almost always added other Significations, in the same Word: Thus, *v. gr.* they add that of some Attribute, so as that two Words make a Proposition; as in *Petrus vivit*, *Peter* lives; where *vivit* includes both the Attribute, and Affirmation; it being the same Thing to say, *Peter* lives, as *Peter* is living. And hence the great Variety of *Verbs* in every Language: For had People been contented to give the *Verb* its general Signification, without any additional Attribute, each Language would have only needed one *Verb*, viz. the *Verb* Substantive *est*, is.

Again, on some Occasions, they also superadd the Subject of the Proposition, as *sum homo*, I am a Man; or *vivo*, I live: And hence the Diversity of Persons in *Verbs*.

Again, we also add to the *Verb*, a Relation to the Time, with regard to which we affirm; so that one single Word, *Cœnasti*, signifies, that I attribute to the Person I speak, the Action of Supping, not for the present Time, but for the past: And hence the great Diversity of *Tenses* in most *Verbs*.

The Diversity of these Significations, or Additions in the same Word, has perplexed, and deceived many of our best Authors in the Nature of a *Verb*; and led them to consider it, not according to what is essential to it, which is to affirm; but according to some of its accidental Relations.

Thus *Aristotle*, taking up with the third of those additional Significations, defines *Verb* to be *Vox significans cum tempore*, a Word signifying something with Time.

Others, as *Buxtorf*, adding the second Relation, defines it, *Vox flexilis cum tempore & personâ*; a Word admitting of divers Inflections, with Time and Person.

Others taking up with the first of the additional Significations, which is that of the Attribute, and considering that the Attributes Men ordinarily add to the Affirmation were Actions, and Passions, have supposed the Essence of a *Verb* to consist in signifying *Actions*, or *Passions*.

Lastly, *Scaliger* imagined he had made a great Discovery in his Book of *the Principles of the Latin Tongue*, in saying that the Distinction of Things into *Permanentes*, and *Fluentes*, into what remain, and what pass away, is the proper Source of the Distinction between *Nouns* and *Verbs*; the first being to signify what remains, and the second what passes.

But from what we have said it is easy to perceive, that these Definitions are all false; and that the only true Definition is, *Vox significans affirmationem*: This Definition includes all that is essential to the *Verb*; but if one would likewise include its principal Accidents, one might define it, *Vox significans affirmationem, cum designatione personæ, numeri & temporis*; a Word which signifies an Affirmation with a Designation of Person, Number and Tense: Which is what properly agrees to the *Verb* Substantive *est*.

For as to other *Verbs*, considered as becoming different by the Union of certain Attributes, one may define them thus; *Vox significans affirmationem alicujus attributi, cum designatione personæ, numeri & temporis*; a Word which expresses the Affirmation of some Attribute, with a Designation of Person, Number and Time.

Verbs

Verbs are variously divided; with respect to the Subject they are divided into, *active, passive, neuter, &c.* With respect to their Inflections, into *regular, and irregular; personal, and impersonal, auxiliary, substantive, &c.*

VERB active, is a *Verb* which expresses an Action that falls on another Subject, or Object. Such are *I love, I work, &c.* which signify the Action of *loving, working, &c.*—Of these, Grammarians make three Kinds; the one called *Transitive*, where the Action passes on a Subject different from the Agent;—*Reflected*, where the Action returns upon the Agent.—*Reciprocal*, where the Action returns mutually upon the two Agents that produce it.

VERB passive, is that which expresses a Passion, or which receives the Action of some Agent, and which is conjugated in the modern Tongues with the *auxiliary Verb, I am, je suis, io sono, &c.*—Some do not allow of any *Verbs passive* in the modern Languages: The Reason is, what we call *passive*, is nothing but the Participle of the *Verb*, joined with the *auxiliary Verb, to be*; whereas the *Verbs passive* of the *Latin, &c.* have their particular Terminations.

Verb neuter, is that which signifies an Action that has no particular Object whereon to fall; but which, of itself, takes up the whole Idea of the Action.—As, *I sleep, thou yawnest, he snores, we walk, you run, they stand.*—The *Latins* call them *Neuters*, by reason they are neither *active* nor *passive*; though they have the Force and Signification of both: As *I languish*, signifies as much as *I am languishing*; *I obey*, as much as *I exercise Obedience, &c.* only that they have no Regimen to particularize this Signification.

Of these *Verbs* there are some which form their Tenses by the *auxiliary Verb, to have*; as *I have slept, you have run.*—These Grammarians call *Neuters active*.

Others there are, which form their compound Parts by the *auxiliary, to be*; as *to come, to arrive, &c.* for we say *I am come*, not *I have come*; in French *Je suis venu*, not *J'ai venu*, &c. These are called *Neuters passive*.

VERB substantive, is that which expresses the Being, or Substance which the Mind forms to itself, or supposes in the Object; whether it be there or not; as *I am, thou art*, in French *Je suis, tu es*.

Auxiliary, or helping Verbs, are those which serve in conjugating *active* and *passive Verbs*; such are *I am, I have, &c.*

The Abbot Dangeau distinguishes all *Verbs* into two general Kinds, *viz. auxiliary Verbs*, and those which make use of Auxiliaries. This Distinction some may take as not very just; in regard, *auxiliary Verbs* sometimes make use of Auxiliaries themselves; but this does not destroy the Division, it only shews that the *auxiliary Verb* has two Formalities, or two different Qualities to be considered under; in virtue whereof, it constitutes as it were, two Sorts of *Verbs*.

The *Verbs* which make use of Auxiliaries, he divides into *active, neuter, and pronominal.*—*Verbs neuter* he further distinguishes into *neuters active*, and *neuters passive.*—*Pronominals* he distinguishes into *identic, reciprocal, neuterised, and passived.*—But several of these are peculiar to the *French Language*.

Verbs in the *English*, and most modern Tongues, do not change their Endings, as in *Latin*, to denote the several Times, Modes, &c. of their Being, Doing, or Suffering; but in lieu thereof, make use of Auxiliaries: as *have, am, be, do, will, shall, may, can, &c.*

Regular VERBS, are those which are conjugated after some one Manner, Rule, or Analogy.

Irregular, or Anomalous VERBS, are those which have something singular in the Terminations, or Formation of their Tenses.

The Irregularity in *English Verbs*, lies wholly in the Formation of the preter Tense, and passive Participle.—The first, and most general Irregularity, took its Rise from the Quickness of our Pronunciation, by changing the Consonant *d* into *t*; the Vowel *e*, in the regular Ending *ed*, being cut off; that the Pronunciation might be more ready: Thus for *dwelled, kepted, sended*, we say *dwelt, kept, sent*.

VERBS impersonal, are those which have only the third Person, as it behoves, &c.

As the Nouns are declined, the *Verbs* are conjugated; and what is called *Declension* with regard to Nouns, &c. is called *Conjugation* with regard to *Verbs*.

CONJUGATION, is an orderly Distribution of the several Parts or Inflections of *Verbs*, in their different Moods and Tenses, to distinguish them from each other.

The *Latins* have four *Conjugations*, distinguished by the Terminations of their Infinitive, *are, ere, ere, ire*; and most of the *French* Grammarians reduce the *Conjugations* of our Language to the same Number, ending in *er, re, ir, and oir*.

In *English*, where the *Verbs* have scarce any natural Inflections, but derive all their Variations from additional Particles, Pronouns, &c. they have hardly any such Things as strict *Conjugations*.

Conjugations consist of Moods, Tenses, Persons, and Numbers.

MOOD, or MODE, is used to signify the different Manners of conjugating *Verbs*, agreeably to the different Actions, or Affections to be expressed; as *shewing, commanding, wishing, &c.*

Hence arise five *Moods*, *viz. the Indicative, Imperative, Optative, Subjunctive, and Infinitive.*

Some Grammarians reckon but four *Moods*, confounding the *Optative* with the *Subjunctive*; and some make six, dividing the *Optative* into *Potential*, and *Optative*.

The *Greeks* have five *Moods* of *Verbs* differing in Termination; but the *Latins* have but four.—In *English*, the Terminations are the same in all the *Moods*.

The *Indicative*, is the first *Mood*, or Manner of Conjugating *Verbs*, shewing either the Time present, past, or future.

The *Imperative*, is the *Mood*, or Manner of Conjugating a *Verb*, serving to express a Commandment, as *go, come*; or in French *alles, venes, &c.*

The *Optative*, is the third *Mood*, in the Conjugation of *Verbs*, serving to express an ardent Desire, or Wish for any Thing.

Instead of a particular *Mood*, or a particular Set of Inflections to express this Desire, the *English, Latins, &c.* express it by an Adverb of wishing prefixed to it. The *Latins* by *utinam*; the *French* by *plut à Dieu*; and the *English* by *would to God, &c.*

In these Languages, setting aside the Adverb, the *Optative* is the same with the *Subjunctive*; the Inflections of the *Verb* which make what we call *Moods*, being the same in both.

Indeed, in the *Greek*, the Wish is expressed by a particular Inflection, thence call'd *Optative*; and in the *French, Spanish, and Italian*, there is something like it; their triple Tenses serving the same Purpose.—But the *optative Mood* may be safely retrenched from the *Latin, and English*.

The *Subjunctive* is the fourth *Mood*, or Manner of conjugating *Verbs*; thus called, because usually subjoined to some other *Verbs*, or at least to some other Particle, as *if I love; though this were true, &c.*

The *Greek* is almost the only Language, that properly has any *subjunctive Mood*; though the *French, Spanish, and Italian* have some Shew thereof.—In all other Languages the same Inflections serve for the *optative*, and the *subjunctive Moods*: For which Reason the *subjunctive Mood* might be retrenched from the *Latin*, and those other Grammars; it not being the different Ways of signifying, which may be very much multiplied, but the different Inflections that constitute the different *Moods*.

The *Infinitive* is the fifth *Mood*, or Manner of conjugating of *Verbs*.

The *Infinitive*, does not denote any precise Time, nor does it determine the Number, or Persons, but expresses Things in a loose indefinite Manner, as *to teach, &c.*

In most Languages both antient and modern, the *Infinitive* is distinguished by a Termination peculiar to it, as *πολλω* in the *Greek*, *scribere* in the *Latin*, *ecrire* in the *French*, *scrivere* in the *Italian, &c.* but the *English* is defective in this Point; so that to denote the *Infinitive*,

they are obliged to have Recourse to the Article *to*, except sometimes when two or more *Infinitives* follow each other.

The Practice of using a Number of *Infinitives* successively, is a great, but a common Fault in Language; as *he offered to go to teach to write English*. Indeed where *Infinitives* have no Dependence on each other, they may be used elegantly enough; as *to mourn, to sigh, to sink, to swoon, to die*.

For the Origin of *Moods*, it may be observed, that Verbs are of that kind of Words, which signify the Manner and Form of our Thoughts, whereof the Principal is Affirmation. Verbs are also formed to receive several Inflections, as the Affirmation regards different Persons, and different Times; whence arise the Persons and Tenses of Verbs.

But besides these, Men have thought fit to invent other Inflections, to express what passes in their Mind still more distinctly: For, in the first Place they considered, that besides the simple Affirmations, as *he loves, he loved*; there were others modified, and conditional, as *if he loved, though he should love*: And the better to distinguish these Affirmations from the others, they doubled the Inflections of those Tenses, or Times; making some serve for simple Affirmations, as *I love, he loved*; and reserving the rest for Affirmations that were modified; as *if he should love, might he have loved*. Yet they kept not steadily to their Rules, but sometimes made use of simple Inflections, to express Affirmations that were modified, as *Et si vereor*, for *Et si verear*. And it is from this last kind of Inflection, that Grammarians have formed their *Subjunctive*.

But further, besides the Affirmation, the Action of our Will may be taken for a *Mood*, or Manner of our Thoughts; and Men have found themselves under a Necessity of expressing what they will, as well as what they think. Now we may will a Thing in several Manners, whereof there are three which may be considered as the Principal. First then, we sometimes will Things which do not depend on ourselves, and in that Case, we only will them by a bare Wish, which the *Latins* express by the Particle *utinam*; and the *English* by *please God*. Some Languages, for instance, the *Greeks* have invented particular Inflections for this End; whence the Grammarians have taken Occasion to call it the optative Mood; and there seems something like both in the *French, Italian, and Spanish* Tongues, in regard those have a kind of triple Tenses; but in *Latin, English, &c.* the same Inflections serve for the Subjunctive, and for the Optative. For this Reason one may very well retrench this Word from the *Latin* Conjugations; it being the different Inflections that make *Moods*, not the different Manner of signifying, which may be varied to Infinity.

We sometimes will in another Manner; as when we are content a Thing should come to pass, though we do not absolutely desire it; as when *Terence* says, *profundat, perdat, pereat*, let him spend, sink, perish. Men might have invented a particular Inflection to express this Movement, as in the *Greek* they have done to express a simple Desire; but they have not done it, and in lieu thereof make use of the Subjunctive: In *English* they add the Particle *let him spend, &c.* Authors call this the *potential, or concessive Mood*.

The third Manner of willing, is, when what we desire, depending on another Person, of whom we can obtain it, we signify our Will that we do it. This is the Motion we use, when we command or pray; and to express this Motion was the imperative Mood invented, which has no first Person in the singular, because a Man, properly speaking, cannot command himself: In some Languages it has no third Person, because, in Strictness, a Man cannot command any Person, but him to whom he speaks or addresses himself. And in regard the Command or Prayer always relates to what is to come, it happens that the imperative Mood, and the future Tense are frequently used for each other (especially in the *Hebrew*) as *non occides, thou shalt not kill, for do not kill*. Hence some Grammarians place the Imperatives among the Number of Futures.

Of all the *Moods* we have mentioned, the oriental Languages have none but the last, which is the Imperative. The Method taken for it in *English* is either to omit the Pronoun, or transpose it; thus, *I love*, is a simple Affirmation; *love we*, an Imperative.

TENSE, Time (the next Thing I consider in the Conjugation of Verbs) is one Inflection of Verbs, whereby they are made to signify, or distinguish the Circumstance of Time, of the Thing they affirm or attribute.

The Affirmatives made by Verbs, are different as to Point of Time; since we may affirm a Thing *is, was, or will be*; hence a Necessity of a Set of Inflections, to denote those several Times; which Inflections the *English* Grammarians call by a barbarous Word *Tenses*, from the *French Temps*, Time; and most other Languages call them simply *Times*.

There are but three simple *Tenses*; the *Present*, as *I love, amo*, in *Latin*, *j'aime*, in *French*; the *Preter*, *preterit*, or *past*, *I have loved, amavi*, in *Latin*, *j'ai aimé*, in *French*; and the *Future*, as *I will love, amabo*, in *Latin*, *j'aimerai*, in *French*.

But in Regard, in the *Preter Tense*, one may either express the Thing as just done or past, or indefinitely, and barely that it was done, hence in most Languages, arise two Kinds of *Preterits*, the one *definite*, marking the Thing to be precisely done; as *I have written, I have said, j'ai écrit, j'ai dit*, in *French*; and the other *indefinite*, or *aorist*, denoting a Thing done indeterminately; as *I wrote, I went, j'écrivis, j'allai*, in *French*.

The *Future Tense* admits of the same Variety.

Besides the three *simple Tenses*, others have been invented, called *compound Tenses*; expressing the Relation of the simple ones to each other. The first expresses the Relation of the *Past* to the *Present*, and is called the *Preterimperfect Tense*, because it does not mark the Thing simply, and properly as done, but as imperfect and present with respect to another Thing past; as *I was at Supper when he entered, Cum intravit cenabam*, in the *Latin*; *j'étois à Soupper quand il entra*, in the *French*.

The second *Compound Tense* marks the Time past doubly; and is therefore called *Plusquamperfect Tense*, as *I had supped, Cenaveram*, in the *Latin*; *j'avois Souppé*, in the *French*.

The third *compound Tense* denotes the *future* with respect to the *past*, as *I shall have supped; cenavero* in the *Latin*; *j'aurai souppé* in the *French*.

Note, That the several *Tenses* or *Times*, are properly denoted in the *Greek* and *Latin* by particular Inflections: In the *English, French*, and other modern Tongues, the auxiliary Verbs *to be*, and *to have, être* and *avoir* are called in.

As to the Oriental Languages, they have only two *simple Tenses*, the *past*, and *future*, without any Distinctions of *imperfect*, more than *perfect*, &c. which renders those Languages subject to Abundance of Ambiguities which others are free from.

Verbs when conjugated, are applicable to three different *Persons*, e. gr.—*I love, j'aime*, is a Verb used in the *first Person*, *thou lovest, tu aime*, designs the *second Person*; *he loveth, il aime*, marks the *third*, and thus in the plural Number: For Verbs in their Conjugations, like Nouns in their Declensions admit of two Numbers, viz. the *singular*, and the *plural Number*.

From the Verbs I'll pass to the PARTICIPLE, which is an Adjective formed of a Verb; so called, because it still participates of some of the Properties of the Verb, retaining the Regimen and Signification thereof; whence most Authors confound it with Verbs.

There are two Kinds of *Participles*, the one called *active*, because expressing the Subject which makes the Action of the Verb; as *legens, audiens, reading, bearing*. The other called *passive*, because expressing the Subject that receives the Action of the Verb, as *lectum, auditum, read, heard*.

As the *English* Adjectives are not declined, the *Participles* being real Adjectives, are not declined neither; in the *Latin*, &c. where the Adjectives are declined,

the *Participles active*, are declin'd likewise. Thus they say, *Audiens, Audientis, Audienti*, &c. and in the *French*; the *Participles passive* are declinable as their Adjectives, as *j'ai leu, il a leu, nous avons lus*, &c.

In the *English*, the *Participles* and *Gerunds* are not at all distinguishable.

GERUND, is a Sort of Tense or Time of the Infinitive Mood, like to the Participle, but indeclinable.

The *Gerund* expresses not only the Time, but also the Manner of an Action, as *he fell in running Post, Il tomba en courant la poste*, in the *French*.

It differs from the Participle, in that it expresses the Time, which the Participle does not. And from the Tense, properly so called, in that it expresses the Manner, which the Tense does not.

Grammarians are much embarrassed to settle the Nature and Character of *Gerunds*: It is certain they are no Verbs, nor distinct Moods of Verbs, in regard they do not mark any Judgment or Affirmation of the Mind, which is the Essence of a Verb. And besides they have Cases, which Verbs have not. Some, therefore, will have them to be Adjectives passive, whose Substantive is the Infinitive of the Verb: On this Footing, they denominate them *verbal Nouns*, or Names formed of Verbs, and retaining the ordinary Regimen thereof; thus say they, *Tempus est legendi libros*, or *librorum*, is as much as to say, *Tempus est re legere libros, vel librorum*; but others stand up against this Decision.

Now for the *ADVERB*, which is a Particle join'd to a Verb, Adjective, or Participle, to express their Manner of acting or suffering; or to mark some Circumstance or Quality signified by them.

The Word is formed from the Proposition *ad*, to, and *verbum*, a Verb, and signifies literally a Word joined to a Verb, to shew how, or when, or where one is, does, or suffers; as the Boy paints *neatly*, writes *ill*; the House stands *there*, &c.

Not that the *Adverb* is confin'd purely to the Verb, but because that it is most ordinarily in Use, whence it becomes so denominated, κατ' ἐξοχην. We frequently find it join'd to Adjectives, and sometimes even to Substantives, particularly where those Substantives signify an Attribute, or Quality of the Thing spoken of; v. gr. he is *very* sick, he acts *prudently*, he is *truly* King.

An *Adverb* is likewise join'd sometimes to another *Adverb*, to modify its Meaning, v. g. *very devoutly*, in *French*, *fort devotement*, whence some Grammarians chuse rather to call Adverbs, *Modificatives*; comprizing under this one general Term, both *Adverbs*, *Conjunctions*, *Prepositions*, and even *Adjectives*.

Adverbs are very numerous, but may be reduced under the general Classes of *Adverbs of Time*, of *Place*, of *Order*, of *Quantity*, of *Quality*, of *Manner*, of *Affirmation*, of *Doubting*, and of *Comparison*.

From *Adverbs* I'll pass to *CONJUNCTION*, which is a Particle which expresses a Relation, or Dependance between Words and Phrases; thus called, because serving to join or connect the Parts, or Members of a Discourse.

The *Conjunction* is the sixth of the eight vulgar Parts of Speech. *Conjunctions* render the Discourse more smooth, and fluent; and serve very good Purposes in the argumentative and narrative Style, but must ever be omitted where a Person speaks with Emotion, as only serving to weaken and enervate it. *Boileau* observes, that nothing gives more Warmth and Life to a Discourse, than to drop the *Conjunctions* or Copulatives: A Passion, adds he, embarrassed with *Conjunctions*, and useless Particles, loses all the Fire and Vehemence it would get in its Progress.

Conjunctions are of various Kinds. — *Copulative*, or *Conjunctive Conjunctions*, are those which express a Relation of Union, or Comparison between Things, as and, & only, *tantum*; as much as, *tantum quantum*; in the same Manner as, *quemadmodum*; neither more nor less, *tantumdem*; inasmuch as, *quippe*; not only, *non modo*; but also, *sed etiam*, &c.

CONJUNCTIONS Adversative, are those which express a Restriction, or Contrariety; as but, *sed*; nevertheless, *tamen*; although, *etiamsi*; far from, *adeo non*.

CONJUNCTIONS Causal, are those that shew that the Reason of something is brought; as for, *nam*; because, *quia*; seeing, *quippe*; the rather since, *eo magis quo*; inasmuch as, *quatenus*.

CONJUNCTIONS Conclusive, are those which denote a Consequence drawn; as, for which Reason, *qua propter*; but then, *atqui*; of Consequence, *ideoque*; so that, *ita ut*, &c.

CONJUNCTIONS Conditional, are those which import a Condition; as, if, *si*; if not, *si minus*; on Condition that, *eâ lege ut*; provided that, *dummodo ut*; in Case of, *si vero*.

CONJUNCTIONS Continuative, are those which express a Succession, or Continuation of the Discourse; as, in Effect, *reipsa*; even, *etiam*; whatever it be, *quicquid sit*.

CONJUNCTIONS Disjunctive, are those which express a Relation of Separation or Division; as, neither, *neq*; whether, *sive* or *vel*.

CONJUNCTIONS Dubitative, are those which express some Doubt or Suspension of Opinion; as, if, *that is to say*; if, &c.

CONJUNCTION Exceptive are, if it be not, *nisi si*; unless that, *nisi*, &c.

Next comes *PREPOSITION*, which is an indeclinable Particle, which yet serves to govern the Nouns that follow it; such are *per*, *pro*, *propter*, *in*, with, through, from, by, &c.

They are called *Prepositions*, because *prepositæ*, placed before the Nouns they govern.

F. Buffier does not allow the *Preposition* to be a Part of Speech, but merely a Modificative of a Part of Speech, viz. of the Noun, serving only to modify, or circumstantiate it.

From this we'll pass to *INTERJECTION*, which is an Expression used to denote some sudden Motion, or Passion of the Mind, as *oh! he!* &c.

As the greatest Part of the Expressions used on those Occasions are taken from Nature alone, the real *Interjections* in most Languages are Monosyllables. And as all Nations agree in those natural Passions, so do they agree in the Signs and Indications of them, as of Love, Mirth, &c.

Some deny the *Interjections* to be Words, or any Part of Speech, and make them mere natural Signs of the Motions or Passions of the Mind, expressed by these inarticulated Sounds, several whereof Brutes have in common with us. But as these are Passions, and must be represented in Discourse, the *Interjection* has a good Foundation in Nature, and is a necessary Part of Speech.

The *Greeks* confound their *Interjections* with Adverbs; and the *Hebrews* confound them with their Adverbs and Prepositions, calling them all by the general Name *Particle*.

Note, That the last Part of our Division of *Grammar*, is the *Doctrine of Sentences*, which considers the placing or joining Words together, called *Syntax*; therefore we must endeavour to learn this last Part, as we have done all the three others.

The *SYNTAX*, ΣΥΝΤΑΞΙΣ, is the Construction, or Connection of the Words of a Language into Sentences, or Phrases.

F. Buffier more accurately defines *Syntax*, the Manner of constructing one Word with another, with Regard to the different Terminations thereof, prescribed by the Rules of Grammar.

Some Authors, as M. *Vauglas*, confounds *Syntax* with Style; but there is a real Difference.

The Office of *Syntax*, is to consider the natural Suitableness of Words with Respect to one another; in order to make them agree in the Gender, Number, Person, Mood, &c.

To offend in any of these Points, is called to offend against *Syntax*; and such Kind of Offence, when gross, is called a *Solecism*; and when more slight, a *Barbarism*.

The several Parts of Speech are, with Regard to Language, what Materials are with Regard to a Building.

How well prepar'd soever they may be, they will never make a House, unless they be placed conformable to the Rules of Architecture. It is properly the *Syntax* that gives the Forms to Language, and it is that on which turn the most essential Parts of *Grammar*.

There are two Kinds of *Syntax*; the one of Concord, wherein the Words are to agree in Gender, Number, Case, and Person.

The other of Regimen or Government, wherein one Word governs another, and occasions some Variation therein.

The first, generally speaking, is the same in all Languages, as being the natural Series of what is used almost every where; the latter to distinguish Discourse. Thus the Distinction of two Numbers, singular and plural, has rendered it necessary to make the Adjective agree with the Substantive in Number; that is, to make the one singular or plural, when the other is so; for as the Substantive is the Subject confusedly, though directly marked by the Adjective; if the Substantive expresses several, there must be several Subjects expressed in that Form by the Adjective; and by Consequence it ought to be in the plural; as *homines docti*, learned Men; but there being no Variety of Termination in the Adjective, in *English*, to distinguish the Number, it is only implied.

The Distinction of Masculine and Feminine Gender, obliges the Languages which have distinct Terminations to have a Concordance, or Agreement between the Substantive and Adjective, in Gender, as well as Number; and for the same Reason, the Verbs are to agree with the Nouns and Pronouns in Number and Person. If at any Time we meet with any Thing that seems to contradict these Rules, it is by a Figure of Speech, *i. e.* by having some Word understood, or by considering the Thoughts rather than the Words themselves.

The *Syntax of Government* on the contrary, is generally arbitrary, and on that Account differs in most Languages. One Language, for Instance, forms their Regimen by Cases, as the *Latin* and *Greek*: Others use Particles in lieu thereof, as the *French*, *English*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, &c.

One or two general Rules, however, may be here noted, which obtain in all Languages. 1. That there is no Nominative Case, but has a Relation to some Verb, either expressed or understood; since we do not only speak to express what we perceive, but to express what we think of what we perceive, which is done by the Verb.

2. That there is no Verb, but has its Nominative Case, either expressed or understood; for the Office of the Verb being to affirm, there must be something to affirm of, which is the Subject, or Nominative Case of the Verb, except before an Infinitive, where it is an Accusative, as *Scio Petrum esse doctum*, I know *Peter* to be learned.

3. There is no Adjective but has a Relation to some Substantive, in Regard the Adjective marks confusedly the Substantive; which is the Subject of the Form or Quality, marked by the Adjective.

4. That there never comes any Genitive Case, but what is govern'd by some other Noun.

5. The Government of Verbs is frequently taken from various Sorts of References, included in the Cases, according to the Practice of Custom or Age; which yet does not change the specific Relation of each Case, but only shews that Custom has made Choice of this or that. Thus the *Latins* say, *Juvare aliquem, & opitulari, alicui*: The *French*, *Servir quelqu'un, & servir a quelque chose*; and in the *Spanish*, the Generality of Verbs govern indifferently a Dative and an Accusative Case.

It is easy to understand, that these general Rules are the Foundation of the Doctrine of *Sentences*; since a *Sentence* denotes a Period; or a Set of Words comprehending some perfect Sense, or Sentiment of the Mind.

Every *Sentence* comprehends at least three Words.

The Business of Pointing, is to distinguish several Parts or Members of *Sentences*, so as to render the Sense thereof the clearest, aptest, and fullest possible.

In every *Sentence* there are two Parts necessarily re-

quir'd; a Noun for the Subject, and a definite Verb: Whatever is found more than these two, affects one of them, either immediately or by the Intervention of some other, whereby the first is affected.

Again, every *Sentence* is either *Simple* or *Conjunct*: A *Simple Sentence* is that consisting of one single Subject, and one finite Verb. — A *Conjunct Sentence* contains several Subjects, and finite Verbs, either expressly or implicitly.

A *Simple Sentence* needs no Point or Distinction, only a Period to close it; as *a good Man loves Virtue for itself*. In such a *Sentence*, the several Adjuncts affect either the Subject or the Verb in a different Manner; thus the Word *good*, expresses the Quality of the Subject; *Virtue*, the Object of the Action; and, *for itself*, the End thereof. Now none of these Adjuncts can be separated from the rest of the *Sentence*; for if one be, why should not all the rest? and if all be, the *Sentence* will be minced into almost as many Parts as there are Words.

But if several Adjuncts be attributed in the same Manner, either to the Subject or to the Verb, the *Sentence* becomes *Conjunct*, and is to be divided into Parts.

In every *Conjunct Sentence*, as many Subjects, or as many finite Verbs as there are, either expressly, or implied, so many Distinctions may there be; thus, *my Hopes, Fears, Joys, Pains, all center in you*; and thus *Cicero, Catilina abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit*. The Reason of which Pointing is obvious; for as many Subjects or finite Verbs as there are in a *Sentence*, so many Members does it really contain. Whenever, therefore, there occur more Nouns than Verbs, or contrariwise, they are to be conceived as equal; since, as every Subject requires its Verb, so every Verb requires its Subject, wherewith it may agree; excepting perhaps in some figurative Expressions.

Indeed there are some other Kinds of *Sentences*, which may be ranked among the *Conjunct* Kind, particularly the *absolute Ablative*, as it is called, thus *Physicians, the Disease once discover'd, think the Cure half wrought*. Where the Words, *Disease once discover'd*, are equivalent to, *when the Cause of the Disease is discovered*. So also in Nouns, added by Apposition; as, *the Scots, a hardy People, endured it all*; so also in Vocative Cases, and Interjections; as, *this, my Friend, you must allow me*; and, *what, for Heaven Sake, would he be at?*

The Case is much the same when several Adjuncts affect either the Subject of the *Sentence*, in the Verb, in the same Manner; or at least something whereby one of them is affected; as, *a good, wise, learn'd Man, is an Ornament to the Commonwealth*; where the several Adjectives denoting so many Qualities of the Subject, are to be separated from one another. Again, when I say, *your Voice, Countenance, Gesture terrified him*. The several Nominative Cases denote so many Modes of the Verb, which are likewise to be distinguished from each other. The Case is the same in Adverbs; as, *he behaved himself modestly, prudently, virtuously*. In the first Example, the Adjuncts immediately affect the Subject; in the third, the Verb; in the following one, another Adjunct; as, *I saw a Man loaden with Age, Sickness, Wounds*.

Now as many such Adjuncts as there are, so many several Members does the *Sentence* contain, which are to be distinguished from each other, as much as several Subjects, or finite Verbs; and that this is the Case in all *Conjunct Sentences*, appears hence, that all those Adjuncts, whether they be Verbs or Nouns, &c. will admit of a *Conjunction copulative*, whereby they may be joined together. But wherever there is a Copulative, or Room for it, there a new Member of a *Sentence* begins.

A *PERIOD*, according to *De Colonia*, is a short, but perfect *Sentence*, consisting of certain Parts of Members, depending one on another, and connected together by some common *Vinculum*.

The celebrated Division of *Aristotle* is, a Period is a Discourse which has a Beginning, a Middle, and an End, all visible at one View.

The Periods allow'd in Oratory are three; a Period of two Members, called by the *Greeks*, *Dicolas*, and

the *Latins*, *Bimembris*; a Period of three Members, *Trimembris*; and a Period of four Members, *Quadrimebris*, *Tetracolos*.

A strict oratorical Period, does not allow of either more or fewer than these: It is possible indeed to introduce a Period of one Member, called by *Aristotle*, *Monocolos*, or simple Period; but it will be reputed a Flaw, and is a Thing never practised by the Masters.

The Period may be likewise prolonged to five or six Members, but then it changes its Name, and instead of Period, commences what they call a *Periodical Discourse*.

The Laws and Measures of Periods, are pretty strictly regarded by Orators, at least by the antient ones: In ordinary Discourse, and in the modern Tongues, Authors are much less severe.

In Oratory, the Members of Periods are to be equal, or nearly equal; that the Pauses or Rests of the Voice at the Close of each Member, may be nearly equal: But in Writing, no Ways intended for Rehearsal, this is disregarded.

Common Discourse allows of Periods, both longer and shorter than Oratory; which admits of none less than two Members, nor greater than four. Short mutilated Periods break the Stream, and check the Course of the sublime; and long ones embarrass, and keep the Mind too long in Suspense; and even strain the Voice, which is never to stop but at the Ends of Periods.

Periods are said to be either round or square, according to their different Economy and Cadences.

Square Period, is that consisting of three or four equal Members, formally distinguished from each other.

Round Period, is that whose Members or Parts are so connected, and fitted into each other, as that the Junctures or Commissures are scarce seen; but the whole slides equally round, without any notable Stops or Inequalities.

Period is also used for the Character (.) wherewith the Periods of Discourse are terminated and expressed, popularly called a *Full-stop* or *Point*.

F. Buffier observes two Difficulties in the Use of the Period, or Point, *i. e.* in distinguishing it from the Colon, or double Point; and in determining justly the End of a Period, or perfect Sentence.

It is observed, that the supernumerary Members of a Period, separated from the rest by Colons and Semi-colons, usually commence with a Conjunction. Yet it is certain, these same Conjunctions, sometimes rather begin new Periods, than supernumerary Members of old ones. It is the Sense of Things, and the Author's own Discretion, that must make the proper Distinction which of the two in Effect it is. No Rules will here be of any Service, unless this be admitted as one, that when what follows the Conjunction is of as much Extent as what precedes it, it is usually a new Period, otherwise not.

The second Difficulty arises hence, that the Sense appears perfect in several short detached Phrases, wherein it does not seem there should be Periods; a Thing frequent in free Discourse; as, *We are all in Suspense: Make your Proposal immediately: You will be to blame for detaining us longer.* Where it is evident, that simple Phrases have perfect Senses like Periods, and ought to be marked accordingly; but that the Shortness of the Discourse making them easily comprehended, the Pointing is neglected.

A PHRASE is a short Sentence, or small Set or Circuit of Words constructed together. In this Sense, F. Buffier divides Phrases into compleat and incomplete.

PHRASES are *compleat*, where there is a Noun and a Verb, each in its proper Function, *i. e.* where the Noun expresses a Subject, and the Verb the Thing affirmed of it.

Incompleat PHRASES, are those where the Noun, and the Verb together only do the Office of a Noun; consisting of several Words without affirming any Thing, and which might be expressed in a single Word. Thus, *that which is true*, is an *incompleat Phrase*, which might be expressed in one Word *Truth*; as, *that which is true*

satisfies the Mind, *i. e.* *Truth satisfies the Mind*.

Note, That the *Points* used to divide a Discourse into Periods, and Members of Periods (to express the Pauses to be made in the Reading thereof) are four, *viz.* the *Period* or *Point*, already mention'd, *Colon*, *Semicolon*, and *Comma*.

A *Colon* is a Point or Character, form'd thus (:) serving to mark a Pause, and to divide the Members of a Period. Grammarians generally assign the Use of a *Colon*, to mark the Middle of a Period, or to conclude a Sense less perfect than the Dot or Period. Others say a *Colon* is to be used when the Sense is perfect, but the Sentence not concluded. F. Buffier attempts to fix the Use of the *Colon*; but does not much distinguish it from the *Semicolon*: He prescribes the Use of either indifferently; and calls them by a common Name, *intermediate Pointings*; as being Mediums between the *Comma*, and *Full-point* or *Period*. Their Use, according to this Author, is to distinguish the supernumerary Members of a Period: The most obvious and sensible Use of the *Colon*, he adds, is when the supernumerary Member is distinguished by some Conjunction. Some, indeed, use the *Colon* in the Middle of long Periods, without any Regard to supernumerary Members; which Custom was probably introduced, to mark that the Breath is here to be taken almost as much as in a common Period, in the Place where the supernumerary Period commences. But this, at best is arbitrary, and the intermediate Pointings may be always omitted in a Period, if there be no supernumerary Member, *i. e.* if there be no subsequent Member, but what is expected from the Precedent.

A later Author, in an ingenious Discourse, *De ratione Interpungendi*, marks the Office of the *Colon*, and wherein it differs from the *Semicolon*, &c. more precisely: A *Colon*, on his Principles, serves to distinguish those conjunct Members of a Sentence, which are capable of being divided into other Members, whereof one at least is conjunct.

The *Semicolon*, is one of the Points or Stops used to distinguish the several Members of Sentences from each other. The Mark or Character of the *Semicolon* is (;) It has its Name, as having a somewhat less Effect than a *Colon*, or as demanding a shorter Pause. The Use of the *Semicolon*, the Grammarians generally say, is to mark a Sense less compleat than the *Colon*, and more compleat than the *Comma*; but this only conveys a very obscure Idea. In Effect, the precise Office of the *Semicolon*, or what Office it is distinguishes it from the *Colon*, is a Thing very little known in the World: Our best Authors seem to use them promiscuously. M. Ward, Professor at *Gresham*, we believe is the first who settled the just Use of the *Semicolon*. His Position is, that the *Semicolon* is properly used to distinguish the conjunct Members of Sentences. Now by a conjunct Member of a Sentence, he means, such a one as contains at least two simple Members. Whenever then a Sentence can be divided into several Members of the same Degree, which are again divisible into other simple Members, the former are to be separated by a *Semicolon*.

A *Comma*, is a Point or Character form'd thus (,) serving to mark a short Stop or Pause; and to divide the Members of a Period. It is very difficult to fix the precise Use of the *Comma*, different Authors define, and use it differently: The ordinary Doctrine is, that the *Comma* serves to distinguish Nouns, Verbs, Adverbs, and the several Parts of a Period that are not necessarily join'd together. But this conveys no clear precise Idea; for what is it to distinguish the Parts of a Period not necessarily join'd together? F. Buffier has carried the Doctrine of a *Comma* farther: According to him, the *Comma* serves to distinguish those Members of a Period, in each whereof is a Verb, and the Nominative Case of the Verb. Besides this, the *Comma* is used to distinguish in the same Member of a Period, several Nouns Substantive, or Nouns Adjective, or Verbs not united by a Conjunction; for if they be united by a Conjunction, the

Comma

Comma is omitted: It may also be omitted between two Phrases that are very short, especially if they depend on the same Regimen, and are united by a Conjunction.

Note also, That besides these above-mention'd, the *Grammar* admits of other Punctuations, *viz.* the *Parenthesis* mark'd thus () and which includes some Words, which, if left out, would not break, or alter the Sense, or Smoothness of the Style. The *Interrogation* mark'd thus (?) and which is made at asking a Question. *Note of Admiration* or *Exclamation* thus (!) *Hyphen* thus (-) which couples together two Words, as *Well-Spring*, and is used when a Word is parted into Syllables, at the End of a Line. The *Section* thus (§) which divides a large Discourse into several Parts; very little used at present. *Asterism* thus (*) which refers to the Margin. *Obelisk* thus (†) notes from the Matter to the Margin. *Note of Citation* thus (“ ”) when Authors are cited Word for Word. *Apostrophe* thus (') when a Letter is purposely left out, as 'tis, for *it is*; 'twas, for *it was*. *Induction* thus (^) is made to bring in something omitted. *Dialysis* or *Diaireleis* thus (~) is used to Part a Diphthong, and is made over the Vowels *Ær*, *Pœta*, that it may not be pronounced *Ær*, *Pœta*. *Grave Accent* thus (`) used over a Vowel, when the Voice is depressed. *Acute Accent* thus (´) when the Voice is to be rais'd higher. *Cross* thus (^) used over Circumflex Syllables, long by Nature, as *Dî* for *Dij*, *Amârunt* for *Amaverunt*.

Note again, That *Grammar* admits of Figures, which occasion Changes in the Form, &c. of Words, thereof are *Syncope*, *Apocope*, *Apostrophe*, *Diarefis*, *Aphæresis*, *Prosthesis*, *Epenthesis*, *Paragoge*, *Metathesis*, &c.

SYNCOPE denotes an Elision or Retrenchment of one or more Letters, or Syllables from a Word: As when we say *virum*, for *virorum*, and *manet alta repostum*, for *repositum*.

APOCOPE, is a Figure wherein Part of the End of a Word is cut off; as in *dic* for *dice*, *fac* for *face*, *nil* for *nihil*, *hyp* or *hyppo*, for *hyppochondriacal*.

APOSTROPHE, denotes a Note or Character, placed over a Letter, in lieu of a Vowel, to denote that the Vowel is cut off, and not to be pronounced: As *ev'n* for *even*; *th' angelick Host*, for *the angelick*, &c.—The Affectation of frequent *Apostrophes*, so usual among late *English* Writers, is a great Abuse.

APHÆRESIS, is a Figure, whereby something is taken away from the Beginning of a Word.—Thus *Ciconia*, by *Aphæresis*, is wrote *conia*, *contemnere*, *temnere*, *omittere*, *mittere*, &c.

PROSTHESIS, is a Species of Metaplasm; being the prefixing of some Letter, or Syllable at the Beginning of a Word:—As, in *guavus*, for *navus*.

EPENTHESIS, is the Addition, or Insertion of a Letter, or Syllable, in the Middle of a Word.—As *Religio* for *Religi*, *Mavers* for *Mars*.

PARAGOGE, is a Figure, whereby a Word is lengthened out, by adding a Syllable at the End thereof: As in *dicier* for *dici*.

METATHESIS, is a Figure, whereby Letters or Syllables of a Word are transposed, or shifted out of the natural Situation: As *Evandre* for *Evander*, *Ipræ* for *præi*.

Having thus learned the different Rules of *Grammar*, as well general as particular, I must treat next of the different Languages; since they all, more or less, depend of those Rules: A LANGUAGE being a Set of Words which any People have agreed upon, whereby to communicate their Thoughts to each other.

The first Principles of all *Languages*, *Father Buffier* observes, may be reduced to Expressions, signifying first the Subject spoke of; secondly, the Thing affirmed of it; thirdly, the Circumstances of the one and the other. But as each Language has its particular Way of denoting each of these, a *Language* is only to be look'd on, as an Assemblage of Expressions, which Chance or Caprice

has established among a certain People; just as we look on the Mode of Dressing, &c. It is Usage and Custom is the Use of a *Language*, and these hold their Empire independant of Reason, or any other Cause: Nor has Reason any Thing to do in *Language*, unless to study or teach it, such as it is: Here then commences *Grammar*, a just Plan of which supposes a *Language* already introduced by Use; and without pretending to alter or amend a Tittle, only furnishes Reflections, called *Rules*, to which the Manners of Speaking in that *Language* may be reduced; which Assemblage of Reflections, is what we call the *Grammar of that Language*. This Remark may obviate an Abuse introduced among Grammarians, who are ever crying out, ' Usage is, in ' this Point, opposite to *Grammar*; or the *Language* ' here frees itself from the Rules of *Grammar*, &c.'

It is Chance, then, to which we owe Usage, and Usage that makes the Rules and Measures of a *Language*. Usage, indeed, is somewhat dubious, and may be divided into *good* and *bad*: If it be asked, wherein the Difference between these lies? it is in this; that the one is better established, and authorised than the other: And if it be asked, wherein the Difference of Authority consists? it is answered, that in dead *Languages*, that which makes the good Usage is the Writing of the best Authors in that *Language*: And if it be further questioned, which are the best? those are allowed such, who wrote when that State was in its greatest Glory. Thus the Age of *Augustus*, being the most distinguished by great Men, who then flourished; we call that *good Latin*, which is conformable to the Manner of Speaking used by Authors who wrote fifty Years before, and fifty Years after the Reign of that Emperor.—As to living *Languages*, the good Usage, or Mode, is that which obtains among the most eminent Persons, whether as to Quality and Authority, or as to Learning, and the Reputation of writing well.

With this View *M. Vaugelas* defines Usage of a *Language*, the Manner of Speaking used by the soundest or best Part of the Court, conformable to the Manner of Writing among the best Part of the Authors of the Times.—But this Definition, how judicious soever, may occasion infinite Doubt; for which is to be deemed the best Part of the Court, and of the Writers? each Party doubtless thinks itself the best.—*Father Buffier*, therefore, instead of the best Part, substitutes the greatest Part, which brings the Matter nearer to a Certainty; the most numerous Part being something fixed, and palpable, whereas the most sound Part may be insensible, or arbitrary: There is found a constant Resemblance between the Genius, or natural Complexion of each People, and the Language they speak.—Thus the *Greeks*, a polite, but voluptuous Nation, had a *Language* perfectly suitable, full of Delicacy and Sweetness.—The *Romans*, who seem'd only born to command, had a *Language* noble, nervous, and august; and their Descendants, the *Italians*, are descended into Softness and Effeminacy; which some say, is as visible in their *Language*, as in their Manners.—The *Language* of the *Spaniards*, is full of that Gravity, and Haughtiness of Air, which makes the distinguishing Character of that People.—The *French*, who have a World of Vivacity, have a *Language* that runs extremely brisk and lively.—And the *English*, who are naturally blunt, thoughtful, and of few Words, have a *Language* exceeding short, concise, and sententious.

The Diversity of *Languages* is generally allowed to have taken its Rise from the Confusion of *Babel*, both by *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Mahometans*: But the Manner in which this Diversity was effected, is still in Dispute among the Learned. The Question is, if God only expunged the Remembrance of the Signification of Terms in those who built the Tower? or whether he immediately inspired them with new Words? *Scaliger* holds, that they only forgot the Meaning of the Words, and named one Thing instead of another; though all indifferently spoke the *Hebrew* Tongue. Nor does *Casaubon* allow, that they immediately spoke different *Languages*: the Confusion of Tongues, he thinks, might be very well effected, without introducing a Multiplicity of *Languages*.

As to the Point of Antiquity, and Priority among Languages, that too has been extremely controverted. *Herodotus* tells us, that in the Dispute between the *Egyptians* and *Phrygians*, about the Antiquity of their Language, *Psammeticus* King of *Egypt*, ordered two Children to be brought up, with express Prohibition not to have one Word pronounced before them, but to leave Nature to speak of herself; and the first Word they spoke happened to be *Beccos*, which in the *Phrygian* Language signifies Bread: The *Egyptians* however were not convinced with this Proof. The *Arabs* dispute the Point of Antiquity with the *Hebrews*: But the *Jews*, jealous even to Excess of the Honour of their Nation, positively insist on it, that the *Hebrew* Tongue, such as it is found in the Holy Scripture, is the primitive Language, and that spoken by the first Man.

Others maintain, that the Language spoken by *Adam* is lost, and that the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, and *Arabick*, are only Dialects of that Original Tongue. So far are they from giving the Priority to the *Hebrew*, that they maintain *Abraham* spoke *Chaldee* before he passed the *Euphrates*; and that he first learned the *Hebrew* in the Land of *Canaan*; so that this was not a special Language, consecrated to the People of God, but was originally the Language of the *Canaanites*.

M. Le Clerc is of Opinion, the *Hebrew* is far inferior to the *Greek*, both in Copiousness, Elegancy, and Perspicuity; it is dry and destitute of Ornaments, insomuch that wanting Expressions to vary the Phrase, the same Periods are perpetually returning. The *Rabbins* say it is so pure and chaste, that it has no proper Names for the Parts of Generation; nor for those by which the Excrements are discharged.

The *Arabick* is held the most copious of all Languages, being said to have 300 different Words to express a *Lion*, and no less than 1200 for a *Sword*.

LANGUAGES are divided into *Original*, or *Mother Tongues*; as the *Hebrew* and *Arabick* in the East, the *Teutonic* and *Slavonic* in the West.

Secondary or *Derivative* LANGUAGES, which are those formed of a Mixture of several others, as *Latin*, *French*, &c.

Note, That *Kircher* will have the *Cophtick* a Mother Tongue, independant of all others. *Du John* maintains the *Gothick*, a primitive Language, and the Mother of all the *Teutonic* Tongues; that is, of all those spoke in the North. Some add the *Basque* or *Biscayan*, and *Bas Briton*, to the Number of Mother Tongues, imagining them to have been those of the antient *Celtæ* or *Gauls*.

Languages are also divided into *Learned*, or *Dead Languages*, and *Living Languages*.

Learned, or *Dead Languages*, are those which only subsist in Books, and which must be learned by the Rules of Grammar, as the *Hebrew*, *Arabick*, *Syriack*, *Chaldee*, *Greek*, and *Latin*.

HEBREW, is the Language spoke by the *Hebrews*, and wherein all the Books of the Old Testament are wrote. Whence it is also called the *Holy* and *Sacred Language*.

There is no Piece in all Antiquity wrote in pure *Hebrew*, besides the Books of the Old Testament; and even some Parts of those are in *Chaldee*.

The *Hebrew* then appears to be the most antient of all the Languages in the World, at least it is so with Regard to us, who know no older. Some learned Men will have it the Language spoke by *Adam* in Paradise; and that the Saints will speak it in Heaven.

Alberti, in his *Hebrew Dictionary*, endeavours to find in each Word, in its Root, in its Letters, and the Manner of pronouncing it, some natural Reason of the Signification of that Word; but he has carried Matters too far; and it has been shewn in the *Memoirs de Trevoux*, that on his Principles, Words which signify quite different Things, should signify the same.

Neuman and *Loescher*, have prosecuted *Alberti's* Scheme farther, and with more Address than he has done: The first in his *Genesis lingue sanctæ*, and *Exodus lingue sanctæ*; and the latter in his *Treatise De Causis lingue Hebrææ*.

VOL. II.

Be this as it will, the *Hebrew*, such as we have it in the Holy Scripture, is a very regular, analogical Language; and particularly so in its Conjugations. Properly speaking, there is but one simple Conjugation, but this is varied in each Verb, seven or eight Ways, which has the Effect of so many different Conjugations, and affords a great Number of Expressions, whereby to represent under one single Word, all the different Modifications of a Verb; and several Ideas at once; which in the Modern, and most of the antient and learned Languages, are to be expressed only by Phrases.

The original and primitive Words in this Language, which they call *Radices*, Roots, rarely consist of more than three Letters, or two Syllables, which are expressed by two Sounds, or by the same Sound redoubled, which is indicated by a Point.

We have already observed that there are twenty-two Letters in the *Hebrew Language*, which Grammarians divide into *Guttural*, *Palatal*, *Dental*, *Labial*, and *Lingual*. This Division is taken from the several Organs of Speech; some whereof contribute more than others, to the Pronunciation of certain Letters.

Usually they only reckon five Vowels in the *Hebrew*, which are the same with ours, viz. *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*; but then each Vowel is divided into two, *a*, *long*, and *a*, *breve*, or *short*: The Sound of the former is somewhat graver and longer; and that of the latter shorter, and more acute. It must be added that the two last Vowels have quite different Sounds; different we mean in other Respects besides Quantity and Degrees of Elevation.

To these ten or twelve Vowels must be added some others, called *Semi-Vowels*, which are only slight Motions serving to connect the Consonants, and make the easier Transitions from one to another.

The Number of Accents is prodigious in the *Hebrew*; there are near forty different ones; and of these there are several whose Use is not well ascertained, notwithstanding all the Inquiries of the Learned into that Matter.

In the general, we know these three Things, 1. That they serve to distinguish the Sentences, and the Members thereof, like the Points, and Comma's, &c. in *English*. 2. To determine the Quantity of the Syllables: And 3. To mark the Tone wherewith they are to be spoke or sung. It is no Wonder then, there should be more Accents in the *Hebrew* than in other Language; as they do the Office of three different Things, which in other Languages are called by different Names.

As we have no *Hebrew*, but what is contain'd in the Scriptures, that Language wants a World of Words; not only, by Reason in those primitive Times the Languages were not so copious as at present, but also on this Account, that the inspir'd Writers had no Occasion to mention many of the Terms that might be in the Language.

The Language used by the *Rabbins* in the Writings they have composed, is called *Rabbinical*, or *Modern Hebrew*. The Basis or Body hereof is the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee*, with divers Alterations in the Words of those two Languages; the Meaning whereof they have considerably enlarged and extended. Abundance of Things they have borrowed from the *Arabick*. The rest is composed of Words and Expressions chiefly from the *Greek*, some from the *Latin*, and others from the other modern Tongues; particularly that spoken in the Place where each *Rabbin* lived, or wrote.

The *Rabbinical Hebrew*, must be allowed a very copious Language. *M. Simon* observes, that there is scarce any Art or Science, but the *Rabbins* have treated thereof in it. They have translated most of the antient Philosophers, Mathematicians, Astronomers, and Physicians; and have wrote themselves on most Subjects: They do not want even Orators and Poets. Add, that this Language, notwithstanding it is so provided with foreign Words, has its Beauty visible enough in the Works of those who have wrote well.

M. Simon says, it is impossible to reduce it into an Art, or System of Rules; though several learned Men are of another Sentiment, and it not only appears possible,

ble, but has actually been performed.

The ARABICK, is a Branch or Dialect of the *Hebrew*. Father *Angelo de St. Joseph*, speaks much of the Beauty and Copiousness of the *Arabick*.

The Learned are of Opinion, that the *Arabick* Figures (which are the numeral Characters commonly made use of in Arithmetick Computations) were first taught us by the *Saracens*, who borrowed them from the *Indians*. *Scaliger* was so satisfied of their Novelty, that he immediately pronounced a Silver Medallion, he was consulted about, modern; upon his being told of the numeral Figures 234, 235, being on it. The common Opinion is, that *Planudes*, who lived towards the Close of the 13th Century, was the first Christian who made use of them. Father *Mabillon* even assures us, in his Work *de re Diplomaticâ*, that he has not found them any where earlier than the 14th Century; yet Dr. *Wallis* insists on their being of a much older Standing; and concludes they must have been used in *England*, at least as long ago as *Hermanus Contractus*, who lived about the Year 1050, if not in ordinary Affairs, yet at least in mathematical Ones, and particularly astronomical Tables.

M. *Huet* is even of Opinion, that these Characters were not borrowed from the *Arabs*, but from the *Greeks*; and that they were originally no other than the *Greek* Letters, which we all know, that People made use of, to express their Numbers by.

The SYRIACK, and CHALDEE, are also Dialects of the *Hebrew*.—*Chaldee* Paraphrase in the *Rabbinical* Stile, is called *Targum*.

The GREEK, absolutely so called, is the Language spoken by the antient *Grecians*, and still preserved in the Works of their Authors, as *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Isocrates*, *Demosthenes*, *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, *Homer*, *Hesiod*, *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, &c.

The *Greek* has been preserved entire longer than any other Language known, maugre all the Revolutions that have happened in the Country where it was spoke. Yet from the Removal of the Seat of the Empire to *Constantinople*, in the fourth Century, it has been gradually altering: The Alterations at first did not affect the Analogy of the Tongue, the Constructions, Inflections, &c. There were only new Words, new Riches acquired, by taking in the Names of new Dignities, and Offices, and the Terms of Art, it was before unacquainted with: But at length the Incurfions of the *Barbarians*, and especially the Invasion of the *Turks*, wrought much more considerable Alterations.

The *Greek* has a great Copia, or Stock of Words: Its Inflections are as remarkable for their Variety as those of most of the other *European* Tongues, for their Simplicity.

It has three Numbers, Singular, Dual, and Plural; and Abundance of Tenses in its Verbs, which make a Variety, in Discourse, prevents a certain Dryness which always accompanies a too great Uniformity, and renders the Language peculiarly fit for all Kinds of Verse.

The Use of the Participles of the Aoristus and Preterit, together with the compound Words, wherein it abounds, give it a peculiar Force and Brevity, without taking any Thing from its Perspicuity.

The proper Names in the *Greek* Language are significative, as in the oriental, as well as in most of the modern Languages, where the Learned still find some, though remote Character, of their Origin.

The *Greek* was the Language of a polite People, who had a Taste for Arts and Sciences, which they cultivated with Success. In the living Tongues are still preserved a great Number of *Greek* Terms of Art; some descended to us from the *Grecians*, and others formed a-new. When a new Invention, Machine, Rite, Order, Instrument, &c. has been discovered, Recourse has commonly been had to the *Greek* for a Name; the Facility where-with Words are there compounded, readily affording us Names expressive of the Use, Effect, &c. of such Instruments.

Modern, or *Vulgar Greek*, is the Language now spoke in *Greece*. There have been few Books writ in this Language, from the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Turks*; scarce any Thing but some Catechisms, and the

like Pieces composed, or translated into the vulgar *Greek*, by the *Latin* Missionaries. The native *Greeks* are contented to speak the Language without cultivating it. The Misery they are reduced to under the Dominion of the *Turks*, renders them ignorant of Necessity; the *Turkish* Politicks not allowing any of the Subjects of their Estates to apply themselves to the Arts and Sciences. Whether it be out of a Principle of Religion, or Politics, or Babarism, they have entirely destroyed all the Monuments of antient *Rome*, despising the Study of a Language which might have rendered them polite, their Empire happy, and flourishing, and have made the People forget their former Masters, and their antient Liberty. In this widely differing from the *Romans*, those antient Conquerors of *Greece*, who, after they had subdued the Country, applied themselves to learn the Language; in order to imbibe their Politeness, Delicacy, and Taste for Arts and Sciences.

It is not easy to assign the precise Difference between the *vulgar* and the *antient Greek*. It consists in the Terminations of Nouns, Pronouns, Verbs, and other Parts of Speech, which make a Difference between those two Languages, much like that observed between some of the Dialects of the *Italian*, or *Spanish*: We instance those Languages, as being the most known; but we might have said the same of the *Hebrew*, *Sclavonick*, &c. Dialects. Besides, the *modern Greek* has divers new Words not in the antient; particularly several Particles which appear as Expletives, and which were introduced to characterise certain Tenses of Verbs, and other Expressions, which would have had the same Meaning without such Particles, had Custom dispensed with them; divers Names of Dignities and Offices, unknown to the antient *Greeks*, and Abundance of Words borrowed from vulgar Tongues of the neighbouring Nations.

Accordingly one may distinguish three Ages of the *Greek* Tongue; the first ended at the Time when *Constantinople* became the Capital of the *Roman* Empire; not but there were several Books, particularly of the Fathers of the Church, wrote with great Purity after that Time; but as Religion, Law, and Policy, both civil and military, began then to introduce new Words into the Language, it seems necessary to begin the second Age of the *Greek* Tongue from that Epocha; which lasted to the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Turks*, where the last Age commences.

The *LATIN* was first spoken in *Latium*, and afterwards at *Rome*; and still used in the *Roman* Church, and amongst Men of Letters.

Some Authors rank the *Latin*, among the Number of original Languages, but by Mistake; it is formed principally from the *Greek*, and particularly the *Æolick* Dialect of that Tongue; tho' it has a great Number of Words which it borrowed from the Languages of the *Etrusci*, *Osci*, and other antient People of *Italy*, and foreign Commerce and Wars, in Course of Time added a great many more.

The *Latin*, is a strong robust Language, perfectly suitable to the Character of the People who spoke it. We have still Works of every Kind, and admirably well written in *Latin*, though there are an infinite Number lost. The *Latin* is more figurative than the *English*, less pliant than the *French*, less copious than the *Greek*, less pompous than the *Spanish*, less delicate than the *Italian*, but closer and more nervous than any of them.

For a while the *Latin* Tongue was confin'd almost wholly within the Walls of *Rome*, nor would the *Romans* allow the common Use of it to their Neighbours, or to the Nations they had subdued. *Cicero* observ'd, that even in his Time, *Greek* was used almost among every People, but the *Latin* only confin'd to a very narrow Compass. By Degrees, they were brought to grant the Use of it as a Favour; and in Time became sensible of the Necessity there was of its being generally understood, for the Conveniency of Commerce; and accordingly used their utmost Endeavours, that all the Nations subject to their Empire, should be united by one common Language; so that at length they imposed that as a Law, which they had before granted as a Favour.

After the Translation of the Seat of the Empire from

Rome

Rome to Constantinople, the Emperors of the East being always desirous of retaining the Title of *Roman* Emperors, appointed the *Latin* to be still retain'd in Use, both in their Rescripts and Edicts, as appears by the Constitutions of those Emperors, collected in the *Theodosian Code*: But at length the Emperors neglecting the Empire of the West, abandon'd all Care of the *Latin* Tongue, and allowed their Judges to pass Sentence in *Greek*; and accordingly we find the Emperor *Justinian's* Novels composed in *Greek*.

Charlemagne coming to the Empire of the West, appointed the Law Proceedings in sovereign Courts to be in *Latin*, and the Notaries were to draw their Acts and Instruments in the same Tongue: This Practice continued a long Time through a great Part of *Europe*, but at length it gave way, and the *French* took Place of the *Latin*, not only in *France*, but in some measure, in *England* too; and the Reason given for it was, that Abundance of Difficulties arose about understanding of *Latin* Terms.

The *Latin* however, was prodigiously degenerated and corrupted ere it came to be laid aside. The IncurSIONS of the *Goths* and *Vandals* into *Italy*, brought an Inundation of foreign Words and Phrases into it, in so much that *Valla* and *Naud* call *Boethius* the last *Latin* Author. But that was not all; when it once got into the Courts of Justice, it was still worse handled, till at last being introduced among the Monks, and become the common Language of *Missals* and *Breviaries*, it was debauched to that degree, that it was almost become scandalous to use it; if Protestant Writers are to be credited, and which the *Roman* Catholics would call a malicious Reflection; since the *Missals* and *Breviaries*, are nothing else but a Compilation out of the Scripture, and antient Fathers of the Church; therefore if the *Latin* is bad, the Monks cannot be reproached with it, who have inserted in those Books nothing of their own, but the Translators of the Scripture, and the antient Fathers; and I may venture to say, that few of those who pretend to criticize the *Latin* of the *Breviaries* and *Missals*, can imitate its Elegance and Beauty.

Note, That the *Coptic* is the antient Language of the *Egyptians*, mixed with a great deal of *Greek*; the Character it is written in being all *Greek*.—Father *Kircher* is the first who published a Grammar and Vocabulary of the *Coptic*. There is not known any Book extant in the *Coptic*, except Translations of the holy Scriptures, or of ecclesiastick Offices, or others that have Relations thereto, as Dictionaries, &c.

The antient *Coptic* is now no longer found but in Books: The Language now used through the Country is *Arabick*.—The whole *Coptic*, which *Kircher* maintains to be a Mother-Tongue, and independent of all others, has been much altered by the *Greeks*: For besides that it has borrowed all its Characters from the *Greek*, with a very little Variation, a great Number of the Words are pure *Greek*.

Vossius indeed, asserts, that there was no *Coptic* Language till *Egypt* became subject to the *Arabs*. The Language, according to him, is a Mixture of *Greek* and *Arabick*; the very Name thereof not being in the World till after the *Arabs* were Masters of the Country. But this, M. *Simon* observes, proves nothing; except that what was antiently call'd *Egyptian*, has since by the *Arabs* been call'd *Coptic*; by a Corruption of Speech there are it is true, *Arabick* Words in the *Coptic*; yet this, by no Means, proves but that there was a Language before that Time, either *Coptic* or *Egyptian*. *Pietro de la Valla* observes, that the *Coptics* have entirely lost their antient Tongue; that it is now no longer understood among them, that they have nothing extant therein but some sacred Books; that they still say Mass in it: *Solo hanno in essa alcuni libri sacri, dicendo ancora la massa in quella lingua*.

All their other Books have been translated into *Arabick*, which is their vulgar Tongue; and this has occasioned the Originals to be lost: It is added that they rehearse the Epistles and Gospels in the Mass

twice; once in *Arabick*, and once in *Coptic*.

Indeed if we believe Father *Vansleb*, the *Coptics* say the Mass in *Arabick*, all but the Epistles and Gospels, which they rehearse both in that and *Coptic*: *La Massa celebrano in lingua Arabica, eccetto l'Evangelio; & alcune altre cose che sogliano leggere nella lingua Copta, & Araba*.

Living LANGUAGES, are those still spoke in some Country or other, and which may be learned by Conversation. The most popular among these are the *French*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, *English*, *German*, &c.

The *French*, as it now stands, is no Original, or Mother Language; but a Medley of several: Scarce any Language, but it has borrowed Words, or perhaps Phrases from.

The Languages that prevail most, and that are, as it were, the Basis thereof, are, 1. The *Celtic*; whether that were a particular Language itself, or whether it were only a Dialect of the *Gothic*, as spoke in the West, and North. 2. The *Latin*, which the *Romans* carried with them into *Gaul*, when they made the Conquest thereof. And, 3. The *Teutonic*, or the Dialect of the *Teutonic*, spoke by the *Franks*, when they passed the *Rhine*, and established themselves with the *Gauls*.

Of these three Languages, in the Space of about 1300 Years, was the *French* formed; such as it is now found: Its Progress was very slow; and both the *Italian*, and *Spanish*, were regular Languages long before the *French*.

Pasquier observes, it was under *Philip de Valois*, that the *French* Tongue first began to be polished; and that in the Registers of the Chambers of Accounts of that Time, there is a Purity seen almost equal to that of the present Age.

However, the *French* was still a very imperfect Language, till the Reign of *Francis I.* The Custom of speaking *Latin* at the Bar, and of Writing the publick Acts, and Instruments of the Courts of Justice in that Language, had made them overlook the *French*, their own Language. Add, that the preceding Ages had been remarkable for their Ignorance; owing in great Measure to the long and calamitous Wars, which *France* had been engaged in: Whence the *French* Nobility deem'd it a Kind of Merit not to know any Thing; and the Generals regarded little, whether or no they wrote, or talk'd politely, provided they could fight well.

But *Francis I.* who was the Restorer of Learning, and the Father of the Learned, (a noble Title, very much despised or disregarded by the Princes of this Age) changed the Face of Things; and after his Time *Henry Stevens* printed his Book, *De la Precellence du Language François*.

The Change was become very conspicuous at the End of the 16th Century; and under *Henry IV.* *Anyot*, *Coefsceteau*, and *Malherbe*, contributed towards bringing it to Perfection: Which Cardinal *Richelieu* compleated, by the Establishment of the *French* Academy; an Assembly wherein the most distinguished Persons of the Church, the Sword, and the Gown, have been Members.

Nor did the long Reign of *Louis XIV.* contribute a little to the Improvement of the Language. The excellent personal Qualities of that truly great Prince, and his Taste for the polite Arts, and that of the Princes of the Blood, rendered his Court the politest in *Europe*. Wit and Magnificence seem'd to vie; and his Ministers might have disputed with the *Greeks*, *Romans*, &c. the Glory of Writing well.—From Court the Elegance and Purity of the Language spread itself into the Provinces; and now there is no Body but writes and speaks good *French*.

One of the Characters of the *French* Language is to be natural and easy. The Words are ranged in it much in the same Order, as the Ideas in our Minds; in which it differs exceedingly from the *Greek* and *Latin*, where the Inversion of the natural Order of Words is reputed a Beauty.—Indeed the *Hebrew* surpasses even the *French* in this Point; but then it comes short of it in Copiousness and Variety.

It must be added, however, that as to the Analogy of *Grammar*, and the Simplicity wherewith the Moods of Verbs are formed; the *English* has the Advantage, not only over the *French*, but over all the known Languages of the World: But then the Turns, the Expressions, and the Idioms of the *English* are sometimes so quaint, and extraordinary, that it loses a great deal of the Advantage, which its *grammatical* Simplicity gives it over the rest.

The *French* have but few compound Words, wherein it differs widely from the *Greek*, *High Dutch*, and *English*. This the *French* Authors own a great Disadvantage in their Language; the *Greek* and *Dutch* deriving a great Part of their Force and Energy, from the Composition of Words; and frequently expressing that in one sounding Word, which the *French* cannot express but by a Periphrasis. And the Diminutives in the *French* are as few as the Compounds; the greatest Part of those remaining in Use, having lost their diminutive Signification. But what distinguishes the *French* most, is its Justness, Purity, Accuracy, and Flexibility.

French is the most universal and extensive Language in *Europe*; the Policy of States and Courts, has render'd it necessary for the Ministers of Princes and their Officers, &c. and the Taste of Arts and Sciences has had the same Effect with Regard to the Learned.

In *Germany*, and elsewhere, the Princes, Princesses, and Persons of Distinction, value themselves on understanding *French*; and almost in all the Courts of *Europe*, *French* is as much known as the Language of the Country: Tho' the Court of *Vienna* has been a long while an Exception from this Rule. *French* is there very little us'd: The Emperor *Leopold* could not bear to hear it spoke in his Court; for fear, perhaps, the Sound of the *French* Language, had had the same Effect on him, as the *French* Cannon; being, perhaps, as much afraid of the one as he was of the other; he having a far better Taste for a Fiddle from *Cremona*.

The Extensiveness from the *French* Language, is no modern Advantage: *William the Conqueror* gave Laws to *England* in the *French* Language; and the ancient Customs of most of the Provinces of the *Netherlands* are wrote in the same.

Lastly, the *French* is the same Language every where, not only in all the Provinces of *France*, but in all the Places where it is spoke out of *France*.

The several Nations who speak *Slavonick*, do not so much speak the same Language, as different Dialects of the same Language. In several Parts of *Europe*, there are as many different Languages as there are States; and in *Italy* there are reckon'd no fewer than ten or twelve Dialects, some of which differ as much from the common *Italian*, as from the *French* or *Spanish*. In *Holland*, the Seamen of *Rotterdam*, and the Banks of the *Meuse*, do not understand those of *Amsterdam*, and the Coasts of the *Zuyder Zee*. They who understand *Castilian*, don't understand the Language of *Catalonia* and *Cerdane*. The *High Dutch* is not the same in *Sweden*, as in *Jutland*: In the *Low Countries* as at *Lubeck*. *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Croatia*, &c. are Countries belonging to the Emperor, yet speak a Language different from that spoke at *Vienna*. The King of *Sweden*, when he speaks the Language of his Country, is not understood by his Subjects in *Pomerania*, *Lapland*, &c. and the like may be observed of the King of *Denmark*, with Regard to his Subjects of *Norway* and *Iceland*; whereas at *Quebec*, the *Louisiana*, *Martinico*, *St. Domingo*, *Pondichery*, &c. they speak the same Language as at *Paris*, and throughout the rest of *France*.

The *Italian* is derived principally from the *Latin*, and of all the Languages form'd from the *Latin*, there is none which carries with it more visible Marks of its Original, than the *Italian*. It is accounted one of the most perfect among the modern Tongues, containing Words, and Phrases to represent all Ideas, to express all Sentiments, to deliver one's self on all Subjects, to name all the Instruments and Parts of Arts, &c. It is complain'd, indeed, that it has too many Diminutives, and Superlatives, or rather Augmentatives, but without any great Reason: For if those Words convey nothing further to

the Mind, than the just Ideas of Things, they are no more faulty than our Pleonasm and Hyperboles.

The Character of the *Italian* Tongue, it must be owned, is very different from that of the *English*, which is the Reason, perhaps, why they are so ready to find Fault with it; for though the *Italian* be proper for all Kinds of Writing, for all Styles, and for all Subjects; yet there are many of their celebrated Authors, that do not succeed when translated into *English*, and which an *Englishman* cannot read with Pleasure, even in their Original. The Language corresponds to the Genius of the People; they are slow, and thoughtful, and accordingly their Language runs heavily, though smoothly, and many of their Words are lengthen'd out to a great Degree. They have a good Taste of Musick; and to gratify their Passion this Way, have alter'd Abundance of their primitive Words: Leaving out Consonants, taking in Vowels, softening, and lengthening out their Terminations, for the Sake of the Cadence.

Hence the Language is rendered extremely musical, and succeeds better than any other in Opera's, and some Parts of Poetry; but it fails in Strength and Nerves: Hence, also, a great Part of its Words, borrow'd from the *Latin*, become so far disguised, that they are not easily known again.

The Multitude of foreign States, into which *Italy* is divided, has given Occasion to a great Number of different Dialects in that Language; which however are all good in the Place where they are used. The *Tuscan* is usually preferred to the other Dialects, and the *Roman* Pronunciation to that of the other Cities; whence the *Italian* Proverb, *Lingua Toscana, in Bocca Romana*.

The *Italian* is generally pretty well understood throughout all *Europe*; and is frequently spoken in *Germany*, *Poland*, and *Hungary*. At *Constantinople*, in *Greece*, and in the Ports of the *Levant*, the *Italian* is used as commonly as the Language of the Country; and in those Places, it is not spoke so pure as in *Tuscany*, but is corrupted with many of the proper Words and Idioms of the Place, whence it takes a new Name, and is called *Frank Italian*.

The *Spaniards* seem to place the Nobleness and Gravity of their Language, in the Number of Syllables, and the Swelling of Words, and speak less to be understood than to be admir'd. Their Terms are big and sonorous, their Expressions haughty and boisterous, and Pomp and Ostentation run through all they say: Their Language cannot paint a Thought to the Life; it always magnifies it, frequently distorts it, and does nothing if it do not exceed Nature.

The *English*, or *English* Tongue, is of *Gothick* or *Teutonic* Extraction: This was the Root or Stock upon which several other Dialects have been since grafted.

The Language antiently spoke in this Island, was the *British*, or *Welsh*, which is pretended was common to the *Britons* and *Gauls*; and which still subsists in more or less Purity in the Principality of *Wales*, the County of *Cornwall*, the Islands, and Highlands of *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and the Province of *Bretagne* in *France*.

As the *Roman* Empire, extending itself towards the western Parts of *Europe*, came to take in *Gaul* and *Britain*, the *Roman* Tongue became propagated therewith; all the Edicts, &c. relating to publick Affairs, being designedly wrote in that Language.

The *Latin*, however, it is certain, never got so much Ground, or prevail'd so far in *England*, as in *Lombardy*, *Spain*, and the *Gauls*; partly, on Account of its great Distance from *Rome*, and the small Resort of *Romans* hither; and partly for that the entire Reduction of the Kingdom was not effected till so late as the Emperor *Claudius*, when the Empire was on the declining Hand, and the new Province was forced to be soon deserted by its Conquerors, called to defend their Territories nearer Home. *Britain* thus left naked, became an easy Prey to the *Angli*, or *Anglo-Saxons*, a strolling Nation from *Jutland* and *Norway*, who took an easy Possession thereof; much about the Time that the *Franks*, another *German* Nation, enter'd *Gaul*. The *Gauls* and *Franks*, it seems, at length came to Terms, and found Means to unite it into one Nation: Thus the antient *Gaulish*, with

its Mixture of *Latin*, continued the prevailing Tongue, only further intermix'd with the *Francic*, or *Lingua Franca*, of their new Inmates: But the *Britons* were more constant, and determin'd absolutely to refuse any such Coalition; they had embraced Christianity, and their Competitors were Heathens; rather than admit of such an Union, therefore, they chose to be shut up, with their Language, in the mountainous Parts of *Cambria*, or *Wales*.

The *English* Saxons thus left absolute Lords, changed every Thing; their own Language was now fully established, and the very Name of the Country was henceforth to be *Anglo-Saxon*.

The new Language remained in good measure, pure and unmixed till the *Norman* Invasion: The Attempts of the *Danes*, and the Neighbourhood of the *Britons*, indeed wrought some lesser Innovations therein; but, in the main, it preserved itself: For as to the *Danes* their Language was not much different therefrom. *Edward the Confessor* however, who had lived long in *France*, might possibly bring in a little Mixture of the Dialect of that Country: But *William I.* and his *Normans*, having got Possession of *England*, an Alteration was soon attempted: The Conquest was not compleat, unless the Conqueror's Language, the *French* or *Franco-Gallic*, were introduced; and accordingly all his Acts, Diploma's, Edicts, Pleadings, and other judicial Matters were written, &c. in that Tongue. But his Attempts proved unsuccessful; the Number of *Normans* he brought over being very small in Comparison of the *English*, with whom they were incorporated, they lost, or forgot their own Language sooner than they could make any Change in the *English*. This however, did not hinder, but by the Endeavours of the Conqueror, Abundance of *French* Words, though many of them of *Latin* Original, crept into the *English*; and many *English* Words by degrees grew out of Use.

Hence, as to the Origin and Etymology of many Words, *Dr. Wallis* lays it down, that such Words of *Roman* Original, as the *English* have in common with the *French*, are to be reckoned as their own, rather than borrowed from them; and that the old *Gaulish* Words common to them and the *Welch*, have been likewise taken from the *Welch* rather than the *French*. Hence also, the same Author accounts, why the Names of divers Sorts of Cattle are *Saxon*, as *Ox*, *Cow*, *Calf*, *Sheep*, *Hog*, *Boar*, *Deer*, &c. and yet that their Flesh, when prepared for Food is *French*, as *Beef*, *Veal*, *Mutton*, *Pork*, *Brawn*, *Venison*, &c. The *Norman* Soldiers, not concerning themselves with Pastures, Parks, and the like Places, where such Creatures are fed and kept; so much as with Markets, Kitchens, Feasts, and Entertainments, where the Food was either prepared, sold, or eaten.

Under *Henry II.* *Dr. Swift* observes, the *French* made a still greater Progress, by reason of the large Territories he possessed on that Continent, both from his Father and his Wife, which occasioned frequent Journeys thither, with numerous Retinues, &c. and for some Centuries after there was a frequent Intercourse between *France* and *England*, by the Dominions the *English* possessed there, so that the Language two or three hundred Years ago, seems to have had more *French* than at present.

Besides this Alteration from the Conquerors, the Language in Process of Time, underwent divers others; and came to have numerous Words and Phrases of foreign Dialects, ingrafted into it, in lieu whereof the antient *Saxon* ones gave Way; particularly by Means of Negotiations, and Commerce with other Nations; by the Marriages of Royal Families; by the Affectation of many Writers in most Ages, who are fond of coining new Words, and altering the usual Forms of Speech, for the greater Delicacy; and by the Necessity of framing or borrowing new Words, according as new Things and Inventions turn up. And by such Means was the old *Anglo-Saxon* converted into the present *English* Tongue.

Having traced the Rise and Progress of the *English* Language, historically, we think it may be no incurious Amusement to represent, by actual Examples, the sever-

al successive Changes and Stages it has passed through, to arrive at its present Perfection: In order to which, we'll make Use of the Collections of the ingenious *Mr. Greenwood*.

From the *Saxon* Invasion, in 440, we have no Memorial extant of the Language, for 250 Years: The oldest *Saxon* Writing in Being, is a Gloss on the Evangelists, written in the Year 700, by *Eadfrid*, Bishop of *Iloly Island*; in which the three first Articles of the Lord's Prayer run thus,

- ' Uven Fader thic arth in Heofnas, sic gehalgud
Our Father who art in Heaven, be hallowed
- ' thin Noma, so cymeth thin ric, sic thin Willa
thy Name, come thy Kingdom, by thy Will
- ' sue is Heofnas, and in Eorho, &c.
so as in Heaven, and in Earth, &c.

Two hundred Years after, in the Year 900 the same was render'd thus,

- ' Thu ure Fader the eart on Heofenum, si thin Nama
gehalgod; cume thin Rice, si thin Willa on
Earthan swa, swa on Heofenum.

In the following Age it was turn'd thus in the *Saxon* Homilies, said to be translated by King *Alfred*,

- ' Fader ure thu the Earth on Heofenum, si thin,
Nama gehalgod, to be cume thin Rice, gew urthe
in Willa on Earthan swa swa on Heofenum, &c.

About the Year 1160, under *Henry II.* it was thus render'd by Pope *Adrian*, an *Englishman*, in Rhyme.

- ' Ure Fadyr in Heaven rich,
' thy Name be halyed ever liche
' thou bring us thy michell blesse:
' alls hit in Heaven y-doe
' evar in Yearth beene it also, &c.

About 100 Years after, in the Time of *Henry III.* it was turn'd thus:

- ' Fadir that art in Heaven blisse
' thin helge Nam in warth the blifs
' cumen et mot thy Kingdom,
' thin holy Will be it all don
' in Heaven and in Erdh also, &c.

Two hundred Years after, under *Henry IV.* it was rendered,

- ' Our Fadir that art in Hevenes halewid be thi Name
' thy Kingdom come to thee, by thi Will don in
' Earthe, as in Hevene. —

An extraordinary Specimen of the *English*, as spoke the Year 1385, *Dr. Hicks* furnishes us withal, in his *Tbesaur. Liter. Sypten*, which we shall the rather entertain the Reader withal, as it is on this very Subject the *English* Tongue, and contains not only the History, but the Reasons of the Changes and Differences therein.

- ' As it is knowe how meny maner Peple beeth in
' this Lond, there beeth also so meny dyvers Lon-
' gages and Tonges. Nothelefs *Walschemen* and *Scots*
' that beeth nought medled with other Nations, hold
' wel nyh hir firste Longage and Specha; but yif the
' *Scottes* that were sometime confederat and woned
' with the *Pictes* drawe somewhat after hir Speche;
' but the *Flemynge*s that woneth in the Weste Side of
' *Wales*, haveth left hir strange Speche, and spekth Sex-
' onliche now, &c.

How the *English* stood about the Year 1400, may be seen in *Chaucer*, who refined and improved it very considerably; though he is charged with the Affectation of mixing too many *French* and *Latin* Words with the *English*, and by that Means altering and corrupting the primitive Language.

In the Year 1537, the Lord's Prayer was printed according to the following Version:

- ' O oure Father which arte in Heven, halowed be
' thy Name: Let thy Kingdome come, thy Will be
' fulfilled as well in Erth as it is in Heven, &c.

Where the Reader will observe the Diction almost brought to the present Standard; the Variations being principally in the Orthography.

Spencer, who lived in the same Age, contributed not a little to the Improvement and refining of the Tongue: He threw aside Abundance of foreign Ornaments, and wrote a purer *English*, yet with more Elegance and Variety than had been known before. He was succeeded in Order by *Shakespear*, *Ben Johnson*, *Lord Bacon*, *Milton*, *Cowley*, *Waller*, *Tillotson*, and *Dryden*, whose Works are in every Body's Hands; by whom the Language has been transmitted to us under all its present Advantages.

The Perfections ascribed to the *English*, and that in a Degree superior to any of the other modern Tongues, are,—1. That it is strong and significant; to which the finely compounded Words, formed on the Model of the *Greeks*, do not a little contribute.

2. Copious; of which *Mr. Greenwood* gives us Instances in the Word striking: Which the *English* have about 30 synonymous Expressions for; as to *smite*, *bang*, *beat*, *baste*, *buffet*, *cuff*, *hit*, *thump*, *thwack*, *slap*, *rap*, *tap*, *kick*, *spurn*, *box*, *yerke*, *pummel*, *punch*, &c. and the Word Anger, for which he enumerates above 40.

3. Musical and harmonious; in which Respect *Mr. Dennis* makes no scruple to assert it superior even to the *French*. This, which is strange indeed, he proves hence that the *English* have blank Verse, which is harmonious by mere Force of Numbers and Quantity; whereas the *French* have long ago desisted from all Pretensions to all poetical Numbers, without the Assistance of Rhime. It may be added on this last Head, from *Mr. Welfsted*, that the *English* has many Measures, the Iambick and Trochee for instance, in common with the *Greek* and *Latin*; an Advantage arising from the Variation of the Accent; and that Rhime is peculiarly natural to it, varying itself to the Ear with excessive Sweetness, not to mention the Cæsuras, Pauses, Transpositions, and numberless other Graces, which the *English* Versification is capable of, beyond any other living Language.

Some object to the *English*, that it consists too much of Monosyllables, which others make a Piece of Merit, as it argues the greater Antiquity. But the *English* pretend to have a further Advantage from their Monosyllables, *viz.* *Conciseness*; they being thereby enabled to express more Matter in the same Compass of Letters, than any other modern Tongue. The only Thing they suffer by it, say they, is something in point of Softness and Numbers; and yet they have Verses composed wholly of Monosyllables, that do not want Harmony; as that of *Creech*:

Nor could the World have borne so fierce a Flame.

Others object to the *English* Language, that it does not come up to the Softness, the Delicacy of the more Southern Languages, *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*. It seems it retains somewhat of *Gothick* Roughness of the People who framed and introduced it; the Soil and the Climate it was planted in, not tending much to mellow and refine it.

To this Purpose does *Dr. Swift* speak, who accounts for the Effect hence, that the *Latin* Tongue was never in its Purity in the Island; and besides, such as it was, it was called away ere it could have Time to incorporate with the Language of the Country, and subdue and soften it; as it did in the other Provinces of *France*, *Spain*, &c.

The same Author ventures further, and affirms, that the *English* Language is very imperfect, and in many Instances offends against every Part of *Grammar*, which displeases very much several *English* Authors.

M. Welfsted is of Opinion, that the *English* Language is not capable of a much greater Perfection than it has already attained: The *English*, he observes, have trafficked with every Country for the enriching it: The Antients and Moderns have both contributed to the giving it Splendor and Magnificence; the fairest Cyons that could be had from the Gardens of *France* and *Italy* have been grafted on their old Stocks, to refine the Savageness of the Breed; they have laid aside most of their harsh antique Words, and retained but few of those of good

Sound and Energy: The most beautiful Polish is at length given the *English* Tongue; that it will bear, without destroying and altering the very Basis and Ground-work of it; its Teutonic Rust is worn away, and little or nothing is wanting either of Copiousness or Harmony.—He goes on to argue the Maturity and Perfection of the *English* from another extrensic Principle, *viz.* by comparing the Time, and Circumstances of the Improvements, made since the first Refiners of it, with those of the *Greek*, *Latin*, *French*, and other Tongues that confessedly have risen to their Height.

Every civilized Nation, the Author thinks, has its classical Age; and he suggests that the *English* are not far from it: So that what remains to be done for the *English* Tongue should not be to advance, but to fix it where it is, and prevent its declining. There is in effect, a Point of Perfection, which when a Language has once arrived at, it cannot exceed, though it may degenerate from it; and thus it happened to the two finest Languages the World has known.

It may seem odd to talk of fixing so unstable a Thing as Language: The *Greek* Liturgies of *St. Basil*, and *St. Chrysostom*, still used in that Church, the one for solemn, and the other for common Days, have been a long Time unintelligible to the People: So much is the vulgar *Greek* degenerated from its original Purity! *Polybius* testifies, that the Articles of Truce between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, could scarce be understood by the most learned Antiquaries, 350 Years after the Time of their making. In effect, from the Days of *Romulus*, to those of *Julius Cæsar*, the *Latin* was perpetually changing; and what was wrote 300 Years before *Tully*, was as unintelligible in his Time, as the *English* and *French* of the same Period are now: And these two have changed as much from *William the Conqueror* in about 700 Years, as the *Latin* appears to have done in the like Time.

Whether the *English* Language will decline as fast as the *Roman* did, may admit of some Doubt; there being many Circumstances in the Affairs of the Nation which contributed to that Corruption that may not, in all Probability, find Place among us.

The *Teutonic* Language is the antient Language of *Germany*, which is ranked among the Mother-Tongues.

The *Teutonic*, now called the *German* or *Highb-Dutch*, is distinguished into *Upper* and *Lower*.

The *Upper* has two notable Dialects, *viz.* 1. the *Settidian*, *Danish*, or perhaps *Gothic*; to which belong the Languages spoke in *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Sweden*, and *Iceland*. 2. The *Saxon*, to which belong the several Languages of the *English*, *Scots*, *Frisian*, and those on the North of the *Elbe*.

To the *Lower* belong the *Low Dutch*, *Flemish*, &c. spoke through the *Netherlands*, &c.

The *SLAVONIC*, is the Language of the *Sclavi*, an antient People of *Scythia Europea*; who about the Year 518, quitting their native Country, ravaged *Greece*, and established the Kingdom of *Poland* and *Moravia*, and at last settled in *Illyria*; which thence took the Name of *Slavonia*.

The *Slavonic*, is held after the *Arabick*, the most extensive Language in the World: It is spoke from the *Adriatick* to the *North Sea*, and from the *Caspian* to *Saxony*, by a great Variety of People, all the Descendants of the antient *Sclavi*, *viz.* the *Poles*, *Muscovites*, *Bulgarians*, *Carinthians*, *Bohemians*, *Hungarians*, *Prussians*, *Suabians*, &c. each of whom however, have their particular Dialect; only the *Slavonic* is the common Mother of their several Languages, *viz.* the *Polish*, *Russian*, *Hungarian*, &c.

By a *Latin* Chronicle of the *Sclavi*, composed by *Helmold*, a Priest of *Bosow*, and *Arnold*, Abbot of *Lubeck*, and corrected by *Leibnitz*, it appears, that the *Sclavi* antiently inhabited the Coast of the *Baltick* Sea, and were divided into Eastern and Western; in the latter whereof were the *Russians*, *Poles*, *Bohemians*, &c. and in the former the *Vandals*.

Dan. Maur. Orbin Ranfer, Abbot of the Order of *Malta*, in an *Italian* History of the *Sclavi*, intitled, *Il regno de gli Slavi*, printed in 1601. will have them to be

be originally of *Finland* in *Scandinavia*. *Laur. Pribrco*, a *Dalmatian*, in an express Discourse of the Origin of the *Sclavi*, maintains them to be originally of *Thrace*, and the same with the *Thracians*, the Posterity of *Thiras* seventh Son of *Japhet*. *Theod. Polycarpowitz*, in a *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Sclavonick* Dictionary, printed at *Moscow* in 1704, observes that the Word *Sclave*, whence *Sclavonick* is formed, signifies in their Language *Glory*.

The *BAS-BRETON*, which is the Language of Part of the Province where I was born, is called by the Natives a Mother-Tongue, because, perhaps, it is spoke by no other Nation in the World, and has no Affinity with any other Languages but the *Welsh*, of which it has retain'd few Words, and fewer it has borrowed from the *French*, by their Neighbourhood with the other Parts of the Province, whose Inhabitants speak nothing but *French*, and do not understand one Word of *Bas-Breton*, though so near Neighbours; so that one born in the Diocese of *St. Malo*, does not understand one born in that of *Vannes*, when he speaks *Bas-Breton*, no more than he would understand a *Japanese*, who should speak his native Language: For Example, I would ask, with what Language this Phrase has any Affinity, *Trougaré autrou*, which signifies, *I thank you Sir?* or this other, *Ario atabo*, i. e. strike immediately?

The *JAPANESE* Language is very curious, wherein they have several Words to express one Thing, some in Derision, others in Honour; some for the Prince, others for the People; as also for the Quality, Age, and Sex of the Speaker, and Person spoke to.

The *ETHIOPIAN*, or *Abyssinian* Tongue, seems to have some Affinity with the *Hebrew*, and *Chaldee*; and is thus singular, that the *Abyssines* reckon our first Letter A, their thirteenth.

The Languages of other Countries in *Africa*, and *America* are but mere Jargons, wholly rude, and harsh to themselves, and unknown, as well as unintelligible to us.

The Difference and Affinity of several Languages, may be seen from that famous Sentence of *Habbakuk*, ii. 4. *But the Just shall live by his Faith*, expressed in thirty-three Languages, or several Tongues, which I have set down in our common Printing Letters.

<i>Hebrew</i>]	Ve-tzaddig, Be emunatho jichjch.
<i>Chaldee</i>]	Vetzaddikaia al kushethon jith kaigemun.
<i>Syriack</i>]	Decana min Himenuta Nacha.
<i>Arabick</i>]	Vaadili Minalaj Manj Jaccaij.
<i>Greek</i>]	Ho de Dikaioi ec steois mec Zesetaij.
<i>Latin</i>]	Iustus autem ex fide sua vivet.
<i>Spanish</i>]	El Justo en su fe bivira.
<i>Italian</i>]	Il Giusto vivera per la sua fede.
<i>Portugal</i>]	Oa Justa em sua fei vivara.
<i>French</i>]	Mais le Just vivera de sa foy.
<i>Armenian</i>]	Shedeck Mart eer serdoven kapree.
<i>Persian</i>]	Raft Adem eis fisk hodmigzeratt.
<i>Georgian</i>]	Martalee Katsca tavis sumartlitta darchebis.
<i>Javan, Moollay</i>]	Ozany Bctool Deah-pooniah emau ollough cubbool.
<i>East-Indian, Surat</i>]	Neck Zaut Oouskah ema un cood- awtah haut.
<i>West-Indian, New-England</i>]	Sampivensseanuta pish po- mantum kiske wunnamptamouoke.
<i>Hungarian</i>]	Azigar Ember pedig hit altellel.
<i>Transylvanian</i>]	Affigas Emberpedig itt altel el.
<i>Moldavian</i>]	Wom Kudireptate kulege alui trayesti.
<i>Tartarian, Cossackian</i>]	Ho Dikaioi Athropos metin biste too Zec.
<i>High-German</i>]	Dun der Gerechte bebet fines Glaubens.
<i>Bohemian</i>]	Gest sprawedliwy Ziwi Budzwisry.
<i>Sclavonian</i>]	Pravedne oot vearea Zeove Boudet.
<i>Muscovian, Russian</i>]	Prawidliwy Zjut prze wiare.
<i>Turkish</i>]	Sadick Adam onung ich tikat eila decillet.
<i>Lattoish</i>]	Taisus per wicra sawo Girens.
<i>Polish</i>]	Sprawiedliwij Z. wiarij swey bendzie zil.
<i>Danish</i>]	Den Retferdige skal leff ve aff sin tro.
<i>Swedish</i>]	Then Retferdiga skall leff va aff sine tro.
<i>Netherlandish</i>]	De Rechtverdige sal uyt den Geloove leven.
<i>Irish</i>]	Dee-yow een seerian slawhaunus le creddiff.
<i>Welsh</i>]	Y Cyfiawn a fydd byw trwy fydd.
<i>English</i>]	But the Just shall live by his Faith.

Note, That the People of *Biscay* in *Spain* use a Language different from the rest of *Spain*, and are reported to have continued without great Alteration since the Confusion of *Babel*: In like Manner, the *Arabick* continues uncorrupted in the hilly Parts of *Granada*.

Note, also, That those who are well versed in *Grammar*, or who teach *Grammar*, are called *Grammarians*.—The *Grammarian* is conceived as a Person wholly attentive to the *Minutiae* of Language; industriously employed about Words and Phrases; incapable of perceiving the Beauties, Delicacy, Extent, &c. of a Sentiment. *Scaliger*, however, considered *Grammarians* in another Light; *utinam essem*, says he, *bonus Grammaticus: sufficit enim ei, qui omnes authores vult intelligere, esse Grammaticum*.—The Title *Grammarian*, it is certain, was antiently a Title of Honour; being given, not only to such as applied themselves to *Grammar*, or excelled in *Philology*; but to all who were reputed learned in any Art, or Faculty whatever; as is shewn by *Ger. Vossius*, in his Book of *Grammar*. The Word was properly a Title of Literature and Erudition, and frequently given to Persons who excelled in all, or many Arts, call'd also *Polyhistor*. Thus *Philoponus*, a famous Philosopher in *Justinian's* Time, remarkable for the Extent and Variety of his Knowledge, was surnamed *Grammaticus*. So *Saxo*, the *Danish* Historian, in the 13th Century, got the Appellation *Grammaticus*: And as late as the Year 1580, *Thomas d'Aversa*, the famous *Neapolitan* Lawyer, was surnamed the *Grammarian*.—The Title *Grammarian* was antiently bestow'd on those we now call *Criticks*, Men of Learning, Erudition, Letters, &c. and particularly such as wrote well, and politely in every Kind. It is in this Sense that *Suetonius* entitles his Book, which he wrote on the best *Latin* Authors, *Of the celebrated Grammarians*; and that *Cornelius Nepos* calls the Commentators on the Orators, and Poets, *Grammarians*: And lastly, it is in this Sense the Appellation is attributed, by the Antients to *Apion*, *Philopemus*, and *Solinus*.—The most celebrated *Grammarians* of the second Century, were *Aper*, *Pollio*, *Eutychius*, *Proculus*, *Atheneus*, *Julius Pollux*, *Macrobius*, and *Aulus Gellius*: The Works of these last Authors are an Assemblage of Abundance of very different Things and Subjects, relating to the Criticisms of the antient Writers, and polite Literature.—If the Name have lost its antient Honour, it is through the Fault of those who have assumed it; by treating of *Grammar* in a low, pedantick, and dogmatick Manner; reducing it to Words and Syllables; and dwelling altogether on trifling, puerile Remarks and Censures: Whereas its antient Office was to make an accurate, and thorough Examen of an Author; to enter into all his Views, to point out the Beauties and the Defects thereof; to distinguish the true Beauties from the false; and the genuine Productions of an Author from the suppositions: That is, a *Grammarian* was then, what we call a *Critick* now.—Those who only taught to read, understand, and explain Authors, were call'd *Grammaticks*, *Grammatistae*; in Contradistinction from *Grammatici*: Though, in Course of Time, the *Grammatistae* have rose into the Place of *Grammatici*; who are prefer'd to that of *Critici*.

Diogenes Laertius relates, after one *Hermippus*, that *Epicurus* was the first who gave the Rules of *Grammar* for the *Greek* Tongue; but that *Plato* was the first who had taken the Thing into Consideration, and even made some Discoveries on that Subject.—At *Rome*, *Crates*, surnamed *Mallotes*, contemporary with *Aristarchus*, gave the first Lectures thereon to the *Romans*, during the Time of his being Ambassador for King *Attalus*, to the Common-wealth, between the second and third *Punic* Wars, soon after *Ennius's* Death. Before him it was not known at *Rome* what *Grammar* meant.

Note, That *Grammar* is also used for a Book containing the Rules of *Grammar* which obtain in any Language.—The best of the modern *Grammars* are, 1. For the *Hebrew*, that of *Pagninus*, the Edition of *Henry Stephens*,

vens, or *le Preux*, at *Geneva*, in 1592; that of *Petrus Martinus*, at *Rochel* 1592; that of *Buxtorff*; that of *Ludovicus Deus*, in three Languages; that of *Sixtinus Amama*, which is a Collection from *Martinius* and *Buxtorff*; that of *Bellarmino*, with the Notes of *Muis*; that of *Father Sylauter* is useful for Beginners.—For *Chaldee*, the best are those of *Martinus*, *Buxtorff*, and *Lud. Deus*, in three Languages.—3. For the *Syriack*, those of *Amira*, *Myricæus*, *Waserus*, and *Beveridge*; with the *Chaldee* and *Syriack* ones of *Buxtorff*, of *Lud. Deus*, in three Languages, and that of *Lembden*.—4. For the *Coptic*, the *Podromus Coptus*, and *Lingua Ægyptiaca Restituta* of *Kircher's*.—5. The *Arabick*, that of *Erpenius*, and that of *Golius*, which is only *Erpenius's* a little augmented.—6. For the *Ethiopick*, that of *J. Ludolphus*.

—7. For the *Persian*, that of *Ludovius Deus*.—8. For the *Armenian*, those of *Sbroder* and *Galæus*.—9. For the *Greek*, those of *Mart. Rulandus*, *Sylburgus*, *F. Mocquet*, *Vossius*, *Port Royal*, and *Busby*.—10. For the *Latin*, those of *Despauter*, the *Minerva* of *Sanctius*, those of *Vossius* and *Sprat*, that of *Port Royal*, which is only a Collection from the rest, and that of *Lowe*, the most exact of all.—11. For the *Italian*, those of *Berger*, *Lanfredini*, *Port Royal*, and *Veneroni*.—12. For the *Spanish*, those of *Salazar*, *Port Royal*, the *Abbot de Veirac*, &c.—13. For the *Portuguese*, that of *Pereira*.—14. For the *French*, those of the *Abbot Regnier*, and *F. Buffier*.—15. For the *High Dutch*, those of *Claius*, *Hertsburgensis*, *Schottelius*, *Boedicher*, and *Steinbach*.—16. For the *English*, that of *Wallis*, *Brightland*, and *Greenwood*.

G U N N E R Y.

G U N N E R Y, is the Art of charging, directing, and exploding Fire-Arms, as Cannons, Mortars, Muskets, &c. to the best Advantage.

To the Art of *Gunnery* belongs the Knowledge of the Force and Effect of Gunpowder, the Dimensions of Pieces, and the Proportion of the Powder and Ball they carry, with the Method of *Managing*, *Charging*, *Pointing*, *Spunging*, &c. and notwithstanding that I mention here Gunpowder first, I'll begin this Treatise by the Dimensions of the different Pieces of Cannon and Mortars, both antient and modern; their different Caliber; the best Method to find that Caliber; their different Carriages, &c. Then proceed to the Preparation of Gunpowder, instructing my Pupil Gunner how to chuse the best, &c. From thence I'll pass to the Proportions of the Powder and Ball each different Piece carries, making some Observations on the different Sorts of Bullets, Bombs, &c. And lastly, give the Method of *Managing*, *Charging*, *Pointing*, *Spunging* them, &c. with a previous Description of all the different Utensils used in those Operations. Concluding the Treatise with some particular Rules of the *Military Art*, which I have omitted in my Treatise of *Fortification*.

To begin with the different Dimensions of the *Pieces of Artillery*, we must observe, 1. That of those Pieces, some are of antient, and others of modern Invention; meaning only in this Place, *Cannons* and *Mortars*.

Note, That a *Cannon* is a Military Engine, or Fire-Arm, for throwing Iron, Lead, or Stone-Bullets, by Force of Gunpowder, to a Place exactly opposite to the Axis of the Cylinder whereof it consists.

Cannons are made cylindrical, that the Motion of the Ball might not be retarded in its Passage; and that the Powder, when on Fire, might not slip between the Ball and the Surface of the *Cannon*, which would hinder its Effect. *Wolffius* would have the *Cannon* always decrease towards the Mouth or Orifice: In Regard the Force of the Powder always decreases, in Proportion to the Space through which it is expanded.

The Names of the Brass *Cannons*, antiently cast, their Weight, Length, and the Weight of the Ball, or their *Caliber*, were as follows:

NAMES.	Caliber, or Wt. of the Iron Ball.	Wt. of the Cannon.	Length.
	lb.	lb.	Feet.
The <i>Bastick</i> ,	48	7200	10
The <i>Dragon</i> ,	40	7000	16½
The <i>Flying Dragon</i> ,	32	7200	22
The <i>Serpentine</i> ,	24	4300	13
The <i>Culverine</i> ,	20	7000	16
The <i>Half-Culverine</i> ,	10	4250	11
The <i>Saker</i> ,	5	2850	13
The <i>Sacret</i> ,	4	2500	12½
The <i>Falcon</i> ,	3	2300	8
The <i>Falconet</i> ,	2	1350	10½
The <i>Ribadequin</i> ,	1	750	8
The <i>Amerillon</i> ,	½	400	4 or 5

Note, That *Cannons* were made formerly much longer than at present; till some made by Chance, 2½ Foot shorter, taught us that the Ball moves with a greater Impetuosity through a less Space than a larger. This *Gustavus* the great King of *Sweden* proved by Experience, in 1624, when an Iron Ball, 48 Pounds Weight, was found to go farther from a new short *Cannon*, than another Ball of 96 Pounds, out of an old longer Piece; whereas in other Respects, it is certain, the larger the Bore and Ball, the greater the Range.

The Names of the several *Cannons*, their Length, Weight, and that of their Balls, as they obtain in *England*, are as follows:

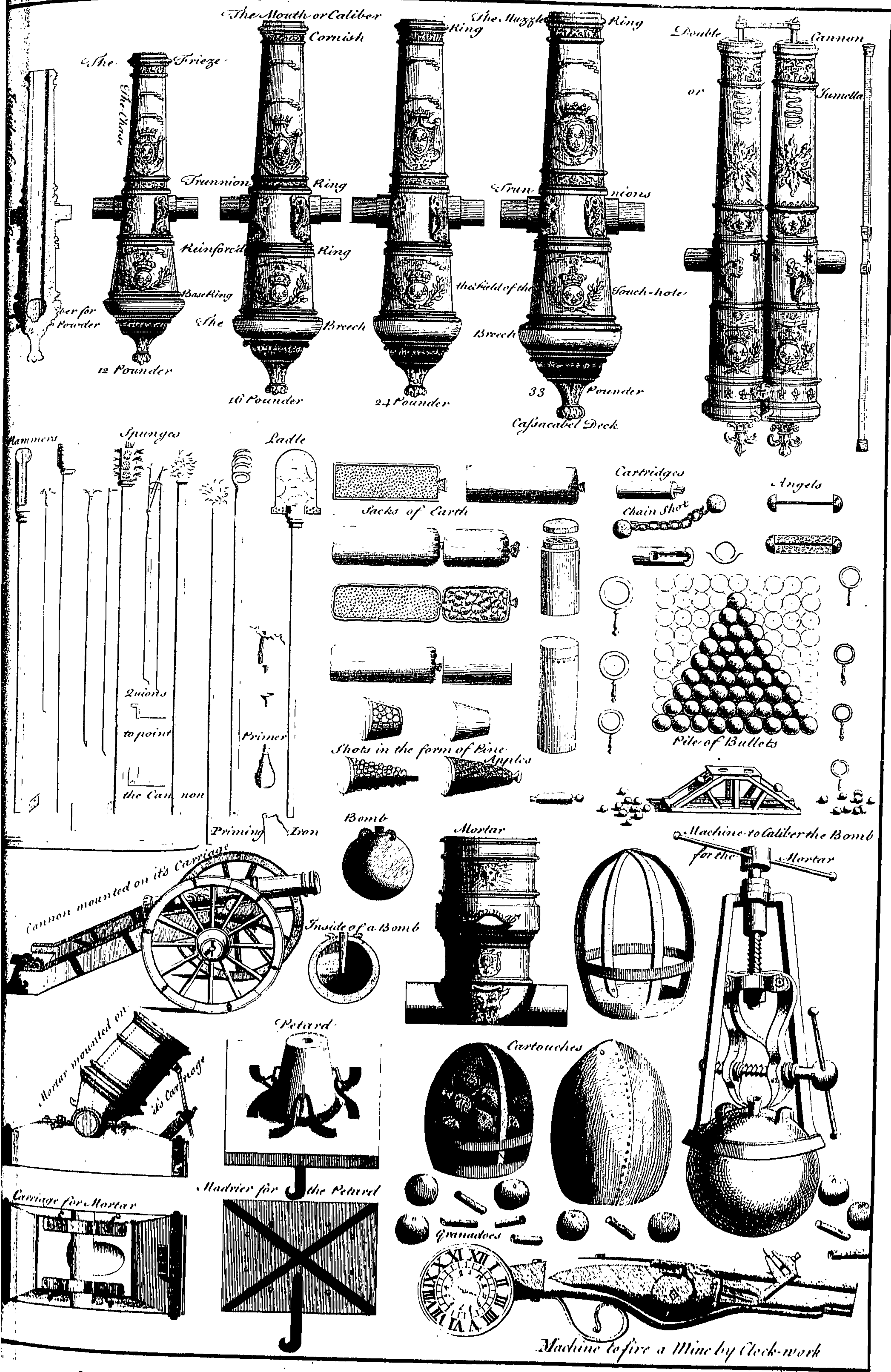
Names of Cannon.	Weight of an Iron Ball.	Wt. of the Cannon.	Length of the Cannon.
	lb. Oz.	lb.	Feet.
<i>Cannon Royal</i> ,	48	8000	12
<i>Demi-Cannon large</i> ,	36	6000	12
<i>Demi-Cannon ordinary</i> ,	32	5600	12
<i>Demi-Cannon least</i> ,	30	5400	11
<i>Culverine largest</i> ,	20	4800	12
<i>Culverine ordinary</i> ,	17 5	4500	12
<i>Culverine least</i> ,	15	4000	11
<i>Demi-Culverine ordinary</i> ,	10 11	2700	11
<i>Demi-Culverine least</i> ,	9	2000	10
<i>Saker ordinary</i> ,	6	1500	10
<i>Saker least</i> ,	46 12	1400	8
<i>Minion largest</i> ,	36 12	1000	8
<i>Minion ordinary</i> ,	3 4	800	7
<i>Falcon</i> ,	2 8	750	7
<i>Falconet</i> ,	1 5	400	6
<i>Rabinet</i> ,	0 8	300	5 6 dig
<i>Base</i> ,	0 5	200	4 6 dig

All these are called in *English*, *Pieces of Ordnance*, and each of them is composed of several Parts, which have all different Names, the principal thereof are as follows:

The Outside, round about the Piece, is called the *Superficies* of her Metal; the Substance, or whole Mass, the *Body*; the Hollowness, or Concavity, the *Bore*; so much of her Hollowness as contains the Powder and Shot, the *Chamber*; the Remainder, her *vacant Cylinder*; the Spindels or Ears, the *Trunnions*; the Pummel at her Coyle, the *Cassacabel Deck*; the little Hole, the *Touch-Hole*; all the Part behind the *Touch-Hole*, her *Breech*, or *Coyle*; the greatest Ring at her *Touch-Hole*, her *Base Ring*; the next Ring above the *Touch-Hole*, her *reinforced Ring*; the next, her *Trunnion Ring*; the Ring next her Mouth, the *Muzzle Ring*; the Ring between the *Trunnion Ring* and *Muzzle Ring*, her *Cornish Ring*, all the Rings, and Circles above the *Muzzle*, the *Frieze*; and the whole Length, the *Chase*.

Note, That a Founder of *Lyons*, called *Emery*, invented in

GUNNERY.



in the last Century, a Piece of Ordinance, called *Jumelle*, or double *Cannon*, the Figure whereof is in our Plate. — The two *Cannons* carry a Ball or Bullet 4 Pounds Weight: They are cast together, with a single Touch-Hole for both, and they are charged with two Iron Bars tied together, of 12 Foot Extent, and 65 Pounds Weight.

Each Sort of *Ordinance* is more or less fortified, which Fortification is reckon'd by the Thickness of the Metal at the Touch-Hole, at the Trunnions, and at the Muzzle, in Proportion to the Diameter of the Bore.

There are three Degrees used in fortifying each Sort of Ordinance, both *Cannons* and Culverines. First, such as are ordinarily fortified, which are called *legitimate Pieces*. Secondly, such whose Fortifications are lessen'd, which are called *Bastards Pieces*: Thirdly, double fortified Pieces, or extraordinary Pieces.

The *Cannons* double fortified, have full one Diameter of their Bore in Thickness of Metal, at their Touch-Hole, and $\frac{1}{2}$ at their Trunnions, and $\frac{1}{4}$ at their Muzzle. The *lessened Cannons*, have at their Touch-Hole, but $\frac{3}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Diameter of their Bore in Thickness of Metal, and $\frac{2}{3}$ at their Trunnions, and $\frac{1}{2}$ at their Muzzle. The *ordinary fortified Cannons*, have $\frac{2}{3}$ at the Touch-Hole, $\frac{1}{2}$ at the Trunnions, and $\frac{1}{4}$ at the Muzzle. All the *double fortified Culverines*, and all lesser Pieces of that Kind, have one Diameter and $\frac{1}{8}$ at the Touch-Hole, $\frac{1}{2}$ at the Trunnions, and $\frac{1}{4}$ at the Muzzle. And all the *ordinary fortified Culverines*, are fortified every Way as the double fortified *Cannons*; and the *lessen'd Culverines*, as the ordinary *Cannons* in all Points.

Having thus given an exact Description of the different Sorts of Pieces of *Cannons*, I must next provide myself with the Powder necessary to charge them with; which is properly the Soul of *Gunnery*, since without it, all Pieces of Ordinance would prove useless.

Gun-Powder, is a Composition of Salt-petre, Sulphur, and Charcoal mix'd together, and usually granulated, which easily takes Fire, and rarifies or expands with great Vehemence, by Means of its elastick Force.

There are divers Compositions of *Gun-Powder*, with Respect to the Proportion of the three Ingredients, to be met withal in Pyrotechnical Writers: But the Effect is much the same in all.

The Sulphur and Saltpetre being purified, and reduced to Powder, are put with the Charcoal-Dust in a Mortar, moisten'd with Water or Spirit of Wine, or the like, and pounded 24 Hours together; taking Care to wet the Mass from Time to Time, to prevent its taking Fire: Lastly, squeezing it through a Sieve, it is formed into little Grains or Globules; which being dried the Powder is complet.

There are three Kinds of *Powder*, viz. *Cannon-Powder*, *Musket-Powder*, and *Pistol-Powder*; of each of these again, there are two Sorts, a *stronger* and a *weaker*, all which Differences arise only from the different Proportions.

The Proportions are thus; in the *stronger Cannon Powder*, to every hundred Pounds of Salt-petre, twenty-five Pounds of Sulphur, are generally allowed, with the same Quantity of Charcoal; and in the *weaker Cannon Powder*, to every hundred Pounds of Salt-petre, twenty Pounds of Sulphur, and twenty-four of Charcoal.

Other Authors prescribe other Proportions; *Semionowitz*, for Mortars, directs an hundred Pounds of Salt-petre, twenty-five of Sulphur, and as many of Charcoal; for great Guns an hundred Pounds of Salt-petre, fifteen of Sulphur, and eighteen of Charcoal.

Miethus extols the Proportion of one Pound of Salt-petre to three Ounces of Charcoal; and two, or two and a Quarter of Sulphur. He adds, that the usual Practice of making the *Gun-Powder* weaker for Mortars than *Cannons*, as in the Example above, is without any Foundation, and renders the Expence needlessly much greater: For, whereas, to load a large Mortar twenty-four Pounds of common Powder is requir'd; and consequently to load it ten Times, two hundred and forty Pounds; he shews, by Calculation, that the same Effect would

be had by one hundred and eighty Pounds of the strong Powder.

Note, That to make a great Quantity of *Gun-Powder*, Mills are usually provided, by Means of which, more Work may be perform'd in one Day, than a Man can do in an hundred.

There are three Ways to prove the Goodness of *Gun-Powder*. 1. By Sight; for if it be too black, it is too moist, or has too much Charcoal in it; so also if rubbed upon white Paper, it blackens it more than good Powder does: But if it be a Kind of azure Colour, somewhat inclining to red, it is a Sign of good Powder. 2. By touching; for if in crushing it with your Fingers Ends, the Grains break easily and turn into Dust, without feeling hard, it has too much Coal in it; or if, in pressing under your Fingers upon a smooth, hard Board, some Grains feel harder than the rest, or, as it were, dent your Fingers Ends, the Sulphur is not well mix'd with Nitre, and the Powder is naught. 3. By Burning; wherein Heaps of Powder are laid upon white Paper, three Inches or more asunder, and one of them fired; which, if it only fires all away, and that suddenly, and almost imperceptibly, without firing the rest, and make a small thundering Noise, and a white Smoak rises in the Air, almost like a Circle, the Powder is good; if it leaves black Marks, it has too much Coal, or is not well burnt: If it leaves a Greasiness, the Sulphur or Nitre is not well cleansed or order'd. Again, if two or three Corns are laid on Paper an Inch distant, and Fire be put to one of them, and they all fire at once, leaving no Sign behind but a white smoaky Colour in the Place, and the Paper not touch'd, the Powder is good.

To recover damag'd Powder, the Method of the Powder-Merchants is, to put Part of the Powder on a Sail-Cloth, to which they add an equal Weight of what is really good; and with a Shovel mingle it well together, dry it in the Sun, and barrel it up, keeping it in a dry and proper Place.

Others again, if it be very bad, restore it by moistening it with Vinegar, Water, Urine, or Brandy; then they beat it fine, sieve it, and to every Pound of Powder, add an Ounce, an Ounce and a half, or two Ounces (according as it is decay'd) of melted Salt-petre; afterwards these Ingredients are to be moisten'd and mixed well, so that nothing can be discern'd in the Composition; which may be known by cutting the Mass, and then they granulate as aforesaid.

In Case the Powder be in a Manner quite spoil'd, the only Way is to extract the Salt-petre with Water, according to the usual Manner, by boiling, filtrating, evaporating, and crystallizing; and then with fresh Sulphur and Charcoal, to make it up a-new again.

The Powder, without Balls or Bullets, would do no Execution; therefore we must next provide ourselves with a sufficient Quantity of them.

A *Bullet*, is an Iron Ball, wherewith *Cannons* are loaded. A *Bullet* should be very round, well shaved, and without Vacuities.

Very round and well shaved, that they make their Way streight into the Piece without scratching it.

Without Vacuities, that they may not turn round in the Air, nor take in Wind.

They are not to be of a brittle Iron, otherwise they break easily when moved.

There are *Bullets* of various Kind, viz. *red Bullets*, intended to set fire to Places, where combustible Matters are found. The *Bullet* is made red-hot, by digging a Place in the Earth, and lighting in it a great Quantity of Charcoal, or Sea-Coal; and placing over it a strong Iron Grate. When the Fire is well lighted, the *Bullets* are placed on the Grate, where, in a very short Time, they grow red-hot; then they are taken out with Tongs, or Iron Ladles for the Purpose, and carried into the Piece, which must not be very far distant from the Place where they have been heated; having before put some Clay, if possible, over the Powder the *Cannon* is loaded with, lest it should be set on Fire by the *red Bullet*. Then the

Piece is fired; and wherever the *Bullet* passes, and meets with combustible Matters, it sets them on Fire.

Note, That when a Trench is before the Battery of *red Bullets*, Hay is rammed over the Powder, because if it was Clay, the Pieces of it could wound, and kill the Workmen.

Note also, That *Red-Bullets* are never fir'd but with eight or four Pounders. For if they were of a stronger Caliber, the *Bullets* could not be serv'd easily.

Hollow Bullets, which are Shells made cylindrical, with an Aperture and Fusée at one End, which giving Fire to the Inside, when in the Ground, it bursts, and has the same Effect with a Mine.

Chain Bullets, consist of two Balls joined by a Chain, three or four Foot apart.

Branch Bullets, which are two Balls joined by a Bar of Iron, five or six Inches a-part.

Two-headed-Bullets, called also *Angels*, being two Halves of a Bullet, joined by a Bar or Chain: These are chiefly used at Sea, for cutting of Cords, Cables, Sails, &c.

But as *Bullets*, as well as the Pieces of Ordinance, are of different *Caliber*, which *Caliber*, in a Piece of Ordinance, is the Diameter of the Mouth thereof; and in a *Bullet*, its Circumference; there are Means found to Proportion these two *Calibers* to one another, *viz.* with an Instrument called *Caliber-Rule*, wherein a right Line is so divided, as that the first Part being equal to the Diameter of an Iron or Leaden Ball, of one Pound Weight, the other Parts are to the first, as the Diameters of Balls of two, three, four, &c. Pounds, are to the Diameter of one Ball of one Pound.

The *Caliber* consists of two thin Pieces of Brass, six Inches long, join'd by a Rivet, so as to move quite round each other: The Head, or one End of the Piece, is cut circular, and one Half of its Circumference divided into every second Degree. On the other Half are Divisions from one to ten; each again subdivided into four: The Use of which Divisions and Subdivisions, is when the Diameter of a *Bullet*, &c. not exceeding ten Inches, is taken, the Diameter of the Semi-circle will, among the Divisions, give the Length of the Diameter, taken between the Points of the *Calibers*, in Inches, and fourth Parts.

The Degrees on the Head, serve to take the Quantity of an Angle, the Method of which is obvious. If the Angle be inward, apply the outward Edges to the Planes that form the Angle; the Degree cut by the Diameter of the Semi-circle, shews the Quantity of the Angle sought. For an outward Angle, open the Branches till the Points be outward, and applying the streight Edges to the Planes that form the Angle, the Degrees cut by the Diameter of the Semi-circle, shew the Angle requir'd; reckoning from 180, towards the right Hand.

On one Branch of the *Calibers*, on the same Side, are, first six Inches; and each of these subdivided into ten Parts. Secondly, a Scale of unequal Divisions, beginning at two, and ending at ten, each subdivided into four Parts. Thirdly, two other Scales of Lines, shewing when the Diameter of the Bore of a Piece, is taken with the Points of the *Calibers* outwards, the Name of the Piece, whether of the Iron or Brass, *i. e.* the Weight of the Bullet it carries, or that it is such or such a Pounder, from one to forty-two Pounders.

On the other Branch of the *Calibers*, on the same Side, is a Line of Cords to about three Inches Radius; and a Line of Lines on both Branches, as on the Sector; with a Table of the Names of the several Pieces of Ordinance. On the same Face is a Hand graved, and a right Line drawn from the Finger towards the Center of the Rivet, shewing by its cutting certain Divisions made on the Circle, the Weight of an Iron Shot, when the Diameter is taken by the Points of the *Calibers*. Lastly, on the Circle or Head, on the same Side, are graved several geometrical Figures, inscribed in each other, with

Numbers; as a Cube, whose Side is supposed one Foot; a Pyramid on the same Base or Altitude, and the Proportions of their Weight, &c. a Sphere inscribed in a Cube; a Cylinder, Cone, Circle, Square, &c.

The Outside of the *Caliber*, serves to take the Diameter of the Mouth of the Piece; and the Inside, called the *Heel*, that of the *Bullet*.

There is another Method of taking the *Caliber* of the Pieces, which is to have a Rule very well divided, on which are graved the *Calibers*, both of the Pieces and Bullets. That Rule must be applied on the Mouth of the Piece, and the *Caliber* is presently found.

But to be more particular on this important Subject, here follows the different *Calibers* of the Pieces of Ordinance.

A Piece which receives a *Bullet* an Ounce Weight (twelve such Ounces to the Pound) has of Aperture at its Mouth, 9 Lines and $\frac{1}{8}$ of a Line.

That which receives a *Bullet* two Ounces Weight, has of Aperture at its Mouth, 11 Lines and $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Line. I'll continue according to the same Order.

Weight of the Bullet.		Aperture of the Caliber.		
Ounces.		Inches.	Lines.	Fractions.
1	————	0	9	$\frac{5}{16}$
2	————	0	11	$\frac{3}{4}$
3	————	1	1	$\frac{7}{16}$
4	————	1	2	$\frac{3}{4}$
5	————	1	4	
6	————	1	4	$\frac{7}{8}$
7	————	1	5	$\frac{10}{16}$
8	————	1	6	$\frac{5}{8}$
10	————	1	8	$\frac{11}{16}$
12	————	1	9	$\frac{13}{16}$
14	————	1	10	$\frac{7}{8}$

The Piece that receives the *Bullet* one Pound Weight, which makes sixteen Ounces, has of Aperture at its Mouth, 1 Inch, 11 Lines, and $\frac{1}{2}$ of a Line.

Weight of the Bullet.		Aperture of the Caliber.		
Pounds.		Inches.	Lines.	Fractions.
1	————	1	11	$\frac{1}{2}$
2	————	2	5	$\frac{19}{16}$
3	————	3	9	$\frac{13}{8}$
4	————	3	1	$\frac{5}{16}$
5	————	3	4	$\frac{1}{8}$
6	————	3	6	$\frac{2}{3}$
7	————	3	8	$\frac{7}{8}$
8	————	3	11	
9	————	4	0	$\frac{7}{8}$
10	————	4	2	$\frac{9}{16}$
11	————	4	4	$\frac{11}{16}$
12	————	4	5	$\frac{3}{4}$
13	————	4	7	$\frac{11}{8}$
14	————	4	8	$\frac{9}{8}$
15	————	4	9	$\frac{7}{4}$
16	————	4	11	$\frac{7}{16}$
17	————	5	0	$\frac{7}{16}$
18	————	5	1	$\frac{9}{16}$
19	————	5	2	$\frac{11}{16}$
20	————	5	3	$\frac{13}{16}$
21	————	5	4	$\frac{3}{4}$
22	————	5	5	$\frac{25}{32}$
23	————	5	6	$\frac{11}{16}$
24	————	5	7	$\frac{5}{8}$
25	————	5	8	$\frac{21}{16}$
26	————	5	9	$\frac{11}{8}$
27	————	5	10	$\frac{13}{16}$
28	————	5	11	$\frac{3}{4}$
29	————	6	0	$\frac{15}{16}$
30	————	6	1	$\frac{25}{32}$
31	————	6	1	$\frac{7}{16}$
32	————	6	2	$\frac{5}{8}$
33	————	6	3	$\frac{11}{16}$
34	————	6	4	$\frac{13}{16}$
35	————	6	4	$\frac{17}{16}$
36	————	6	5	$\frac{19}{16}$
37	————	6	6	$\frac{7}{8}$

Pounds.

Pounds.	Inches.	Lines.	Fractions.
38	6	6	$\frac{1}{16}$
39	6	7	$\frac{1}{12}$
40	6	8	$\frac{1}{8}$
41	6	9	$\frac{1}{6}$
42	6	9	$\frac{1}{4}$
43	6	10	$\frac{1}{3}$
44	6	10	$\frac{2}{3}$
45	6	11	$\frac{3}{4}$
46	7	0	$\frac{1}{2}$
47	7	0	$\frac{3}{4}$
48	7	1	$\frac{1}{2}$
49	7	1	$\frac{1}{3}$
50	7	2	$\frac{1}{6}$
55	7	5	$\frac{1}{2}$
60	7	7	$\frac{1}{2}$
64	7	10	

Note, That I have omitted some Numbers, because there are but few or none of those broken *Calibers* found.

Note also, That if you are in a Place where there is neither a Rule nor a Compass, you must see if there are Bullets for the Pieces, the *Caliber* whereof you will know; and present those Bullets at the Mouth of the Piece; if they enter the Piece as it should be, those Bullets are to be weighed, and their Weight will make the *Caliber* of the Piece, or thereabout; for the Bullet is always a little less strong, because it must have Wind to run commodiously into the Piece, and to come out without scratching it.

Sometimes, in lieu of Bullets, the Pieces are charged with *Cartouches*, which are Cases laden with Musket Balls, Nails, Chains, and Pieces of old Iron; sometimes, also, with small Cannon Balls.

There are *Cartouches* made in Form of Grapes, which are Musket Balls join'd together with Pitch, and disposed on a small Board, in a pyramidal Form, round a wooden Stick, which arises from the Middle of the Board.

The *Cartouches* made of Tin are the best, because they carry further.

There are also *Cartouches* made in Form of Pine-Apples, whose Figure is pyramidal. Their Base is equal to the *Caliber* of a Bullet, propos'd for the Piece they are to be fired with; their Height is of a *Caliber* and a half; they are dipped in Tar, and afterwards rolled on Musket Balls, and when well covered with those Balls, dipped again in the same Tar, after which they may be used, thrusting the biggest foremost into the Piece. These Pine-Apples are very good at Sea, because, besides that the Musket Balls flying about wound a great Number of People, the Bullet which is at the Bottom of the Cartouch, does also much Execution.

The next we'll do, is to mount our Piece on its *Carriage*, since, otherwise, it is almost impossible to use it to any Purpose; or with much Advantage, *i. e.* to point, or direct it for shooting, and convey it from Place to Place.

There are several Sorts of *Carriages*, *viz.* those of Places, called *Bastard Carriages*, with low Wheels; and the same with high Wheels. *Sea Carriages*, made in Imitation of those for Ship Guns: And *Carriages for Field Pieces*, of which there are two Kinds; the one in the ancient Manner, and the other of a new Invention.

The *Carriage of a Field Piece*, consists of two Wheels, which carry long and strong wooden Beams or Checks, between which, the Cannon is as it were framed, moving on its Trunnions, as on a Center: When it is required to move them, they add a Vantrain, composed of two smaller Wheels.

The *Carriages for Pieces of Places*, have but two Wheels, and no Vantrain.

Those of *Ship Guns*, consist of two Wheels, without Spokes.

The *Carriages* must be proportion'd to the Pieces mounted on them. — The ordinary Proportion is, for the *Carriage* to have $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Length of the Gun; the

Wheels to be half the Length of the Piece in eight; four Times the Diameter or Caliber, gives the Depth of the Planks at the fore End, in the Middle $3\frac{1}{2}$.

The Piece thus mounted on its Carriage, we'll proceed to charge it; in which Operation, several Instruments are employed, some to prepare the Piece to be loaded, some to load it, others to point it, and others to cleanse it, &c. Those Instruments have each their proper Name, which are as follows:

The *Lantern* or Ladle, which serves to carry the Powder into the Piece, and which consists of two Parts, *viz.* of a wooden Box, appropriated to the Caliber of the Piece for which it is intended, and of a Caliber and a half in Length with its Vent; and of a Piece of Copper nailed to the Box, at the Height of a half Caliber.

This *Lantern* must have three Calibers and a half in Length, and two Calibers in Breadth, being rounded at the End to load the ordinary Pieces.

The *Rammer*, which is a round Piece of Wood, commonly called a *Box*, fastened to a Stick twelve Foot long, for the Pieces from twelve to thirty-three Pounders; and ten for the eight and four Pounders; which serve to drive Home the Powder and Ball to the Breech.

The *Sponge*, which is a long Staff or Rammer, with a Piece of Sheep or Lamb-Skin wound about its End, to serve for scouring the Cannon when discharg'd, before it be charged with fresh Powder; to prevent any Spark of Fire from remaining in her, which would endanger the Life of him who should load her again.

Wad-Skrew, which are two Points of Iron turn'd serpent-wise, to extract the Wad out of the Pieces, when one wants to unload them, or the Dirt which had chanced to enter into it.

The *Boutefeux*, which are Sticks two or three Foot long, and an Inch thick, split at one End, to hold an End of the Match twisted round it, to fire the Cannon.

The *Priming-Iron*, which is a pointed Iron Rod, to clear the Touch-Hole of the Pieces of Powder or Dirt; and also to pierce the Cartridge that it may sooner take Fire.

The *Primer*, which must contain a Pound of Powder at least, to prime the Pieces.

The *Quoin of Mire*, which are Pieces of Wood with a Notch on the Side to put the Fingers on, to draw them back or push them forward, when the Gunner points his Piece. They are placed on the Sole of the Carriage.

Leaden Plates, which are used to cover the Touch-Hole, when the Piece is charged, lest some Dirt should enter it and stop it.

Being thus provided with all the Implements belonging to a Piece of Ordinance; we'll proceed to charge or load the Piece.

The first Thing we'll do, is to sponge it well, to clean it of all Filth and Dirt within Side; then we'll take the Weight of Gunpowder, in a subduple Proportion to that of the Bullet it carries, or the two Thirds of the Weight of the Bullet for Pieces cast in the antient Manner; and one Third, or a Half, for the Pieces of new Invention, which Powder we'll drive in and ram down; taking Care, however, that the Powder be not bruised in ramming, which weakens its Effect; running over it a little Quantity of Paper, Hay, or the like, and lastly, introducing the Ball.

As a Piece thus charged is design'd for Execution, it must be *pointed*, *i. e.* levelled or directed, so as to play against any certain Point, which is done by Means of a Quadrant with a Plummet; which Quadrant consists of two Branches made of Brass or Wood; one about a Foot long, eight Lines broad, and one Line in Thickness; the other four Inches long, and the same Thickness and Breadth as the former. Between these Branches is a Quadrant, divided into 90 Degrees, beginning from the shorter Branch, and furnished with Thread and Plummet.

To point, or level our Cannon, we'll place the longest Branch of this Instrument in its Mouth, and elevate or lower it till the Thread cuts the Degree necessary to hit the proposed Object. Which done we'll prime

our Cannon (if we have not done it before) and then set Fire to it.

But it is impossible to point our Cannon well, so as to do the Execution proposed, if we do not know the Path of a Bullet, or the Line it describes, from the Mouth of the Piece to the Point where it lodges, which Path is commonly called *Range*.

If the Piece be laid in a Line parallel to the Horizon, it is called the right or level *Range*; and if it be mounted to 45 Degrees, the Ball is said to have the utmost *Range*, and so proportionably; all others between 00 Degrees and 45, being called intermediate *Ranges*.

A Shot made when the Muzzle of a Cannon is raised above the horizontal Line, and is not design'd to shoot directly or Point-blank, is called *Random-Shot*.

The utmost *Random* of any Piece is about ten Times as far as the Bullet will go Point-blank; and the Bullet will go furthest when the Piece is mounted to about 45 Degrees above the level *Range*.

According to old Memoirs, it is found that antiently the Pieces carried, viz.

The Piece.	Common Paces Point blank.	Common Paces to the Utmost Random.
Of Thirty-three,	600	6000
Of Twenty-four,	800	6000
Of Sixteen, Culverine,	800	8000
Of Twelve,	450	5000
Of Four,	300	3000
Of Two,	150	1500

M. Du Metz, Lieutenant General of the King of France's Armies, and also Lieutenant of Artillery in Flanders, caused to be recorded in his Time a Proof of the Randoms of the Pieces, by which he found that the French Pieces, charged with Powder two Thirds of the Weight of the Bullet, and those of new Invention, charged with a Third, and all pointed at 45 Degrees of Elevation, carried their Bullets to the same Distance, viz.

The Piece of Twenty-four, to	2250	} Fathoms.
—— of Sixteen, to	2020	
—— of Twelve, to	1870	
—— of Eight, to	1660	
—— of Four, to	1520	

Mr. Norton observes, that

	PACES.	PACES.
	Level.	Utmost Random.
A Basse shoots	60	600
A Rabinet,	70	700
A Falconet,	90	900
A Falcon,	130	1300
Minion ordinary,	120	1200
Minion largest,	125	1250
Saker least,	150	1500
Saker ordinary,	160	1600
Saker old Sort,	163	1630
Demi-Culverine least,	174	1740
Demi-Culverine ordinary,	175	1750
Demi-Culverine old Sort,	178	1780
Culverine least,	180	1800
Culverine ordinary,	181	1810
Culverine largest,	183	1830
Demi-Cannon least,	156	1560
Demi-Cannon ordinary,	162	1620
Demi-Cannon large,	180	1800
Cannon Royal,	185	1850

A 24 Pounder may very well fire 90 or 100 Shots, every Day in Summer; and 60 or 75 in Winter. In Case of Necessity it may fire more. And some French Officers of Artillery assured, that they have caused such a Piece to fire every Day 150 Shots in a Siege.

A 16 and a 12 Pounder fire a little more, because they are easier serv'd. There have even been some Occasions, where 200 Shots have been fired from those Pieces, in the Space of nine Hours, and 138 in the Space of five.

If we want to range our Pieces in a Battery, we must take Care to reconnoitre well the Ground where it is to be placed, and the Road to convey to it, in the Night-time, the Cannon and the Munitions.

The best is to begin to make the Fascines and Picquets, in Day-time. The Fascines must be from 8 to 9 Foot long, tied in three Places, and from 8 to 9 Inches Diameter. The Length of the Picquets must be from 3 to 5 Foot; and the Head of each, from 2 Inches to 3. Three Picquets are wanted for each Fascine. It is also very proper to cause Fascines to be made 12 Foot long, tied in four Places, which must be join'd to the others above-mentioned for the Embasures, and fastened each with four strong Picquets.

The Thickness or Breadth of the Battery to be Cannon-Proof, must be from 18 to 22 Foot, according to the Ground, and the Pieces they are opposed to. The Height of the Embasures from $2\frac{1}{2}$ Feet to 3; and the Height of the Merlons over it will be determined according to the Ground where the Battery is situated.

If the Battery be found level with the Place, it is erected against, or if the Place has but a small Command over it, the Merlons must be from 5 to 6 Foot above the Knee.

If the Command be much superior on the Side of the Enemy, they must be raised, so that the Soldiers who serve the Pieces, may not be discover'd behind the Recoyle of those Pieces.

The Embasures ought to be open in the Inside of the Battery, of 2 Foot, and on the Outside of 7 or 9 Foot. The Battery must always be parallel, as much as possible, to the Works they are erected against. The Distance of the Middle of an Embasure to the other, must be no less than 8 Foot, nor more than 20.

The Sides of the Battery or Epaulment, must have 10 or 12 Foot in length.

The Madriers for the Platforms must be 2 or $3\frac{1}{2}$ Inches thick, and a Foot or more broad. The Length of those behind ought to be from 12 to 15 Foot, reduced to 8 or 9 before.

All the Platforms must have from 15 to 18 Foot in length; and 4 or 6 Inches of Declivity before, that the Pieces may easily return into Battery after they have been charged.

A Space of Ground of 12 or 15 Foot is left behind the Platforms for the Recoyle of the Pieces. On the hind Part of the Battery, small Magazines are dug in the Earth, 2 or 3 Foot deep, 15 or 20 Paces distant from the Platforms, cover'd with Boards or Fascines, with Earth over it, for fear of Fire; and a Boyack of Communication to go to it under Shelter. There must be but a Tun or two of Powder at once in those Magazines, with a Centry placed over it to prevent Accidents.

The grand Magazine, which is to supply the Battery in Day-time, must be twenty Paces distant from the small ones. There must be a Cart Load of Straw for the Wad of six or seven Pieces, and two Bundles of Match.

The Pieces must be arm'd, each with two Lanterns or Ladles, a Rammer, a Sponge, and two Priming-Irons. The Battery must also be provided with Carriages, and other Implements, necessary to remount the Pieces which the Enemy should chance to dismount.

To serve expeditiously and safely a Piece in Battery, it is necessary to have to each a Sack of Leather, large enough to contain about 20 Pounds of Powder to charge the Lanterns or Ladles, without carrying them to the Magazine; and to avoid thereby making those Trains of Powder in bringing back the Lantern from the Magazine, and the Accidents which frequently happen thereby.

It is necessary to hinder, as much as possible, the Soldiers from making a Passage of the Battery, because that's troublesome to those who serve the Pieces, and draw the Fire of the Enemy on that Side.

When one is obliged to make a Battery on a marshy Ground, he must make Use of Gabions, made of strong Branches

Branches of Oak, which should have six or seven Foot of Diameter, and be at least eight Foot high for each Merlon. There must be seven of them, *viz.* three of six Foot of Diameter, before; two of seven Foot of Diameter, in the Middle; and two of five Foot on the Outside of the Battery.

A *Battery* of 3 Pieces, must have 30 Gabions, because six are employ'd on each of the two Sides or Epaulments, which make twelve, and nine for each of the two Merlons.

The Gabions being placed, they must be filled with Earth, or with Horse-Dung mix'd with Sand.

There ought to be two Gunners, and six Soldiers to each Piece, and four Officers of Artillery.

The Gunner posted on the Right of the Piece, must take Care to have always a Pouch full of Powder, and two Priming-Irons; his Office is to prime the Piece, and load it with Powder. That on the left, fetches the Powder from the little Magazine, and fills the Lantern or Ladle which his Comrade holds; after which he minds that the Match be very well lighted, and ready to set Fire to the Piece at the first Command of the Officer.

There must be three Soldiers on the Right, and three on the Left of the Piece. The two first to take Care to ram, and sponge the Piece, each on his Side. The Rammer and Sponge must be placed on the Left, and the Lantern or Ladle on the Right. After having rammed well the Wad put over the Powder, and that put over the Bullet, they then take each a Handspike, which they pass between the foremost Spokes of the Wheel, the Ends whereof will pass under the Head of the Carriage, to make the Wheel turn round, leaning on the other End of the Handspike, towards the Embrasure.

It is the Office of the second Soldier on the Right, to provide Wad, and to put it into the Piece, as well over the Powder as over the Bullet; and that of his Comrade on the Left, to provide 50 Bullets, and every Time the Piece is to be charged, to fetch one of them, and put it into the Piece, after the Powder has been rammed. Then they both take each an Handspike, which they pass under the hind Part of the Wheel, to push it in *Battery*.

The Gunners and Soldiers having each their Orders and their Post, the Officer of Artillery must take Care to have the Piece diligently served.

In the Night he must employ the Gunners and Soldiers who shall relieve those who have served 24 Hours, to repair the Embrasures.

If there be no Water near the *Battery*, Care must be taken to have a Cask filled with it, to dip the Sponges in it, and cool the Pieces, every ten or twelve Rounds.

From the Cannon I'll pass to the *MORTAR*, which is a short Piece of Ordinance, thick and wide, proper for throwing Bombs, Carcasses, Shells, Stones, &c.

There are chiefly two Kinds of *Mortars*: The one hung or mounted on a Carriage with low Wheels, after the Manner of Guns, called *Pendent* or *Hanging Mortars*, the other fix'd on an immoveable Base, called *Standing Mortars*.

At the Head of the Bore, or Chase of the *Mortar*, is the Chamber for the Charge of Powder. This is usually made cylindrical, all but the Base which they make hemispherical: Though some of the later Engineers prefer hemispherical Chambers; as the Surface of those being less, under equal Capacities, make less Resistance to the Gun-powder.

The Thickness of the *Mortar* about the Chamber, is to be much greater than about the Chase, by Reason the Gun-powder makes a much greater Effort about the Chamber than elsewhere. The Diameter of the Chamber to be much less than that of the Bore; by Reason Bombs, Shells, &c. are much lighter than the Bullets of equal Diameters, and consequently less Powder suffices.

The first *Mortar-Piece* we'll use, shall be that for throwing Stones, which weigh commonly 1000 lb. and whose utmost Random is 150 Fathoms, loaded with two Pounds of Powder, it has 15 Inches of Diameter at its Mouth, and 2 Foot 7 Inches in Height.

The Depth of its Bore or Chase is 1 Foot 7 Inches; and the Depth of its Chamber, without including the Entrance where the Tampion is placed, 8 Inches. The *Tourillons* have 5 Inches of Diameter.

The Chamber must enter an Inch into the *Tourillons*. The Thickness of the Metal about the Chamber, 3 Inches; the Thickness of the Belly, 2 Inches; and the Length of the Chase, 1 Inch and $\frac{1}{2}$; about each Ring, 1 Inch and $\frac{1}{4}$.

Its Carriage is a Piece of Wood 6 Foot long, 18 or 20 Inches broad, and 12 or 14 Inches thick.

Mortars, for throwing Bombs, are of several Kinds.

There are some in the antient Manner, of 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 18 Inches Diameter at their Mouth; and which contain in their Chambers, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 12 Pounds of Powder.

The Chamber where the Powder is put, is cylindrical, *i. e.* of the same Breadth every where, and a little rounded at Bottom.

Those of new Invention, have a concave Chamber. And of these there are some which have 12 Inches and $\frac{1}{2}$ at the Mouth, and contain in their Chambers 18 Pounds of Powder; others 12, and others 8.

The Proportions of *Mortars* are as follow. The *Mortar* which throws a Bomb of 17 Inches 10 Lines of Diameter, has the Bore 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ Inches long, and 18 Inches 4 Lines of Diameter: It has in Thickness between the Bourrelet, and its small reinforced Ring, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Inches; its small reinforced Ring, is 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ Inches thick; its great one, 4 Inches; the Entrance of its Chamber, has 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ Inches of Diameter; the Chamber, in Form of a Pear, is 13 Inches long, and 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ Inches of Diameter at its greatest Breadth; and also 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ thick, and contains 12 Pounds of Powder.

The *Tourillons* of the *Mortar*, have 32 Inches in Length from one End to the other, and 9 of Diameter. The *Mortar* has in Height 4 Foot 4 Inches.

The *Bomb* has 17 Inches, 10 Lines of Diameter, is 2 Inches thick every where, except the Bottom, which has 2 Inches 10 Lines. The Aperture of the Touch-Hole is of 20 Lines within and without.

The *Bomb* contains 48 lb. of Powder, and weighs 490 lb. and a little more.

The Bore of the *Concave Mortar*, whose Chamber contains 18 Pounds of Powder, has 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ Inches of Diameter, and is 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ Inches long. It has in Thickness, between the Bourrelet, and its reinforced Ring, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Inches; and its reinforced Ring is 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ Inches thick. Its Chamber has 9 Inches 7 Lines of Diameter at its greatest Width: The higher Part thereof has 6 Inches of Diameter, and 4 Inches in Height; and its lower Part 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ Inches. The Thickness of the Metal round the Chamber is of 26 Inches 9 Lines. The *Tourillons* have from one End to the other 8 Inches of Diameter. The *Mortar* has in Height 3 Foot 5 Inches 4 Lines. It throws a Bomb of 11 Inches 8 Lines Diameter, which is 1 Inch 4 Lines thick every where, except at its *Cullot*, which has 1 Inch 8 Lines. The Aperture of its Touch-Hole is 16 Lines Inside and Outside. The Bomb contains 15 Pounds of Powder, and weighs 130 Pounds, or thereabout.

The Bore or Chase of the *Concave Mortar*, whose Chamber contains 12 Pounds of Powder, has 12 Inches 6 Lines of Diameter, and 17 Inches 6 Lines in Length. Its Thickness between the Bourrelet and its reinforced Ring, is of 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ Inches. Its reinforced Ring is 3 Inches thick. Its Chamber has of Diameter at its greatest Width, 9 Inches 6 Lines. The Portion of that Chamber a-top has 5 Inches 4 Lines of Diameter, and 2 Inches at Bottom. The Thickness of the Metal round the Chamber is 6 Inches. The *Tourillons* are from one End to the other, 30 Inches long, and 7 Inches of Diameter; and the *Mortar* is in all 3 Foot 2 Inches high.

It throws a Bomb, 11 Inches 8 Lines of Diameter, which is 1 Inch 4 Lines thick every where, except at its *Cullot*, which has 1 Inch 8 Lines.

The Aperture of its Touch-Hole, Outside and Inside, is 16 Lines.

The Bomb contains 15 lb. of Powder, and weighs 130.

The *Mortar*, which has a Concave Chamber containing 8 Pounds of Powder, must throw a Bomb of 11 Inches 8 Lines.—Its Diameter is of 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ Inches; its Bore 18 Inches long; its Thickness at the Chase 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Inches; its reinforced Ring 6 Inches long, and 3 Inches thick; its Concave Chamber 8 Inches 8 Lines long, and 7 Inches in Diameter; the Thickness of the Metal round it 5 Inches; its Tourillons 3 Inches long from one End to the other, and 7 Inches in Diameter.—The Concave Chamber contains 8 Pounds of Powder, and throws a Bomb as above.

The *Ordinary Mortar*, which throws a Bomb of 11 Inches 8 Lines, has a Bore of 12 Inches Diameter, and 18 long; its Thickness at the Neck 2 Inches; at its reinforced Ring 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Inches, its Chamber 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ Inches in Length, its Diameter of 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ Inches, the Thickness of the Metal round the Chamber 7 Inches, which Chamber contains 6 Pounds of Powder; the Tourillons have in Length from one End to the other 28 Inches, and 8 Inches of Diameter.

The *Mortar*, which throws a Bomb of 8 Inches, has the Bore 12 Inches long, and 8 Inches 4 Lines in Diameter; its Thickness 1 Inch 4 Lines at the Chase; its reinforced Ring 4 Inches 8 Lines long, and 1 Inch 8 Lines thick; its Chamber 6 Inches long, and 2 Inches 8 Lines of Diameter; its Tourillons 18 Inches 8 Lines in Length, and 4 Inches 8 Lines of Diameter.—The Bomb of 8 Inches of Diameter is 10 Lines thick every where, except at the Culot, which is 13, and its Touch-Hole 1 Inch of Diameter inside and outside. The Chamber contains 4 Pounds of Powder, and the Bomb weighs 40 lb.

The Bore of the *Mortar*, which is to throw a Bomb of 6 Inches, is of 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ Inches of Diameter, and 9 Inches long; its Thickness at the Chase 1 Inch; its reinforced Ring 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ Inch thick, and 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Inches long; its Chamber 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ Inches long, and 2 Inches of Diameter; the Thickness of the Metal 2 Inches, and from the Bottom of the Chamber to behind the Recoil of the *Mortar* 4 Inches thick.

Note, That common *Mortars* are very good for the Bombardment of a Place, when they can be carried near the Place; throwing the Bomb to 45 Degrees of Elevation, and to 700 Fathoms Distance: The Chamber charged with 5 or 6 Pounds of Powder, which is the greatest Charge, and carries further: The nearer a Place a *Mortar* is mounted, the less Powder is wanted for its Charge. The *Mortars* with a Concave Chamber of the same Diameter, *i. e.* of 12 and 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ Inches pointed at 45 Degrees, are proper to bombard Places afar off; they carry their Bombs from 1200 to 1800 Fathoms. Those whose Chamber contains 8 Pounds of Powder throw the Bomb to 1200 Fathoms, and weigh 2000 lb. Those of 12 Pounds of Powder will carry their Bombs to 1400 Fathoms, and weigh 2500 lb. Those of 18 Pounds of Powder will carry to 1800 Fathoms, and weigh 5000 lb.

But as *Mortars* can be of no Use, unless they be mounted on their Carriage; and as the Carriage must be proportion'd to the *Mortar* to be mounted upon it, we must carefully examine the Difference of those *Carriages*.

The *Carriage* for a *Mortar* of 12 Inches of Diameter, must be 6 Foot long, the Flasks 12 Inches long, and 10 thick. The Trunnions are placed in the Middle of the *Carriage*.

The *Carriage* of 18 must be 4 Foot long; and the Flasks 11 Inches high, and 6 thick.

To mount the *Mortars* of new Invention, they use *Carriages* of cast Iron.

In *Germany*, to mount *Mortars* from 8 to 9 Inches, and carry them into the Field, and execute them horizontally as a Piece of Cannon, they make use of a Piece of Wood 8 Foot 2 Inches long, with a Hole in the Middle to lodge the Body of the *Mortar* and its Trunnions as far as their half Diameter, and mounted on two Wheels four Foot high, to which they join a Vantrain proportioned to it, and made like those which serve to the *Carriages* of Cannons.

The Marquis de la Frezelier, a French Officer of the Artillery, made Proof of this *Carriage* with Wheels, on

which was mounted a *Mortar* of 8 Inches 3 Lines Diameter, and found that this *Mortar*, charged with a Pound of Powder, and pointed at 45 Degrees, carried the first Bomb of 8 Inches to 400 Fathoms: The second, the *Mortar* being charged with half a Pound of Powder, pointed as above to 200 Fathoms:—The third, the *Mortar* pointed at 70 Degrees, and charged with a Pound of Powder, to 300, *i. e.* 200 of Random and 100 Rolling:—The fourth, the *Mortar* pointed as above and charged with half a Pound of Powder to 150 Fathoms, *viz.* 100 of Random, and 50 Rolling:—The fifth, the *Mortar* charged with a Pound of Powder, and pointed at 90 Degrees, level with the Horizon to 300 Fathoms, of which 250 Rolling, and 50 of first Random:—The sixth, the *Mortar* pointed as above, and charged with half a Pound of Powder, has rolled its Bomb 150 Fathoms, and carried it of Random but 15 Fathoms.

Note, That this *Mortar* mounted on its Carriage only, has not quite two Foot of Recoil; and on its Carriage and Vantrain together has four, though it makes no sensible Effort.

Note, also, That the Impetuosity with which those Bombs roll, does not hinder them from producing their Effect, when the Fusée is at an End.

Having mounted our *Mortar* on its Carriage, the next Thing we do we'll *caliber* our Bomb, by means of a great *Caliper*, the two Branches whereof embrace the whole Circumference of the Bomb: These two Branches are brought on a Rule where the different Calibers are marked, among which that of the Bomb is found.

Note, That a *Bomb* is a hollow Iron Ball, or Shell filled with Gunpowder, and furnished with a Vent for a Fusée or wooden Tube filled with combustible Matter to be thrown out from a *Mortar*. The Method of preparing a *Bomb* is as follows: A hollow Iron Globe is cast pretty thick, having a round Aperture by which it may be filled and lighted; and circular Anfsæ for the commodious putting it in into the *Mortar*. To prove whether it be staunch, after heating it red-hot on the Coals, it is exposed to the Air, so as it may cool gently; for since Fire dilates Iron, if there be any hidden Chinks or Perforations, they will thus be opened and enlarged; and the rather because of the Spring of the included Air continually acting from within. This done, the Cavity of the Globe is filled with hot Water, and the Aperture well stopped, and the outer Surface washed with cold Water and Soap; so that if there be the smallest Leak, the Air, rarified by the Heat, will now perpire and form Bubbles on the Surface.

If no Defect be found in the Bomb, its Cavity is filled, by means of a Funnel, with whole Gunpowder; a little Space or Liberty is left, that when a Fusée or wooden Tube, of the Figure of a truncated Cone, is driven through the Aperture (with a wooden Mallet not an iron one, for Fear of Accident) and fastened with a Cement made of quick Lime, Ashes, Brick-Dust, and Steel-Filings worked together in a glutinous Water, or of four Parts of Pitch, two of Colophony, one of Turpentine, and one of Wax; the Powder may not be bruised. This Tube is filled with a combustible Matter, made of two Ounces of Nitre, one of Sulphur, and three of Gunpowder-Dust well rammed.

This Fusée set on fire, burns slowly till it reaches the Gunpowder, which goes off at once, bursting the Shell to Pieces with incredible Violence. Special Care however must be taken, that the Fusée be so proportioned, as that the Gunpowder do not take Fire ere the Shell arrives at the destined Place; to prevent which, the Fusée is frequently wound round with a wet clammy Thread.

Our *Mortar* mounted on its Carriage, and the Bomb ready, we'll place our Piece in Battery, which Battery must consist;—1. Of an Epaulment to shelter the *Mortars* from the Fire of the Enemy. 2. Of Platforms on which the *Mortars* are placed. 3. Of small Magazines of Powder. 4. Of a Boyau which leads to the great Magazine. 5. Of Ways which lead from the

Battery

Battery to the Magazine of Bombs. 6. Of a great Ditch before the Epaulment. 7. Of a Berm or Retraite.

Note, That the Platforms for Mortars of 12 Inches must have 9 Foot in Length, and 6 in Breadth.—The *Lambourds* for common Mortars must be 4 Inches thick; those of a Concave Chamber of 8 *lb.* of Powder, 5 Inches; those of 12 *lb.* 6 Inches; those of 18 *lb.* 7 Inches, or thereabouts. Their Length is at Discretion, provided there be enough to make the Platforms 9 Foot long.—The fore-part of the Platform will be situated at two Foot Distance of the Epaulment of the Battery.—The Bombardiers, to shelter themselves in their Battery, and not be seen from the Town besieged, raise an Epaulment of 7 Foot or more high, which Epaulment has no Embrasures.

To serve expeditiously a Mortar in Battery are required, —Five strong *Handspikes*, a *Dame* or *Rammer*, of the Caliber of the Conick Chamber, to ram the Wadd and the Earth, a wooden Knife a Foot long to place the Earth round the Bomb, an iron Scraper two Foot long, one End whereof must be 4 Inches broad and roundwife, to clean the Bore, and the Chamber of a Mortar, and the other End made in Form of a Spoon to clean the little Chamber, a kind of *Brancard* to carry the Bomb, a Shovel, and Pick-Ax.

The Officer who is to mind the Service of the Mortar must have a Quadrant to give the Degrees of Elevation.

Five *Bombardiers*, or others are employed in that Service; the first must take Care to fetch the Powder to charge the Chamber of the Mortar, putting his Priming-Iron in the Touch-Hole before he charges the Chamber; and never going to fetch the Powder before he has asked his Officer at what Quantity of Powder he designs to charge, because more or less Powder is wanted according to the Distance where it is fired; the same will take Care to ram the Wadd and Earth which another Soldier shall put in the Chamber.

That on the Right we'll put again two Shovels full of Earth in the Bottom of the Bore, which should be likewise very well rammed down.

This done, the Rammer or Dame shall be returned into its Place against the Epaulment on the Right of the Mortar: He'll take an Handspike in the same Place to post himself behind the Carriage of the Mortar, in order to help to push it into Battery; having laid down his Handspike, he'll take out his Priming-Iron, and prime the Touch-Hole with fine Powder.

The second Soldiers, on the Right and Left, will have by that Time brought the Bomb ready loaded, to be placed in the Mortar, which must be received in the Mortar by the first Soldier, and placed very strait in the Bore or Chase of the Mortar.

The first, on the Right, shall furnish him with Earth to put round the Bomb, which he must take Care to ram close with the Knife given him by the second on the Left.

This done, each shall take a Handspike, which the two first, on the Right and Left, shall put under the Peggs of Retreat of the fore-part, and the two behind, under those of the hind-part; and they together shall push the Mortar in Battery.

Afterwards the Officer shall point the Mortar.

During that Time the first Soldier shall take Care to prime the Touch-Hole of the Mortar, without ramming the Powder; and the last on the Right, shall have the Match ready to set Fire to the Fusée of the Bomb on the Right, while the first shall be ready with his on the Left, to set Fire to the Touch-Hole of the Mortar; which he ought not to do till he sees the Fusée well lighted.

The foremost Soldiers will have their Handspikes ready to raise the Mortar upright as soon as it has fired; while the hindmost on the Left shall clean with the Scraper, the Bore and Chamber of the Mortar.

The Magazine of Powder for the Service of the Battery, shall be situated 15 or 20 Paces behind, and covered with Boards, and Earth over it.—The loaded Bombs are on the Side of the said Magazine, at 5 or 6 Paces Distance.

The Officer who commands the Service of the Mortar, must take Care to discover, as much as possible with the Eye, the Distance of the Place where he intends to throw his Bomb, giving the Mortar the Degrees of Elevation, according to the Judgment he has formed of the Distance. He'll throw his first Bomb, and according to the Place where it shall chance to fall, he'll diminish or increase the Degrees of Elevation.

Most *Bombardiers* have no other Rules to throw Bombs than those above-mentioned; notwithstanding which, several make use of Tables to discover the different Distances according to the Differences of the Elevations of the Mortar, especially the Degrees of the Quadrant from 1 to 45.

This Method, though founded on an Infinity of Experiments which have proved very serviceable to those who have practised, has notwithstanding been exposed to Censure. *M. Blondel* has wrote a large Treatise on that Subject, where he pretends to give a Demonstration to throw Bombs with a greater Exactness, than had done those who had practised it without the Assistance of such a Demonstration.

To teach my Pupils this Method of *M. Blondel*, I have copied here Word by Word what I have found in his Treatise relating to that Subject.

They say then (says *M. Blondel*, speaking of *Bombardiers*) that the Mortar Chase more or less, according as it is more or less charged with Powder; and that a Mortar, for Example, of 12 Inches Caliber, charged in its Chamber with 2 *lb.* of Powder, gives every Degree 48 Foot Difference in the Random, and for the greatest Extent under the Elevation of 45 Degrees, 2160 Foot.

The same Mortar will give every Degree 50 Foot Difference, if it be charged with $2\frac{1}{2}$ of the same Goodness, and 2700 Foot for the greatest Random.

Lastly, it will give 72 Foot Difference every Degree, if the Charge be of 3 *lb.* of the same Powder, and at the Elevation of 45 Degrees, which, they say, is the greatest Random, it will throw the Bomb at the Distance of 3240 Foot.

On this Foundation they have made the following Tables.

TABLES for Mortars of 12 Inches of Caliber.

First Table at 2 Pounds of Powder.

Degrees	Randoms	Degrees	Randoms
5	240 Feet.	28	1344 Feet.
10	480	29	1392
11	528	30	1440
12	576	31	1488
13	624	32	1536
14	672	33	1584
15	720	34	1632
16	768	35	1680
17	816	36	1728
18	864	37	1776
19	912	38	1824
20	960	39	1872
21	1008	40	1920
22	1056	41	1968
23	1104	42	2016
24	1152	43	2064
25	1200	44	2112
26	1248	45	2160
27	1296		

Note, That the Difference is of 48 Feet every Degree.

Second Table at Two Pounds and half of Powder.

Degrees	Randoms	Degrees	Randoms
36	2160 Feet.	41	2460 Feet.
37	2200	42	2520
38	2280	43	2580
39	2340	44	2640
40	2400	45	2700

Note, That the Difference is of 60.

Third

Third Table at Three Pounds of Powder.

Degrees	Randoms	Degrees	Randoms
37 ———	2664 Feet.	42 ———	3024 Feet.
38 ———	2736	43 ———	3096
39 ———	2808	44 ———	3168
40 ———	2880	45 ———	3240
41 ———	2952		

The Difference is of 72.

The first supposes that the Chamber of the Mortar is charged with 2 lb. of Powder, and is from 5 Degrees to 45. The Numbers of Feet of the Randoms are found, by adding every Degree 48 Feet to the preceding One; thus adding 48 to 480, answering to 10 Degrees, you'll have 528 for 11 Degrees, and 576 for 12, adding 48 to 528; and 624 for 13 Degrees, adding 48 to 576, and thus of all the rest.

The second at 2½ lb. Charge, begins but at 36 Degrees to 45 Degrees, because the Mortar with that Charge gives as much chafe to the Bomb at 36 Degrees, as at 45, when there is but 2 lb. of Powder; for the Extent of the Random is in both of 2160 Feet, the Numbers of Feet of the Randoms surpassing one another of 60 Feet each Degree; therefore 2220 of the 37th Degree come from 2160 of the 36, and of 60 added together; and 2280 of the 38th, adding 2220 with 60, and thus of the rest.

The third at 3 lb. of Powder don't begin, for the same Reason, but at 37 Degrees to 45, because with that Charge it chafes almost as far under the Angle of 37 Degrees, as under that of 45 with 2½ lb. of Powder, the Number of Feet of each Random, follow one another every Degree, by 72 Feet; therefore adding 72 to 2664 of the 37th Degree, you'll have 2736 for the 38; and adding 72 to 2736, one has 2808 for the 39th; and 2880 for the 40, adding 72 to 2808, and thus of the others.

They say that a Mortar of 8 Inches Caliber, charged with Half a Pound of Powder, gives for each Degree of Elevation 42 Feet of Difference of Random; and for its greatest Random, under 45 Degrees, gives 1890 Feet.

The same charged with three Quarters of a Pound of Powder, gives at each Degree of Elevation, 62 Feet of Difference of Random, and for the greatest, which is at 45 Degrees, 2790.

And lastly, with a Pound of Powder, it gives at each Degree of Elevation, 82 Feet of Difference of Random; and 3690 Feet for its greatest Extent, under the Angle of 45 Degrees.

These are the other Tables.

The first at Half a Pound of Powder, begins at 5 Degrees to 45, and the Numbers of Randoms follow one another, increasing of 42 Feet every Degree.

The second at three Quarters of a Pound of Powder, does not begin till 31 Degrees; because at that Elevation, with that Charge, the Random is greater than that at 45 Degrees with Half a Pound of Powder: The Numbers of Randoms follow there one another, increasing of 62 Feet each Degree.

The third at a Pound of Powder, as at 35 Degrees, where the Random is greater than at 45 Degrees with three Quarters of a Pound; the Number of Randoms follow there one another, increasing of 82 Feet every Degree.

TABLES for Mortars of Eight Inches Caliber.

First Table at Half Pound of Powder.

Degrees	Randoms	Degrees	Randoms
5 ———	210 Feet.	19 ———	798
10 ———	420	20 ———	840
11 ———	460	21 ———	882
12 ———	504	22 ———	924
13 ———	546	23 ———	966
14 ———	588	24 ———	1008
15 ———	630	25 ———	1050
16 ———	672	26 ———	1092
17 ———	714	27 ———	1134
18 ———	756	28 ———	1176

Degrees	Randoms	Degrees	Randoms
29 ———	1218 Feet.	38 ———	1596 Feet.
30 ———	1260	39 ———	1638
31 ———	1302	40 ———	1680
32 ———	1344	41 ———	1722
33 ———	1386	42 ———	1764
34 ———	1428	43 ———	1806
35 ———	1470	44 ———	1848
36 ———	1512	45 ———	1890
37 ———	1554		

Note, That the Difference is of 42 Feet every Degree.

Second Table at Three Quarters of a Pound of Powder.

Degrees	Randoms	Degrees	Randoms
31 ———	1922 Feet.	39 ———	2418 Feet.
32 ———	1984	40 ———	2480
33 ———	2046	41 ———	2542
34 ———	2108	42 ———	2604
35 ———	2170	43 ———	2666
36 ———	2232	44 ———	2728
37 ———	2294	45 ———	2790
38 ———	2356		

The Difference is of 62.

Third Table at One Pound of Powder.

Degrees	Randoms	Degrees	Randoms
35 ———	2870 Feet.	41 ———	3362 Feet.
36 ———	2952	42 ———	3444
37 ———	3034	43 ———	3526
38 ———	3116	44 ———	3608
39 ———	3198	45 ———	3690
40 ———	3280		

Note, That at the Battle of *Nervinde*, where the King of France's Army, commanded by the Duke of *Luxembourg*, defeated entirely that of the Allies; besides the 77 Pieces of Brass Cannon, which they left behind them in their Flight, there were 8 Mortars, called *Obus* or *Obits*, which were serv'd in the same Manner as the Cannon. The *English* have the Caliber smaller, have more Metal than the others by very near 600 lb. and weigh 1500 lb. the *Dutch* ones weighing but 900 or thereabout.

Note also, That as the *Granadoes* are charged like the *Bombs*, and are very much like them, except that they have no *Anise*, we'll speak next of them.

A *GRANADO*, is a hollow Ball, or Shell of Iron, Brass, or even Glass, or Pottery Earth, filled with Gun-Powder, and fitted with a Fusee to give it Fire.

Of these there are several Kinds, the one large for Ditches, or Fosses, called sometimes *Bombs*, whose Caliber is the same with that of the Bullets of 33 lb. and which weigh 16 lb. of 24, and which weigh 12 lb. of 16, which weigh 8 lb.

Those *Granadoes* are rolled from the Ramparts, or other Works into the Ditch, or on a Breach, and do much Execution.

The other are *Hand-Granadoes*, of the Bigness or Caliber of a Bullet of 4 lb. and weigh only 2 lb. containing 4 or 5 Ounces of Powder, or thereabout.

These serve to throw with the Hand into the Trenches, or Retrenchments, in the Middle of a Troop or Company, and they infallibly lame or kill.

Care is taken, as much as possible, that they be well emptied, shaved, and of a brittle Iron. Their Aperture or Orifice, must have six Lines, or thereabout.

Small Lanterns or Ladles of Copper, and small Rammers are used to charge the *Granadoes*.

As to the Proportions of *Granadoes*, those of the Caliber of a Bullet of 33, have 6 Inches of Diameter, and something more, they are 8 Lines thick, and weigh 16 lb.

Those of the Caliber of 24, have 5 Inches 5 Lines Diameter, are 6 Lines thick, and weigh 12 lb.

Those of the Caliber of 16, have 4 Inches 9 Lines of Diameter, are 5 Lines thick, and weigh 8 lb.

Those which weigh 6 lb. have 3 Inches 5 Lines Diameter, and 5 Lines in Thickness.

Those

Those of 5 lb. Weight, have 3 Inches $2\frac{3}{4}$ Lines Diameter, and 5 Lines in Thickness.

Those which weigh 3 lb. have 2 Inches 8 Lines Diameter, and are $4\frac{1}{2}$ Lines thick.

Those of 2 lb. Weight, have 2 Inches 4 Lines Diameter, and 4 Lines in Thickness.

Those of 1 lb. Weight, have 1 Inch 10 Lines Diameter, and are 3 Lines thick.

Those of $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. have 1 Inch 8 Lines Diameter, and are 3 Lines thick.

Those of $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. have 1 Inch 6 Lines Diameter, and are 3 Lines thick.

Those of a $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. have 1 Inch 2 Lines Diameter, and are $2\frac{1}{2}$ Lines thick.

All these *Granadoes* must be thicker at Bottom than any where else.

These different Sorts of *Granadoes* have also different Sorts of Fuses.

Those of the Caliber of, 33 24 16 12 8 4
are, at the biggest End, of 12 lin. 11 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ 10 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ 8 $\frac{1}{2}$

The Diameter of the } 4 4 3 3 3 2
Orifices,

The Fuses are in } 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ Inch. 5 4 4 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
length, in all, of

And as the large *Granadoes* which are made to throw into the *Fosses*, or Ditches, or with small Mortars, they must have Fuses of different Lengths, these are for small Mortars; those for Ditches must be shorter.

The *Germans* cover the Fusee with Paper or Parchment, tied with a Thread round the Fusee.

In *France*, they use a Composition of black Pitch, mixed with a little Tallow, with which they rub over the Fusee, when fixed to the *Granado*.

The Fusee must burn so long, and no longer, as is the Time of the Motion of the Bomb or *Granado*, from the Mouth of the Mortar, &c. to the Place where it is to fall, which Time is about 27 Seconds; so that the Fusee must be contrived, either from the Nature of the Composition, or the Length of the Pipe which contains it, to burn just that Time.

At *Paris*, they charge the Fuses for the Bombs and *Granadoes*, with a Composition made with Powder-Dust and Charcoal, very well pounded, and sifted very fine, putting two Ounces of Charcoal on each Pound of Powder, and make several Proofs, to know if the Composition be not too quick.

There are several other Compositions to charge the Fuses for Bombs or *Granadoes*.

The first is of 4 lb. of Powder, 2 lb. of Salt-petre, and 1 lb. of Sulphur.

The second is of 5 lb. of Powder, 2 lb. of Salt-petre, and 1 lb. of Sulphur.

The third, which is the best, is of 3 lb. of Powder, 2 lb. of Salt-petre, and 1 lb. of Sulphur.

The fourth is of 3 lb. of Powder, 2 lb. of Salt-petre, and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of Sulphur.

The Fuses must be charged even, i. e. they must burn without spitting.

The Fusee of the Hand-Granado, which is of the Caliber of 4, must be 2 Inches 2 Lines long, 9 Lines of Diameter, and 6 Lines at the small End: The Orifice of the Fusee $2\frac{1}{2}$ Lines.

As soon as the Fusee is placed to the *Granado*, the Head thereof must be sauced in melted Pitch, and afterwards dipped in Water, which hinders the Composition from spoiling, and the Wood from rotting.

The *PETARD*, is the next Piece of Artillery which deserves our Attention, and is a Kind of Engine of Metal, somewhat in Shape of a high-crown'd Hat, serving to break down Gates, Barricades, Draw-bridges, or the like Works which are intended to be surprized. It is very short, narrow at the Breech, and wide at the Muzzle, made of Copper mix'd with a little Brass, or of Lead with Tin.

The *Petards* are not always of the same Height and Bigness: They are commonly 10 Inches high, 7 Inches of Diameter a-top, and 10 Inches at Bottom. They weigh commonly 40, 45, and 50 Pounds.

The *Madrier* on which the *Petard* is placed, and where

it is tied with Iron Circles. is of two Feet for its greatest Width, and of 18 Inches on the Sides, and no thicker than a common *Madrier*. Under the *Madrier* are two Iron Bars pass'd cross-wise, with a Hook which serves to fix the *Petard*. (See our Tables).

There is no other Secret to fix the *Petard*, than at the Beginning of the Night, to approach the Place with a Detachment as near as possible, to go down into the Ditch when dry, or to find some other Expedient which Occasion offers, when full of Water (which is not without very great Difficulty) when the Officer is come as far as under the Draw-Bridge, he causes himself to be hoisted up to the Height over-against the Draw-Bridge, and there with the Assistance of a Sergeant, or Soldier, he fixes a Nail in one of the Boards of the Bridge, or of the Gate, and at the same Time sets Fire to the Fusee, which must be of a slow Composition, that they may have Time to withdraw, and the Fire communicating to the *Petard*, bursts the Board on which it is placed, and by that Means gives Entrance to those who are appointed for the Expedition intended.

We must confess however, that few Officers return from those Expeditions, and that there are none more exposed; for either from the Works which are over the Gate, or from those on the Right and Left, if the Besiegers perceive them at Work, they chuse the *Petarder* and seldom miss him. So that an Officer must be indued with great Intrepidity to accept of such Commission.

To charge a *Petard* 15 Inches high, and 6 or 7 Inches of Caliber or Diameter at the Bore, it must be first very well cleaned inside, and heated, so that the Hand may bear the Heat; then take the best Powder that may be found, throw over it some Spirit of Wine, and expose it to the Sun, or put it in a Frying-Pan, and when it is well dried, 5 or 6 lb. of this Powder is put into the *Petard*, which reaches within three Fingers of the Mouth: The Vacancy is filled with Tow, and stopped with a wooden Tampion; the Mouth being strongly bound up with Cloth tied very tight with Ropes; then it is fixed on the *Madrier*, that has a Cavity cut in it to receive the Mouth of the *Petard*, and fastened down with Ropes.

Some, instead of Gunpowder for the Charge, use one of the following Compositions, viz. Gunpowder seven Pounds, Mercury Sublimate one Ounce, Camphor eight Ounces; or Gunpowder six Pounds, Mercury Sublimate three Ounces, and Sulphur three; or Gunpowder six, beaten Glass $\frac{1}{2}$ an Ounce, and Camphor $\frac{1}{4}$.

From the *Petard*, I'll pass to the *ORGUES*, which is a Machine composed of several Arquebuss, or Musquet-Barrels bound together; by means whereof several Explosions are made at the same Time, used to defend Breaches and other Places attacked.

Note, That as several of my Subscribers have complained that I have not enlarged enough, on several Subjects in my Treatise of Fortification, particularly on those which have a Report to Sieges, &c. which Subjects belong properly to this of *Gunnery*; I take this favourable Opportunity of gratifying their Curiosity; and begin by an ample Description of a Park of *Artillery*.

A *Park of ARTILLERY*, is a Post in a Camp out of Cannon-Shot, where are kept all the Ordinance, Munitions, &c. which are to serve in a Siege. There are several Kinds of these *Parks*; and their Disposition depends entirely on the Will of the Master of the Ordinance.

The Rangement, or Order of the Pieces and Munitions in a *Park* before a besieged Town, is different in something from that formed in a Field.

The *Park* is commonly formed in the Center of the Line, three under Paces distant for the Forces which form that Line, and foremost.

When the Equipage is large, the *Park* is always square. On the Line which faces the Enemy are placed the Pieces of Cannon, the biggest always on the Right, the Mortars, Carriages, the composed Cart, and the Crane.

On one of the Lines of the Sides of the Square, are placed the Lead, Matches, Sacks of Earth, Ropes, *Granado's*, and the Fuses in Casks, &c. — On the other the Bombs and Bullets; and on that which closes the Square,

Square, the Tools to move the Earth with, and the hind-part upwards. It is this last Line which must be 300 Paces distant from that of the Army. All the Vantrains, Waggon, and Carts must be within the Square, equally distant from one another, and the Axle-trees over-against one another.

In the Square near the last Line is placed the Powder, in as narrow a Space as possible.

About 20 Paces before the first Line, in the Middle, must be placed four small Pieces charged, attended by two Commissaries, and four Gunners of Guard.

There must be an advanced Corps de Guard commanded by a Captain, out of which are drawn the Centries for the Powder, for the Cannon, and for all the Entrances of the Park.

The Commissaries, and the Keeper of the Park, must encamp within the Park, as also those who unload the Baggage.

The other Officers, the Captain of the Workmen, and his People, must encamp on the Sides of the Park.—The Captains of the Carriages, their Equipages, on the Wings, and along the nearest Hedges.

The pontoons must be on the Left, square or round-wise, according to their Quantity.

Some Carts are allowed to each Brigade, to carry the Officers Baggage.

Next we'll have a View of the March of an Equipage of Artillery.

There must march at the Head of a whole Equipage of Artillery, a Cart composed of Tools, as Shovels, Pick-axes, Hatchets, &c. with four Pioneers, and a Wage-master to lead the Way, and render the Roads practicable.—After this Cart follow four small four Pounders, mounted on their Carriages, and loaded with Bullets, attended by Gunners with a lighted Match in their Hands; and after them a composed Cart of Artillery, loaded with a Barrel of Powder, one of Lead, a Bundle of Matches of 50 lb. fifty Bullets of the Caliber of the Pieces, &c.

The Treasure, and the King's Baggage, when there is but one Column, march most commonly after this small Equipage. The pontoons and their Appurtenances must march afterwards; then follow the large Pieces on their Carts; next the Pieces mounted on their Carriages, every one according to its Caliber; and next the Carriages of the large Pieces, followed by the Mortars.

After this must march the Boxes or Trunks of the Keeper of the Park, the strong Boxes of the Treasure, and of the Captain of the Workmen, where are contained all the Tools for them, and the Miners, and likewise the Forges. Then follow the Baggage of the General of the Artillery, and of all the other Officers of the Equipage, each according to his Rank, those of the Fuzileers, Bombardiers, and all the Suttlers of the Equipage.

In their Turn march the Powder, Match, Sacks of Earth, Ropes, Fusees for Bombs and Granado's, Lead, Granado's, Carriages for Mortars, Bombs, Bullets, each according to its Caliber, the Tools for Pioneers, and the Carts.

To hinder the Interruption of this March, the General of Artillery divides his Officers in five Brigades, who divide between them the whole Equipage, and each brings to the Park the Part committed to his Care, taking by Turns the Head and the Tail.

Note, That we should inform a Commissary of what he should do, if he was ordered to form a small Equipage for some Detachments of which this is a Project.

For Ten Pieces.

Horses.	Pieces.	Carriages, Vantrains, and Arms.
24	on	4 Pieces of 8 mounted on their Carriages, with their Vantrains, and other Utenfils.
24	on	6 Pieces of 4 mounted on their Carriages, with their Vantrains, &c.
24	on	2 Supernumeraries Carriages, with two Pair of Utenfils on the said Carriages.
56	10.	

<i>Horses.</i>		<i>Carts.</i>		
8	—	2 Loaded with 500 Bullets, of which 200 of 8 and 300 of 4, to fire 50 Shot with each Piece.		
32	—	8 Loaded each with 1250 <i>lb.</i> of Powder, the whole amounting to 10,000 <i>lb.</i> i. e. as many thousand Pounds of Powder as there are Pieces, as well for the Pieces as for the Forces of the Detachment.		
28	—	7 Loaded each with 1140 <i>lb.</i> of Lead, the whole amounting to 8000 <i>lb.</i>		
32	—	8 Loaded each with 1238 <i>lb.</i> of Match, the whole amounting to 9900 <i>lb.</i>		
8	—	2 Loaded with 1000 Granado's charged, and 1200 Fufees also charged, those Carts carrying each 1150 <i>lb.</i>		
		<table><tr><td>$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 500 \text{ Pick-axes,} \\ 500 \text{ Shovels,} \\ 150 \text{ Hatchets,} \\ \text{\&c.} \end{array} \right\}$</td><td>250 Tools on each Cart, each Tool weighing 5 <i>lb.</i></td></tr></table>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 500 \text{ Pick-axes,} \\ 500 \text{ Shovels,} \\ 150 \text{ Hatchets,} \\ \text{\&c.} \end{array} \right\}$	250 Tools on each Cart, each Tool weighing 5 <i>lb.</i>
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 500 \text{ Pick-axes,} \\ 500 \text{ Shovels,} \\ 150 \text{ Hatchets,} \\ \text{\&c.} \end{array} \right\}$	250 Tools on each Cart, each Tool weighing 5 <i>lb.</i>			
4	—	1 Loaded with a compleat Forge.		
4	—	1 Loaded with Carpenters and Cartwrights Tools.		
4	—	1 Loaded with a Tun of Ropes.		
4	—	1 Loaded with a compleat Crane.		
<hr/>				
212	—	39		

The Officers: A Lieutenant, two Provincials, two Ordinaries, five Extraordinaries, two Officers Pointers, a Captain of the Carriages, a Conductor, a Carpenter, a Cart-wright, and a Smith.

But as this Sketch is not capable to satisfy the Reader, here followeth a more ample Project of the Formation and March of the Equipage.

We suppose that an Equipage of Artillery is wanted for an Army of 50,000 Men, who are to march into Flanders.

For 50 Pieces.

<i>Horses. Pieces. Carriages. Vantrains, and Arms.</i>		
32	4	Pieces of 24 of the new Invention mounted, &c.
4	0	1 Carriage, and one Pair of Utenfils.
36	6	Pieces of 12 of new Invention mounted.
4	0	1 Carriage, and a Pair of Utenfils.
120	20	Pieces of 8, mounted and armed.
8	0	2 Carriages, and 2 Pair of Utenfils.
80	20	Pieces mounted and armed.
<hr/>		
292	50	
<hr/>		
<i>Horses. Carts.</i>		
32	8	400 Bullets of 24, at 50 <i>per</i> Cart, and weighing 1200.
24	6	600 Bullets of 12, at 100 <i>per</i> Cart, and weighing 1200.
52	13	2000 Bullets of 8, at 154 <i>per</i> Cart, and weighing 1232.
28	7	2000 Bullets of 4, at 286 <i>per</i> Cart, and weighing 1144.
<hr/>		
136	34	
<hr/>		

Horses.	Carts.
320	{ 80 Carts loaded each of } making 88000
	{ 400 lb. of Powder, }
	{ 400 lb. of Lead, }
	{ 300 lb. of Match, }
16	{ 48 Carts charged each of } making 4400
	{ 800 lb. of Lead, and }
	{ 300 lb. of Match, }
112	{ 28 Carts charged each of } making 28000
	{ 1000 lb. of Powder, — }
96	{ 24 Carts charged each of } 30000.
	{ 250 Tools, mak- }
	{ 6000, and weigh- }
	{ ing about }
544	136

60000 of Powder
35200 of Lead
25200 of Match
120400
6000 Tools for Pioneers.

Horses, Carts, Waggon, Caiffons, pontoons.

15	—	3	Carts to carry 1000 Hatchets.
16	—	4	Carts for 2000 Serpes.
20	—	5	Carts for 2000 Granado's charged.
5	—	1	Waggon to carry several Utensils.
5	—	1	Waggon for 200 Tools for Miners.
15	—	3	Waggon for Ropes of all Sorts.
5	—	1	Waggon to carry 3000 Sacks of Earth.
12	—	3	Carts for 3 compleat Forges.
4	—	1	Cart loaded with Coal.

16	—	4	Caiffons.	those Caiffons are for the Captain of the Workmen, the Major of the Artillery, the Artificers, the Surgeon Major, and the Almoner.
113				

Horses, Carts, &c.

120	—	20	Copper Boats mounted on their Haquets.
12	—	2	Haquets of Rechange.
8	—	2	Caiffons full of Ropes and Tools to build Bridges.

TOTAL of					
<i>Horses.</i>	<i>Carts.</i>	<i>Waggon.</i>	<i>Caiffons.</i>	<i>Haquets.</i>	<i>Boats mounted.</i>
292	34	3	4	2	20.
136	136	1	2		
544	4	1	—		
113	5	3	6		
140	3	1			
	1	—			
		9			
1225	183				

Note. That as soon as the Forces begin to assemble, the Lieutenant commanding the Artillery must wait on the General of the Army, to concert Measures with him for the Transport of the Munitions, as Powder, Lead, Match, and Tools, which are distributed among them, that each Soldier may have wherewithal to fire ten or twelve Shot, before they advance towards the Enemy. After this Distribution the Horses and Carts must return to join the Equipage of the Artillery, that they may all march in good Order to the Army. The Lieutenant reviews all the Horses of his Equipage of Artillery; and sends to Court, and to the grand Master, a Detale of those he has taken into the Service, and of those he has rejected.

All the Munition being charged, they are commanded to march for the Army by Brigades, in the following Order.

First BRIGADE.—A Provincial Commissary, two ordinary Commissaries, two extraordinary, an Officer Pointer, a Captain of the Carriages, a Guide, three Workmen, 20 Carts.

Munitions.—A Cart, loaded with all the Tools necessary for the Workmen of that Brigade; 10 Pieces mounted; a Carriage of Rechange; 6 Carts loaded with Bullets of 8, each Cart loaded with 150 of them; 3 Carts of Powder, each with 1000 *lb.* Weight; 6 Carts, each with 400 *lb.* of Powder, 400 *lb.* of Lead, 300 *lb.* of Match; 3 Carts loaded with Tools, carrying each 250.

There will be three other Brigades composed in the same Manner excepting the Difference of their Pieces. That of the Park which is the strongest, is composed of 4 Pieces of 24, and of 6 of 12. It has also the Munitions left by the other Brigades, with the Forges, 20 pontoons, Haquets, and Caiffons. This Brigade marches always in the Center, having two Brigades before and behind, that's to say, the first with the third, and the second with the fourth.

The Captains and Guides are divided between the Brigades, to go and reconnoitre the Passes, and the most easy Places; they are to stand at the Defiles, and most dangerous Passages, with one of the Officers of the Brigade, till it be entirely passed; whereby the Carters are more on their Guard, and succoured if wanted.

The Commander is to march at the Head of that Equipage, or allow ten Workmen to each Brigade, be-

sides the twenty who march with him, to make the Road practicable.

The Commissary, upon Duty, may march first with his Brigade, and only the Pace of the Horses, stopping from Time to Time, that the other Brigades may easily follow him.

When the Head is obliged to halt, it must double in the most commodious and nearest Ground they can find.

After a considerable Detachment of Fuziliers has been left to march at the Head of the Equipage, and another for the Rear; small Detachments besides are allowed for each Brigade, that Platoons may be left in the Places where it may be cut by the Baggages left in the same Place, till the following Brigade be arrived, where then the Detachment she has along with her takes the same Post, which contributes entirely to the good Order of the March of that great Body.

The Major of the Artillery must go before with two Officers, and a Guide appointed by the Commander, that they may meet together at the Encampment of the Army, to see the Place marked by the General Officers. One of those Officers of Artillery having seen the Place of the Park, returns back to meet the Equipage, with the Guide, who minds the best Road which conducts thither; taking Care always that it should not traverse the Lines, because of the Embarras, and Inconveniency which could happen.

The Horses of the Artillery must always be 300 Paces distant from the Park, where they are incamped in several Lines on the Right and Left. Avoiding to place them before the Battalions, because of the Parties of the Enemies.

To form a *Park of Artillery* where the Pieces of Ordinance are at the Head; all the Distances and Incampments having been modeled on that of the Army, one of the Commissaries of the Park, causes the Cart, loaded with Tools, which is at the Head, to advance, which he places first on the Alinement of the Cannon, which must be marked with a Chord or Picquet; then he has all the Pieces of that Brigade turned towards the Enemy, leaving an Interval of two large Paces between the Cart and the first Piece, and thus of all the others which follow, which must give four Paces, the Body of the Cart, the Distances, and the Carriage included; therefore for the 10 Pieces of the Brigade, with the Carriage, and the Cart of Tools which marches at the Head, there must be 48 Paces; increasing 5 Paces more to leave a reasonable Distance between each Brigade, which would make for the five Brigades 260 Paces of Front.

While an Officer of the *Park* makes all these Dispositions, others place the first Line of the Munitions of that first Brigade 40 Paces behind that of the Cannon, and by means of the Intervals they must give between each Cart, and of the Distance they must leave between these two first Brigades, they must occupy as much Front as the whole Cannon; and though the Number of the Carts be not equal to that of the Pieces, that Line notwithstanding, ought to be equal to that of the Cannon.

The Brigade of the *Park* which follows, having alined her Pieces with the others, a second Line is formed of all the Munitions, distant 30 Paces only, of the two other Brigades which form the first Line of Munitions; and as that Brigade is very large, and has a great Number of Carts, Care is taken that it should notwithstanding make but one Line, by giving a little less Interval between the Carts: It is even more proper to make of it two Brigades of the *Park*, by placing the four Pieces of 24 for the first Brigade, and six of 12 for the other Brigades of the *Park*, and distributing among them the Munitions left in the Equipage, *i. e.* those that are not in the light Brigades.

The Forges which march immediately after that Brigade, leave her near the Park, and go commonly to incamp on the Right between the Pieces and the Battalions, where the Captain-General of the Workmen forms his Yard, for mending the Pieces, and other necessary Things.

The two other Brigades conduct likewise their Cannon to the same Alinement of the other Pieces, and make a third Line of Munitions of the same Front of the others behind

behind those of the *Park*, and of the Distance of 30 Paces, and making two Brigades of the *Park* instead of the third Line, they'll make the fourth.

The Pontoons, which follow in the March the Brigade of the *Park*, form a fourth and last Line, and shut up the *Park* on the Side of the Army.

This done, the Commissary of the *Park* orders that Centries should be posted, to hinder any Body from approaching the Munitions; three are placed at the first Line of the Pieces, one at each End, and two in the Center; six others to the six Extremities of the Lines of Munitions; and three at the last Line, posted as at the first.

A small Body of Fusiliers is posted 50 Paces distant from the Cannon before the Center, for Fear of any Surprise.

The two Pieces of Alarm are advanced at 10 Paces distant from the Cannon, near which there is a Centry, and a Gunner with a lighted Match.

As soon as the Commissary has thus disposed his *Park*, he sends Word to the Captain-General of the Carriages to send him 2, 3, 4 Teams of Horses for the Picquet, which are placed in the Rear of the *Park*, that a whole Brigade may always be ready to march at the first Notice given.

From these Dispositions to form a *Park of Artillery*, I'll pass to those which are to be made of the said Artillery, on the Day of a Battle.

As soon as the Enemy begins to form itself in Order of Battle, the Artillery takes her Posts at the Head of the Infantry. The first Brigade taking the Right, and the other the Left; and if there be a third Brigade, it must be posted in the Center of the said Infantry.

The Artillery must fire as soon as the Cannon is at a proper Distance, and Orders have been given for it; and that without Discontinuation till the Battle begins, for then the Artillery must join the Squadrons of Cavalry and Dragoons, to march in the Intervals or Distances, to the Enemy, approaching as near as possible the two Wings of the Squadrons; so that the Officers of the Artillery on Horseback, marching at the Head, may make the same Front of the Squadron to cover the Pieces; and all the Gunners on Foot, to serve those Pieces, till they come near the Enemy, whence they may be ordered to fire some Shot, if the Squadrons makes a Halt, keeping always the greatest Quantity of Cannon ready to fire, if the Enemy come to their Encounter.

But if the Enemy remain in their Posts, the Artillery shall go to them, keeping the Pieces ready charged with Bullets and Cartouches, without discovering them till they are half Musket-Shot from the Enemy, where they'll appear ready pointed to fire as soon as the Cavalry shall depart to charge them.

Afterwards both Armies being mixed together, and come to handy Blows, it is the Business of the Cavalry to end the rest, and that of the Artillery to return to her former Posts at the Head of the Infantry, and to march in good Order to the entire Defeat of the Enemy, and in case of a bad Event to favour a Retreat, or give Time to the Troops to rally behind the Army, and hinder the Enemy from pursuing them.

The same Motions must be made at the Head of the second Line, if the first has been beaten; taking Care to return always to the former Posts at the Head of the Infantry; since those two Bodies must be inseparable, being almost invincible when well united.

Two Matches lighted at both Ends suffice for each Piece, and there must be 12 Soldiers commanded to serve each Piece, though there be but four of them employ'd in the ordinary Actions, and for cannonading.

To succeed on those Occasions, it suffices to make a continual Fire on the Forces, and on the Batteries, which are on the Right and Left of the Posts which one occupy, directing some Shot to the opposite ones, to keep them in Respect; and the Bullet does more Execution when it enters a Squadron or Battalion, through the Wings, or takes the Battery in Rouage, than when he takes them in Front.

But when the Artillery is to advance to occupy some Posts which incommode the Enemy, to take them in

Flank, or to favour the Forces which march to them, eight Men must be employ'd to conduct each Piece, without any Embarrass of Horses or Vantrain, and four others are to carry the Utensils belonging to it, as Powder, Cartridges, Bullets, &c. that the Gunners may thereby be in a Condition to redouble the Shot when they draw near the Enemy.

On all these Occasions the Commissaries of Artillery must use the Gunners to fire just, and without Embarrass, the Means to succeed therein, is to assign to each his Functions. The Gunner must keep himself ready, as soon as the Piece has fired, to sponge it, which done, the second Gunner shall load the Piece, the next to put the Wadd on the Powder and Bullet, and the other to ram both the Powder and Bullet.

The fourth Gunner shall hold the Match lighted, while others shall, with their Handspikes, push it in Battery.

The Commissary who is at the Head of the Brigade must take Care to have a Quantity of Munition necessary to maintain a great Fire on the Enemy, and to have Horses and Men ready to go to them if Occasion offers: He must also have other Horses to carry off the Cannon, and Nails of Steel to nail it, if it cannot be carried off.

But we want perhaps to furnish with Artillery a fortified Place, which we imagine will be besieged; for which there are but few particular Rules, since the Ravitallment depends on the Extent of the Place, on its Situation, on the Manner it is fortified, and on its Garrison; but however, as there are some general ones to be observed in such an Enterprize, as well with Regard to the Number of Men, as of Pieces of Ordinance required for the Defence and Security of a Place; here follow a few of them.

For a Place of considerable Strength in Case of a Siege.

Infantry	————	————	4000 Men
Cavalry	————	————	600 Horse
Officers of Artillery	————	————	20
Gunners	————	————	50
Miners	————	————	20
Carpenters and Wheel-rights	————	————	30
For Fire-Works	————	————	2 Men
Engineers	————	————	3

Pieces of Cannon.

Twenty-four Pounders	————	10
Sixteen Pounders	————	10
Twelve Pounders	————	10
Eight Pounders	————	18
Four Pounders	————	24
Mortars	————	12
Mortars to throw Stones, &c.	————	12
Carriages for each Piece	————	84
Muskets of Reserve	————	6000
Fusils	————	1000
Musketoons	————	400
Girl'd Pistols	————	400
Pikes	————	2000
Halberts	————	200
Swords of Reserve	————	600
Broad Swords	————	600
Bombs for Mortars	————	1500
Bombs for Ditches thrown with the Hand	————	600
Hand-Granado's	————	50,000
Pitch, Tar, Sulphur, Saltpetre, &c. in Proportion.	————	

Powder.

Note, That to know the Quantity of Powder which may be consumed during the Siege of a considerable Place, the Estimate of the Duration of that Siege must be made, supposing the Place weakly attacked on its strongest Side, the Garrison strong and brave, well provided with all Things necessary for a vigorous Defence, and the Governor, and other commanding Officers brave likewise, and well versed in the Art of defending Places; and without entering into the Details of all the Attacks, which would be tedious; we suppose that the Place may hold out two Months, viz. 10 Days

of Investiture, and 50 of open Trench; which presupposed, we'll reckon for the 10 Days of Investiture 10000 *lb.*

For the Remainder we'll reckon as follows,
Of the 4000 Men of Infantry, the Garrison is } *Men.*
composed of, we must retrench for the Sick and } 300
Wounded
For the common Work ——— 300
For the Service of the Cannon ——— 200
For to carry the Munitions to the Posts, Tools, }
Materials, and Wounded } 140
For the Mines ——— 60

Which makes up ——— 1000

Therefore we must have but 3000 Men left, which we'll divide into three, *viz.*

For the ordinary Guard ——— 1000
For the Biovac ——— 1000
For to take their Rest ——— 1000

Out of the 1000 Men appointed for the ordinary Guard, we'll take a third Part for the Guard of the Posts which are not attacked, amounting to 333, distributing to each of them daily a Quarter of a Pound of

Powder ——— 83½
For the 1000 Men of the Biovac ¼ each, which }
makes daily } 250

To the 600 Horse ¼ each, every Day ——— 150

To the 667 Men opposed to the Attacks at }
1 *lb.* ½ each daily } 1667 ½

For 150 Shot of Cannon, at 5 *lb.* each ——— 750

Total *per Diem* ——— 2901

And for the 50 Days ——— 145050 *lb.*

For the extraordinary Actions ——— 20000

To charge and fire the 1500 Bombs at }
16 *lb.* each } 24000

For the 50,000 Granado's at 5 *oz.* ½ each }
because some Powder is wasted } 17187½ *lb.*

For the Mines and Fougasses ——— 1250

Waste ——— 10000

Fire-Works ——— 1263

Remain at the Reddition of the Place ——— 10000

Total ——— 240000½ *lb.*

To which adding the 10000 *lb.* consumed in the Investiture, the whole amounts to } 250000 *lb.* ½

Note. That some are of Opinion that the Engineer, who makes this Detail, asks for too many Pieces of 8 and 4, and omits those of 2 and 1 *lb.* which notwithstanding are very useful; that he asks ten Commissaries of Artillery, and 50 Gunners, and will not have more than 150 Cannon-Shot fired daily, which is too little for an obstinate Resistance; since 30 Pieces of Cannon at least, must be continually opposed to the Fire of the Enemy; and that each of them fire at least 10 Shot every Day, which make up 300 Shot instead of 150, supposing that there are 10 Cavaliers in the Place.—He only allows 5 *lb.* of Powder for each Shot, which wants 6 *lb.* at least, since among the 80 Pieces of Ordinance, there are 10 Pieces of 24, ten of 16, and ten of 12.—He asks but 1500 Bombs, which is too little for 12 Mortars; and there should be 3000 Bombs, which is but 60 every Day.—He allows but 16 *lb.* of Powder to charge, and throw the Bombs, which contain 18 *lb.* each, and the Mortar 5 *lb.* making up 23 *lb.* for each Bomb.—He has omitted the Powder for the *Hand-Bombs*, called also Bombs of Rampart, each of them containing 10 *lb.* of Powder. 1263 *lb.* of Powder is too little for the Fire-Works in a considerable Place, for which no less than 2500 *lb.* can be allowed.—The Glacis of the Place being mined, 12500 *lb.* of Powder are not sufficient, and no less than 20,000 will do. Therefore the following Quantity of Powder is wanted.

Powder.

For the Cannon during 50 Days of Siege 90000 *lb.*
For the Bombs and Mortars 69000
For the Hand-Bombs ——— 6000
—————
165000

For the Mortars to throw Stones 2400
To charge 50,000 Granado's 17187½
For the Fire-Works ——— 2500
For the Mines and Fougasses ——— 20000
For the ten Days of Investiture 10000
For extraordinary Actions ——— 20000
For the Posts which are not attacked. 4175
For the Biovac ——— 12500
For the Cavalry ——— 7500
For the Attacks ——— 83375
For Waste ——— 10000
For the Reddition ——— 10000

Total ——— 363365

Lead.

There are wanted for the Cavalry and }
Infantry } 137550 *lb.*
For the Cartridges ——— 9600

Perhaps also, there is a Siege to be formed, on which we want several Instructions with Regard to the Ordinance.

It is impossible to fix the Plan for the Formation of the Siege of a Place; for though it happens sometimes, that the Place to be besieged is of little Extent, and has but few Bastions, its Situation notwithstanding may occasion a greater Slaughter of Men, than one which is more crowded with Works; and therefore more Artillery, more Munitions, and more Time will be employ'd in the Siege; which is the Reason why those Sorts of Projects depend on a great Experience, and on the Prudence of the General; but however, if we cannot give justly the Number of Munitions necessary for the Siege of a Place, we can give the Detail of what had been projected for a very considerable Siege, under the late King of France Louis XIV. where the Reader will find what has been done, and what may be done on such Occasions.

*Munitions assembled to form the Siege of——**Bread of Munition.*

Supposing that there are 32,000 Foot, and 18,000 Horse, two Regiments of Bombardiers, Fuziliers, General Officers, Miners, Gunners, Hospitals, and 10,000 Peasants; there is no less wanted for the ten first Days, than 90000 Rations of Bread every Day; and for the 30 Days of the Siege, 80,000 every Day till the Departure of the Forces.

Forage.

At the Rate of 18,000 Rations *per Diem*, supposing the Cavalry without the Camp, and the Lines, the Ration valued at 20 *lb.* of Hay, 6 *lb.* of Straw, and 3 Measures of Oats; the whole making for the 40 Days ——— 420000 Rations.

Powder.

To fire 40000 Shots of Cannon, of 24 *lb.* }
each Shot estimated at 12 *lb.* of Powder } 480000 *lb.*

To fire 16000 Cannon Shot of 16, 12, }
8, 4 *lb.* each Shot, estimated at 6 *lb.* one } 96000
with another

To throw 9000 Bombs during the Siege, }
which is 300 every Day, and for 30 Days it }
lasts, perhaps at 16 *lb.* each, including the } 144000
Charge of the Mortar, and of the Bomb

For 40000 Granadoes, at the Rate of }
2000 of Consumption daily, during twenty }
Guards of open Trench, the Charge of } 11250
each estimated at 4½ Ounces

For the Musketry, estimated at 30000	}	37500lb.
Shot every Guard of the Trench during 30		
Days, and each Pound of Powder at 24		
Shots, making for the whole	}	12000
Extraordinary Distribution before the O-		
pening of the Trench	}	12000
Waste		
Total		792750lb.

Artillery.

Large Cannons of 33, and 24, with their	}	50 Pieces.
Carriages, Vantrains, and Utenfils		
Carriages of Rechange		25
Cannons of sixteen,	}	10
of twelve,		
of eight,		
of four,		
with their Carriages,	}	20
Vantrains, &c.		
Again, Carriages of Rechange of sixteen		6
of twelve		6
of eight		4
of four		6
Mortars		40

Bullets.

Of thirty-three	48000
Of twenty-four	19000

Lead.

According to the Quantity of Powder de-	}	55000
signed for the Musketry, estimated at the		
Rate of 24 Balls in the Pound, the Waste		
included		

Match.

The Consumption of the Match, esti-	}	72000
mated at the Rate of 12000 Yards conti-		
nually lighted, during 30 Days of Siege		

Wood.

Sixty Platforms, each carrying 7000 Foot of Giftes.
50000 Boards of Oak.
100000 Foot of Deal-Boards.
400000 Foot of Giftes in Pieces.

Tools.

Hatchets	800
Pick-axes, &c.	4000
Wheel-barrows	300
Horses	1000
Rancaffes	60
Fishermen's Boots, Pairs	60
Hampers, Baskets, &c.	4000
Pumps	40
Large wooden Rammers	40
Forges	4
Pullies	50
Tuns of Nails	11
Dark Lanthorns	40
Sheets of Tin	800
Sledges	12
Small Sledges	12

Workmen carried to a Siege.

100 Carpenters.
12 Sawyers.
12 Smiths.

Boats.

Boats are not useful but when the Town besieged is on a River.

As for the Order to be observed in the Artillery, for the Siege of a considerable Place; before any Thing of the Design can be discovered, the necessary Munitions for that Enterprize must be lodged in Places the nearest to that which is to be besieged. The Lieutenant of the Artillery who commands in that District, receives Orders to prepare Carriages for the Pieces of Ordinance, Pontoons, Haquets, Carts, Waggon, and assembles the

Madriers and Wood, he thinks he shall want, that on the first Order he be in a Condition to send the most useful Things to begin to form the Park, and the Yard of the Workmen.

After he has passed in Review, the Horses sent him for the Carriage of the Pieces and Munitions, he commands Officers, according to the Direction he has received from the Grand Master of the Artillery, to go and see the Munitions loaded, which are marked on a Memorandum given to the Officer who is to command that Detachment, where is marked the Number of Horses he is to have under his Command, and even the Day and Place where they are to meet, that all Things may arrive in Time.

As it is almost impossible to make so considerable, and so quick a Transport, without foreign Succours, the Lieutenant of the Artillery informs the Intendant of the Number of Carts he may want, and of the Place and Day they are to meet.

The Lieutenant-Commander of the Artillery, after he has put all in Motion, goes before to advise with the General of the Army, who has caused the Place to be invested; and goes with him to reconnoitre the Ground where the Park of Artillery is to be formed. The Lieutenant shews the Place to the Officer he has appointed Commissary-General of the Park, who takes all the necessary Precautions to dispose it in a Manner, that the Munitions, as soon as they arrive, may be unloaded in proper Places, according to their Kinds. Part of the Horses are immediately sent back to fetch the Cannon, Mortars, and Carriages, while the other Part remains in the Park, to help towards placing the Munitions in Order, and to transport those which are to be distributed to the Army.

During these Motions, the Captain of the Workmen of the Artillery, sends one of his chief Workmen with some Travellers, to pull down the Wood he judges necessary for his Yard; and the Commissary-General of the Park, orders a Number of Carts sufficient to bring it to the Park.

The General of the Army gives Orders to bring to the Trench the Fascines and Picquets, wanted for the Batteries, that the Officers of the Artillery be only employ'd in causing the Cannon and Munitions to advance as fast as possible.

The Commander of the Artillery disposes his Park in such a Manner, that it may not be seen from either Place of the Town besieged, not even from the Steeples, unless it be very far from them, because of the Accidents which could happen from the Bullets, and Bombs of the Place, which could set the Magazines of Powder on Fire. If, notwithstanding, the Situation of the Place should discover all the Places round it; on that Occasion, the Park must be placed far from the Fire of the Place, and high and thick Epaulments made to shelter the Workmen from the Cannon.

The Commissary of the Park forms it, by marking the Ground for the Battalions, appointed for the Guard and Service of the Artillery. If there be four Battalions, he must place two of them on the Right, 100 Paces distant from the Alinement of the Pieces and Munitions; and the two others on the Left, at the same Distance. He begins by marking the Ground wanted for the Yard of the Smiths, Cartwrights, and Carpenters. The Captain-General of the Workmen, settles himself first, and causes all his Workmen to encamp near him, on the same Line, that he may call them when he wants them.

He also marks with the Captain-General of the Carriages, the Places where the Horses are to encamp, which must be, if possible, 100 Paces behind the Munitions, or on the Side, according to the Situation of the Ground, where the Captain-General of the Carriages is to encamp, with the Guides of that Equipage under his Command.

The Pieces of Cannon with their Carriages, are placed as near as possible the Road which leads to the Attacks, as well as the Mortars and their Carriages; taking the dryest, and most spacious Ground round it to unload the

Bullets

Bullets and Bombs, which are separated and placed according to their different Caliber; on the Side are unloaded the Tuns of Match, and the Casks of Lead; and near it the Shovels, Pickaxes, Hatchets, &c. which are disposed in Order according to their Kinds. Round about are placed the Waggon, Ropes, Sacks of Earth, &c. The Commissary of the Park, and the Officers who are along with him, encamp in this Place, that he may be ready at Hand to communicate to them the Orders he receives from the Commander of the Artillery, or in his Absence from the General of the Army, for the Distribution of the Munitions, and the Reception of others.

The Commissary of the Park, chuses a Place a little distant from this little Park, to fix his Laboratory; and the uncharg'd Granadoes may be placed 40 Paces distant from it, to be charged when they are wanted.

All the Commissaries and Officers of the Artillery, encamp on the most commodious Ground, and the nearest the Park, so that they may be notwithstanding 100 Paces distant from the Munitions. The pontoons, with their Haquets, are placed on a Line, to shut up one of the Sides of the Park. The Pieces of 24, 16, 12, 8, and 4, of the new Invention, with all others of 8 and 4, and their Carriages, shut up the other Side of the Park, which Line covers the hind-part of all the Munitions.

As it is of the utmost Consequence to place well the Powder, the Commissary of the Park, with the Commander of the Artillery, examine the Place where it may be put safe. Which to effect, he causes to be made, if the Ground allows it, five Magazines, viz. four 300 Paces distant, square-wise, from one another; but drawing near the Park. All these Magazines must have good Ditches, very deep outside, with rais'd Epaulments inside. There is but one Entrance for the four furthestmost. Each Magazine must be spacious enough, to contain 60 or 80,000 Pounds of Powder. That which is nearest the small Park, must have a going in, and coming out, because all the Powder necessary for the Batteries, and the Army, is drawn from it. The other Magazines serving only for Store-Houses, to supply this.

The Park thus disposed in Order, a Corps de Guard is placed before, whence Centries are drawn to be posted for the first Time, where the Commissary of the Park judges proper. He causes a small Corps de Guard to be placed towards the five Magazines of Powder, and places a Centry at the Entrance of each Magazine for greater Safety.

The Commander of the Artillery, endeavours to find at the Tail of the Trench, the most commodious Place for a small Park of Munitions, for the Conveniency of the Troops. If there were two Attacks distant from one another, Munitions must also be carried thither, and a Park made.

Every Thing being in the Order above-mention'd, the Captain-General of the Workmen, causes the Platforms to be prepar'd, for the Batteries of Cannon and Bombs; and sends Workmen to mount the large Pieces on their Carriages.

As soon as the Commander of the Artillery, and the General of the Army, have took a View of the Ground, where the first Batteries are to be erected, he must name for one of 20 Pieces, a Provincial Commissary, four Ordinary, and six Extraordinary; if there be no Subalterns; committing but two Pieces to the Care of one Officer.

The Provincial Commissary, after he has examined the Place where he is to erect his Battery, and the Work he is to bear, with the Help of his Officers, he places there before Night, the Picquets of his Alinement, taking seven large Paces in length for each Piece; and commands soon after the Travellers he has took to advance: After Sun-set, he divides them along the Ground he has fixed upon, and makes them open the Earth at the Alinement of his Picquets. The Officers who are divided on the Right, Left, and in the Center of that Work, cause the Earth to be thrown at an equal Height, behind the Ditch, inside, lest it should sink in the Place where the Batteries are erected. I know that the Soldier

is uneasy while he works, without Shelter; but I know, likewise, that a Battery work'd in that Manner is much more solid, and fewer Men are lost during the Siege, than in that where the Earth is thrown forward; and where one is indispensably obliged to go openly and fetch Earth behind the Battery, to reimplace that which has been taken out, in order to raise the Ground of the Platforms, which is found too deep to place the Pieces, and gives Way for Want of Solidity in the Ground which is under them, which obliges the Officers to have them often repair'd.

The Earth of this first Battery being thrown out all Night, and rais'd equally Inside the Ditch, the Officers cause all the Travellers to retire within the Battery at Break of Day, who are then shelter'd from the Fire of the Place. Afterwards they raise the Inside of the Battery 7, 8, 9 Foot high, according to the Situation and Places whence one can be beat. The Fascinage is made a little sloping on the Outside, that the Earth of the Battery may be well supported, and which must be 18 or 20 Foot thick, as far as the Ditch, according to the Quality of the Earth, which may be more or less sandy. A Berm of 2 Foot is left along the Ditch to support the Earth, lest the Wind of the Piece, or the Cannon of the Enemy, should make it fall into the Ditch. In that Manner one sees what he can do, and one works quickly and *a propos*, since the Platforms can be placed in that Battery in Day-time, where the Captain-General of the Workmen sends a Detachment of them with Madriers, and other necessary Implements. The Embrasures of this Battery are open'd, and put in a Condition to resist the Fire of the Enemies in the Night.

Note, That it is impossible to give 18 or 20 Foot of Thickness to a Battery, to raise it to about 9 Foot, to render the Platforms level, open the Embrasures, put the Pieces in Battery, and finish all the other Works necessary to put it in a Condition of firing, in a lesser Time than one Day and one Night.

The Pieces of a Battery being made ready to fire, six Soldiers, accusom'd to that Occupation, are command'd for the Service of each Piece. Before one begins to fire, he must observe if the Piece beats the Place design'd. There is always a Soldier on each Side the Piece, with an Handspike to stop the Piece at its Recoyle. When the Pieces are a little heated, the Powder they are charg'd with, must be only half the Weight of the Bullet, and ought not to be augmented while the Piece continues hot.

One may also raise Cavaliers and Batteries, to discover the Inside of the Place and of the Work; which are made with Fascines and Earth, by the Favour of the Cannon, and of the Fire from the Trenches on that Side.

The Batteries for Bombs, or Fire-Balls, have no Embrasures, and have the same Thickness of those of the Cannon.

If the General of the Army commands to fire with red Bullets, and the Battery be compos'd of 20 Pieces of 8, a Furnace must be made 10 Paces distant from the Piece on the Right; and another 10 Paces distant from the first Piece on the Left, in which the Grates are placed, and the Bullets upon them. The Earth of each Furnace is thrown on the Side of the Place, to serve for Epaulment for those who heat the Bullets, and carry them with Ladles or Tongs, to the Mouth of the Pieces. When they are red, the Officers take Care that the Pieces be but little charg'd, because they are much heated by the Heat of the Bullet; and that one fires only, that the Bullet falling on the Roof of the Houses, may lodge there, and set them on fire. The Piece is always pointed at full Randoms, therefore it suffices that the Mouth of the Piece be rais'd in such a Manner, that the Bullet in going out, may not touch the Epaulment of the Battery, which is easily done, by placing the Platform a Foot distant from the Epaulment.

Very often, the General of the Army orders at the Beginning of the Siege, Batteries to destroy the Defences and Cavaliers of the Place, which incommode most the Besiegers, and by that Means the Trench is less exposed, the

the Work are more forwarded, and the Besieged are very much embarrassed.

The 33 Pounders serve to destroy in a short Time, the Face of a Bastion, and to beat in a Breach : But the Difficulty of transporting them, obliges often the Commanders of the Artillery, to bring but a small Number of them before a Place ; when as that of the 24 is greater, because there is less Difficulty to move them from one Battery to another, and do much Execution when they are but a hundred Fathoms distant from the Place they beat in Breach.

I suppose that we beat in Breach the Face of a Bastion, or Courtin, with 10 or 12 Pieces of 24 ; firing every Day 100 Shots from each Piece ; the Breach will not be practicable in less than 15 Days ; when as if that Battery was increased to 24 Pieces, the Face of the Work would be ruined in 5 or 6 Days.

To beat in Breach, three or four Batteries are made in different Places, which notwithstanding are all pointed towards the same Face of the Work, with this Difference, that one of them beats it in a right Line, and the two others obliquely, which causes that each Shot fired in that Manner, destroys and demolishes sooner the whole Mass of the Work.

The Pieces of 16 and 12, are necessary to fire at the cover'd Way, Cavaliers, and other Works, where it is wanted to destroy the Defences and Epaulments of their Batteries, and dismount their Pieces.

Mortars are of great Service, since they throw Bombs into the Places of the Town besieged, which the Cannon can't reach.

The Sacks of Earth are very useful to shelter the Soldiers who are on the Banquettees along the Trench ; they place them a-top of the Parapet of the Trench, and put their Muskets between two Sacks of Earth, whence they discover the Works or cover'd Ways of the Enemy, and those who are there for their Defence, that shelters the Soldier against a Musket-shot, and renders him more secure to fire his.

Here follows a Detail of the Artillery which was employ'd in a very famous Siege ; and of the Munitions consumed in it.

<i>Detail of the Pieces and Munitions carried to the Siege of —</i>	<i>Munitions consumed in that Siege.</i>
<i>Brass Pieces.</i>	

Of 33	7	
— 24	33	
— 8	8	
— 4	12	
	60	

<i>Carriages with their Vantrains.</i>	<i>Vantrains</i>	<i>Carriages</i>
Of 33	12	5
— 24	46	4
— 8	8	2
— 4	14	
Pairs of Arms	19	
Ladles of Rechange	20	
Carts to carry the Cannon	19	
Other Carts	125	

<i>Bullets.</i>		
Of 33	10620	6792
— 24	55274	30100
— 8	3800	
— 4	5000	618

<i>Mortars.</i>		
Carriages of cast Iron for Mortars	16	
Carts to carry the Carriages of Mortars	16	2
Bombs	7092	5501
Fusces for Bombs	7300	5600

<i>Detail of the Pieces and Munitions, &c.</i>	<i>Munitions consum'd, &c.</i>
Mortars to throw Stones mounted	6
Granadoes	40304
Fusces for Granadoes	57000
Powder	953000
Lead	90800
Match	133600
Sacks of Earth	199049
Muskets	2400
Fusils	100
Halberts	200
Salt-petre	534
Sulphur	240
A Tun of yellow Pitch	
A Tun of black Pitch	
Two Tuns of Tar	
Mortars with their Pestles	2
Iron Kettles	2
Tools for Pioneers	38809
Hatchets	2310
Hottes	510
Wheelbarrows	260
Miners Tools	184
Carpenters and Wheelwrights Tools	210
Three compleat Forges	
Crosses	
Three hundred Tuns of Rope	26
Madriers	750
Sheets of Tin	340
Axle-Trees	22
Sheep-Skins	115
Nails	6430
Copper-Nails	16
Iron-Bars	945
Iron-Axle Trees	4
Lanthorns to light withal	4
Boxes for Lanthorns	24
Caissons	6
Carts to carry Kettle Drums	1

Note, That I'll conclude this Treatise by some necessary Rules and Instructions for the Fabrick of Fire-Arms, beginning by the Method of casting Cannons, Mortars, &c.

To proceed with some Order in this important Subject, which has been the Foundation of the whole military Art, ever since the Invention of our modern Artillery, we must speak first of the different Proportions given to Pieces of Ordinance ; and next to the Manner of forming the Mold, and mixing the Metals.

An experienc'd Officer, who has very well studied the Art of casting Cannons, Mortars, &c. gives the following Proportions to Pieces of Cannon.

The Weight of the Pieces, according to the following Proportions, must be of about 6200 for Pieces of 33 ; 5100 for Pieces of 24 ; 4100 for Pieces of 16 ; 3400 for Pieces of 12 ; 1950 for Pieces of 8 ; 1300 for Pieces of 4.

The Length of the Pieces from behind the Base Ring to the Mouth, 10 Feet for Pieces of 33 ; 10 Feet for Pieces of 24 ; 10 Feet for Pieces of 16 ; 10 Feet for 12 ; 8 Feet for Pieces of 8 ; 8 Feet for Pieces of 4.

The Length of the Bore, from the Mouth to the Breech, must be of 9 Feet 5 Inches $\frac{1}{4}$ for Pieces of 33 ; 9 Feet 6 Inches $\frac{1}{4}$ for Pieces of 24 ; 9 Feet 7 Inches 1 Line for Pieces of 16 ; 9 Feet 7 Inches $\frac{1}{4}$ for Pieces of 12 ; 7 Feet 8 Inches 1 Line for Pieces of 8 ; 7 Feet 8 Inches 11 Lines $\frac{1}{4}$ for Pieces of 4.

The Breech must have in Length from behind the Bottom of the Bore to behind the Base Ring, one Caliber of the Piece.

The hind-part of the Breech 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Caliber to the Cassabel Deck.

The Diameter of the Pieces at the Breech, without including

cluding the Mouldings, must be of 19 Inches for Pieces of 33; 17 Inches for Pieces of 24; 15 Inches for Pieces of 16; 14 Inches for Pieces of 12; 12 Inches for Pieces of 8; 10 Inches for Pieces of 4.

The Mouldings from behind the Base Ring, must have a Caliber in Length, and another Caliber from before the Moulding to before the Astragal of the double reinforced Ring.

The Astragal must be more than an Inch long for the large Pieces, and something less for the small ones: The Thickness the same.

The Moulding of the Breech must very near end on the reinforced Ring.

The Diameter of the Base Ring must be of 22 Inches for Pieces of 33; 20 Inches for Pieces of 24; 18 Inches for Pieces of 16; 16 Inches for Pieces of 12; 14 Inches for Pieces of 8; 12 Inches for Pieces of 4.

The Length of the first reinforced Ring, from behind the Base Ring of the Breech, to before the foremost Moulding before the reinforced Ring must be of 3 Feet 2 Inches for Pieces of 33; 3 Feet 2 Inches for Pieces of 24; 3 Feet 2 Inches for Pieces of 16; 3 Feet 2 Inches for Pieces of 12; 2 Feet 6 Inches for Pieces of 8; 2 Feet 6 Inches for Pieces of 4.

The Diameter of the fore-part of the reinforced Ring, near the Base Ring, must be of 18 Inches for the Pieces of 33; 16 Inches for the Pieces of 24; 14 Inches for the Pieces of 16; 13 Inches for the Pieces of 12; 11 Inches for the Pieces of 8; 9 Inches for the Pieces of 4.

The Length of the second reinforced Ring, from the Moulding of the first reinforced Ring, to before that of the second, is of 20 Inches for Pieces of 33; 20 Inches for Pieces of 24; 20 Inches for Pieces of 16; 20 Inches for Pieces of 12; 14 Inches for Pieces of 8; 14 Inches for Pieces of 4.

The Diameter of the hindmost reinforced Ring, is of 18 Inches for Pieces of 33; 15 Inches for Pieces of 24; 13 Inches for Pieces of 16; 12 Inches for Pieces of 12; 10½ Inches for Pieces of 8; 8½ for Pieces of 4.

The Diameter of the foremost reinforced Ring, is of 16½ Inches for Pieces of 33; 14½ Inches for Pieces of 24; 12½ Inches for Pieces of 16; 11½ Inches for Pieces of 12; 9½ Inches for Pieces of 8; 8 Inches for Pieces of 4.

The Moulding of the fore-part of the first reinforced Ring, must have a Caliber in Length from behind the Base Ring, to before the Astragal of the second Reinfort.

The foremost Moulding of the second reinforced Ring, is equal to the first.

The Anſæ must be placed on the second reinforced Ring.

The Trunnions must be placed on the Sides of the reinforced Ring, near the Base Ring; underneath the Trunnions is equal to the Belly of the Piece, and their Length and Diameter must be of the Caliber of the Piece.

The Length of the Chafe of the Pieces, from before the Moulding of the second reinforced Ring to the Mouth, must be of 5 Feet 2 Inches for Pieces of 33; 5 Feet 2 Inches for Pieces of 24; 5 Feet 2 Inches for Pieces of 16; 5 Feet 2 Inches for Pieces of 12; 4 Feet 4 Inches for Pieces of 8; 4 Feet 4 Inches for Pieces of 4.

The Diameter of the Chafe, near the fore-part of the Moulding of the second reinforced Ring, must be in that Place of 15½ Inches for Pieces of 33; 13½ Inches for Pieces of 24; 12 Inches for Pieces of 16; 11 Inches for Pieces of 12; 9 Inches for Pieces of 8; 7½ Inches for Pieces of 4.

The Diameter of the Cornish Ring, near the Astragal of the fore-part of the Chafe, 11½ Inches for Pieces of 33; 10 Inches 4 Lines for Pieces of 24; 9 Inches for Pieces of 16; 8 Inches for Pieces of 12; 6½ Inches for Pieces of 8; 5 Inches 8 Lines for Pieces of 4.

The Frieze 15 Inches for Pieces of 33; 13 Inches for Pieces of 24; 12 Inches for Pieces of 16; 11 Inches for Pieces of 12; 9 Inches for Pieces of 8; 7½ Inches for Pieces of 4.

We must remember to make small Chambers at the Bottom of the Bore of the Pieces of 33, 24, and 16,

overagainst the Touch-Hole, these Chambers have in Length and Diameter $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Caliber of the Piece. The Pieces of 12, 8, 4, &c. have none.

It is pretended that these small Chambers are made to render the Touch-Hole thicker, and to hinder the too great Violence of the Powder from making it wider. Some of our antient and most experienced Officers, esteem those Touch-Holes best that are pierc'd obliquely, and which answer to the Place where the Bore of the Piece joins the little Chamber, than those pierc'd perpendicularly thro', answering likewise to the same Chamber; giving this for Reason, that when the Pieces are charg'd with Cartridges, the Priming-Iron introduced into the Touch-Hole, must pierce the Cartridge behind, that the Fire of the Prime may be communicated to it; and when the Touch-Hole falls perpendicularly into the little Chamber, the Priming-Iron does not touch the Cartridge; and that it would be even uncertain if it would touch it, was the Touch-Hole to meet at the Junction of the little Chamber with the Bore.

But to be certain of the true Proportions which must be given to Pieces of Ordinance, we must have Recourse to the following ones of M. *Balthazard Keller*.

Length of the Piece.

The Length of the Piece, which is of 10 Foot, shall be divided into 7 Parts; giving two of them to the Base Ring; one to the reinforced Ring; and four to the Chafe.

Its Bigness.

The Caliber of the Piece must be divided into 12 equal Parts; the Breech will have 12 Parts; the Base Ring 11 Parts; the reinforced Ring 16 Parts; the Trunnion Ring 9 Parts; the Muzzle Ring 8 Parts.

From the Proportions of the Pieces of Ordinance, I'll pass to the Composition or Mixture of the Metal they are made of.

Note, That there are Mines of Brass called *Rozetta*, found in *Hungary*, *Sweden*, *Norway*, *Italy*, and *Lorraine*: Those of *Hungary* and *Sweden* are the best; those of *Italy* and *Lorraine* the worst; and those of *Norway* between both; but the best for the Artillery, because the hardest.

To make the Mixture for Pieces of Ordinance; there must be Tin, *Rozetta*, and Brass. The best Tin is that from *England*, as being the softest; 6, 7, or 8 lb. of this best Tin, are requir'd for 100 lb. of *Rozetta*, according to its Quality; for that from *Norway*, *Lorraine*, and *Italy*, requires a greater Quantity of Tin.

Some Founders mix the Metal thus; 100 lb. of *Rozetta*; 10 lb. and even as far as 20 lb. of Tin; and 20 lb. of Brass.

The following are the Proportions which M. *Keller* us'd to observe in the Mixture of the Metal.

Of *Rozetta*, 10000 lb.

— Tin, 900 lb.

— Brass, 600 lb.

The Tin is added to make the Metal more dense and compact; so that the better or heavier the *Rozetta* is, the less Tin is requir'd.

When a Founder is oblig'd to use old Pieces of Brass Metal; he must add 25 lb. of good Copper, and 5 lb. of Tin, to 100 lb. of old Metal; and that Quantity forms together 130 lb.

Another Composition for the Pieces of Artillery is as follows:

One Part of Brass; $\frac{1}{4}$ of *Rozetta*; $\frac{1}{4}$ of old Metal; $\frac{1}{4}$ of Tin.

In each Casting, 10 lb. of old Grense are added to 5000 lb. of Metal.

The Metal must be purified with the following Powder: Take an Ounce of Cinnabar, 4 Ounces of black Pitch, 1½ Ounce of Raddishes dried, 16 Ounces of Antimony, 4 Ounces of Mercury sublimate, 20 Ounces of Salt-petre, and 6 Ounces of *Armenian* Glue. Which Drugs must all be pounded separately, then mixed together, throwing upon the Mixture 2 lb. of *Aqua-fortis*.

To mix this Powder with the Metal, 97 lb. of Rozetta must be melted, and 66 lb. of old Metal in Laminæ, thrown into it, stirring the Mixture, and leaving it afterwards in Fusion to incorporate; then the same Thing is done with 6 lb. of the best Tin; and when the whole is in Fusion, the Metal must be stirred with a Stick lined with Iron at the End, and Rags dipped in old Grease, tied at that End; leaving it afterwards in Fusion at a large Fire, for a Quarter of an Hour.

Then to the melted Matter of 109 lb. must be added 2 Ounces of the Powder, enclosed in a Box, nail'd with two Nails at an Iron Rod, to thrust it in the Metal to the Bottom; stirring it till no more white Smoak arises, then it must be left in Fusion for half an Hour, and thrown afterwards into the Mould.

The Powder purifies the inferior Metals, and particularly Copper, which it renders pure and soft like Gold: And the Pieces made of that Metal, are as tense and compact, as if they had been forged.

The Metals thus mix'd and prepar'd, we must next form the Mould; the Process whereof is as follows:

They take a Deal Board very strait and even, and longer than the Piece is to be, that's to say, of 12 Foot and more; this Deal Board is called in *French Troussseau*. This Board is laid all along, and the Ends thereof supported by two wooden Stools: The *Troussseau* is greased all over with old Grease, and a Mat of the same Length rolled over it to a certain Thickness, and nailed all along.

On this Mat are applied several Couches, or Lays of a fat Clay, mixed with Brick Dust, then they begin to form the Model of a Cannon.

Afterwards they lay another Bed of an Earth well beaten and mixed with Burre and Horse-Dung, with which the Model is garnish'd, till it be of the Thickness the Piece is design'd to be.

In applying these Strata of Earth, a Fire of Wood is all the while kept under the Board, or *Troussseau*, that the Earth may dry sooner.

Afterwards all the Parts of the Piece must be made, viz. the Frieze, Cornish, Rings, Mouldings, &c. which is done in a very simple Manner, though very ingenious; for while the Earth which is applied last is yet soft, a Board 12 Foot long, called the *Sample*, and where all the different Mouldings are cut, is approached near that rough Mould, and being made fast on the two wooden Stools or Trussels, the Mould is turn'd round it, by Means of two Wheels fixed at its Extremities; and that Mould rubbing against the Mouldings of the Board, takes the Impression thereof, and resembles entirely a Piece of Cannon finish'd in all its Parts.

On this Mould are placed the Coats of Arms, Ansæ, Motto's, Name, Ornament of the Chase, &c. which is done with Wax and Turpentine mix'd, and which have been melted in Moulds of Plaster, where those Ornaments have been moulded.

The Trunnions are made afterwards; they are two Pieces of Wood of the Form or Figure the Trunnions must have, fasten'd in the Mould with two Nails.

The Fire being taken from under the Mould, it is rubbed all over with Tallow, to prevent the Shell, which must be work'd over it, to cover it, from sticking to it; and then the Mould is pass'd thro' the Sample or Echantillon, to cause that the Tallow may be spread equally every where.

The Shell is begun by a Layer, or Skirt of fat Clay, but very fine, called *Potasse*; this Potasse is an Earth sifted, with Horse-dung, Clay, and Burre.

This first Stratum, is left to dry without Fire. — When dry, another fatter Earth, and mixed likewise with Burre and Horse-Dung, is laid over it.

When the Shell is four Inches thick, and has been well dried at the Fire, the Nails which fastened the Ansæ and Trunnions are drawn, and the Cavities filled with Earth; then the Mould, thus well covered with Earth, is made tight, and fastened with Iron Bandages, or Hoops placed lengthwise, and crosswise, and very well fastened; and over these Bandages more Earth is laid.

The Shell of the big Mould is commonly five or six Inches thick.

The Mould well dried, the Matt is unnailed; and striking twice or thrice the Extremities of the Board or *Troussseau* on which it was nailed, which is narrower at one End than at the other (which is called undressing) it quits insensibly the Middle of the Mould, which he traversed from one End to the other, and in drawing it, the Matt comes along with it.

The Mould thus emptied inside, is carried immediately into the Hole dug near the Furnace where the Cannon is to be melted.

Several large Pieces of lighted Wood are thrown into that Mould, till it be perfectly dry. — The Violence of the Fire produces two Effects; for it melts the Tallow which parts the Shell from the Mould, and at the same Time dries the Earth of the Mould, so that it may be easily broke with Hammers, that the Shell may remain alone, which has took the Impression inside, of the Ornaments made on the Mould. In the Place of that Mould which is destroyed, is put a long Piece of Iron called the Core, and which is placed just in the Middle of the Shell, that the Metal may spread equally on all Sides.

This Piece of Iron, or Core, is covered with a Paste of Ashes, very well baked like the Mould, and fastened round three Times over, with Iron-Wire, Bed over Bed, to the Bigness of the Caliber the Bore of the Piece is to be; so that it remains a void Space between the Kernel and the Hollowness of the Shell, which must be filled of Metal, which makes the Thickness of the Piece. And this Precaution of covering the Core, is taken lest the Metal should stick; and that it may be easier drawn out of the Middle of the Piece, as in Fact it is, after the Piece is cast. To keep this Core steady, and very streight, it is supported on the Side of the Breech with Bars of Steel placed crosswise, which is what is called the *Chapelet*; and on the Side of the Mouth with a Composition of Plaster and Bricks, made in the Shape of a Millstone.

Afterwards, and especially when the Piece is to be cast, the Chase downwards, is placed the Breech, (made apart of the same Composition, and in the same Manner of the Mould of the Body of the Piece) at the End of the Iron, and fastened with an Iron Wire, to the Knees of the *Masselete*, and Hooks of the Shell; but when the Piece is run the Breech downwards, and the Chase upwards, the Breech is all of a Piece with the Mould; and in this Case, the Cassacabel Deck is always adorned with Figures; and when it is without Ornaments, it must be conjectured, that the Piece has been cast the Chase downwards.

Supposing that one would cast several Pieces at once, a-top of the Mould are disposed several Tubes of Earth, answering to the Inside of the Body of the Mould thro' which the Metal must run; and other Tubes, besides, are left for Vents. When all is well prepared, the Hole is fixed with dried Earth, beaten, with Care, Strata upon Strata, as far as the Top. The Tubes and Vents surpass by some Inches the Superficies above the Hole; and round it are formed, with Clay very well dried, small Canals to convey the Metal to it.

When the Metal is in perfect Fusion, which happens commonly in 24 or 30 Hours, or thereabouts, all the Jets are stopped with a Kind of Plug, which are kept close, that upon opening the Furnace, the Brass, which gushes out like a Torrent of Fire, may fall equally on all the Jets, and be equally hot in running into all the Parts of the Mould. The Hole of the Furnace is opened, with a long Piece of Iron fixed at the End of each Pole, and the Mould is filled in an instant, and the Piece is formed.

Then the Piece is taken out of the Hole where it has been cast, and the Clay of the Mould which sticks round the Piece broke with a Hammer, which discovers the Piece, but rough in some Places, therefore very sharp Chisels are used to cut the Superfluities and Jets of the Metal.

When the Piece is a little furbished, that the Bore is alleared, cleansed, and brought to its Caliber; which is done by suspending it in a wooden Frame for the Purpose, by means of Pullies, the Mouth downwards; in this

this Condition a Box of Brads armed with a very sharp Knife, is disposed in a manner, that while a Horse turns a Wheel placed horizontally under that Machine, this Knife cuts, and renders smooth the Inside of the Piece, to a Proportion regulated by him who governs the Work. Eighty-eight different Boxes are wanted for one Piece, and the Piece is two Hours coming down.

The Piece thus finished is tried or proved.—To make a Proof of the Piece, a proper Place is chosen, which is to be terminated by a Mount of Earth very thick to receive the Bullets fired against it, that none of them may run through it. The Piece is laid on the Ground, supported only in the Middle by a Block of Wood. It is fired three Times: The first with Powder of the Weight of the Bullet, and the two others with $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Weight; after which a little more Powder is put in to finge the Piece; and after this Water, which is impressed with a Sponge, putting the Finger on the Touch-Hole, to discover if there be any Cracks; which done they are examined with the Cat, which is a Piece of Iron with three Grasps, disposed in the Form of a Triangle, and of the Caliber of the Piece; then it is visited with a Wax Candle, but it is of very little Service in the small Pieces, because if they be a little long, the Smoak extinguishes it immediately.

The Proof of Mortars is made in this Manner:—Where there are Carriages of cast Iron, the Mortar is placed on one of those Carriages. Under that Carriage is made a Platform of Madriers 5 or 6 Inches thick, the Mortar is charged with the best Powder, and with as much of it as its Chamber can contain, observing to leave no Vacuity at the Neck of the Mortar, but what is necessary to put a little Wadd over the Powder, and which is rammed with the End of an Handspike, to keep the Powder together as much as possible. A large green Turf, with Earth two Fingers deep is put over the Wadd, which must have Width enough to fill up the Bottom of the Mortar. This Turf and Earth are very well rammed down, then the Bomb is placed over it as upright as possible, leaving a small Space round it, which is to be filled with Clay as tight as possible, pressing it between the Mortar and the Bomb with a pointed Stick; and as it is not necessary to spend much Powder in these sort of Proofs, the Bomb must be filled with as much Earth as it would contain Powder.

For want of Carriages of cast Iron, Holes are dug in the Earth, where the Mortars are buried as far as the Touch-Hole; and in order that the Mortars thus buried may find more Resistance, and make a greater Effort, large Pieces of Wood in form of Joists are put under the Mortar, chusing always the hardest Ground, to resist better the Recoyle of the Mortar.

If the Ability of the Founder be suspected, a Fusée for Granado's is put on the Touch-Hole of each Mortar, that the Gunner may have Time to retire, in case the Mortar was to burst in the Proof; which is also practised in the Proof of the Pieces.

This Proof is made three Times, without increasing or diminishing any Thing.

After each Salve, the Mortars are to be visited, that if there be any of them defectuous, or out of Service, they may not be charged anew, not to burn Powder idly.

After the last Salve, the Mortars are taken out of the Earth, the Touch-Hole stoppt, and they are all filled with Water, without wetting the Outside; for if there were some Vents or Apertures in the Mortar, the Water running through would discover them.

When there appear no Faults this Way, they must be well washed, and afterwards visited with the Scraper.

Note, That after we have seen all that is done in the Foundries, for Brads Pieces of Ordinance, we must examine next the Proportion given to the Iron Pieces.

Proportions for an Iron Piece of 36, for Land Service.

The Length from the Base Ring to the Mouth of the Piece is of 10 Feet.

From the Border of the Base Ring to the End of the Cassacabel Deck, 13 Inches in Length.

The Diameter of the Cassacabel Deck, 8 Inches.

The Diameter of the Base Ring, 25 Inches.

From the Bottom of the Bore to the End of the Base Ring, the Metal is 8 Inches thick.

The Diameter at the Touch Hole, 23 Inches.

From the Border of the Base Ring to the reinforced Ring, 2 Feet 11 Inches, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ Lines in Length.

The Diameter of the reinforced Ring, 21 Inches 4 Lines.

From the Base Ring to the Trunnions 4 Feet 5 Inches 4 Lines in Length: The Trunnions must be placed in 4 Feet 5 Inches 4 Lines.

The Diameter of the big End of the Trunnion, 6 Inches 5 Lines $\frac{2}{3}$, which is the Diameter of the Caliber of the Piece.

The Diameter of the small End of the Trunnion, 6 Inches 3 Lines, which is the Diameter of the Bullet.

The Length of the Trunnion 6 Inches 5 Lines $\frac{2}{3}$, which is the Caliber of the Piece.

From the Base Ring to the second reinforced Ring, 4 Feet 7 Inches, 9 Lines in Length.

The Diameter of the second reinforced Ring, or Trunnion Ring, 18 Inches 4 Lines.

From the Base Ring to the Astragal, or Cornish Ring 9 Foot in Length, the Diameter of the Astragal, 12 Inches 8 Lines.

From the Astragal to the Muzzle Ring, 12 Inches in Length. The Diameter of the Piece, 6 Inches 5 Lines $\frac{2}{3}$.

The Piece has in Length, from the Muzzle to the End of the Cassacabel Deck, 11 Feet 3 Inches, which is the Length of a Brads Piece of the same Caliber.

Proportions for an Iron Piece of 24, for Land Service; which is to weigh 5700 lb. or thereabout.

The Length from the Border of the Base Ring to the Mouth of the Piece, 10 Feet.

From the Border of the Base Ring to the End of the Cassacabel Deck, 12 Inches in Length.

The Diameter of the Cassacabel Deck, 7 Inches 6 Lines.

The Diameter of the Base Ring, 19 Inches 8 Lines.

From the Bottom of the Bore of the Piece to the End of the Base Ring, the Thickness of the Metal is 7 Inches 6 Lines.

The Diameter at the Touch-Hole, 18 Inches 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ Lines.

From the Border of the Base Ring to the reinforced Ring, 2 Feet, 11 Inches 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ Lines in Length.

The Diameter of the reinforced Ring, 17 Inches 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ Lines.

From the Base Ring to the Trunnion, 4 Feet 5 Inches 4 Lines in Length, the Trunnions placed in the 4 Feet 5 Inches 4 Lines.

The Diameter of the big End of the Trunnion, 5 Inches 7 Lines $\frac{2}{3}$ of a Line, which is the Diameter of the Piece.

The Diameter of the small End of the Trunnion, 5 Inches 6 Lines $\frac{1}{3}$ of a Line, which is the Diameter of the Bullet.

The Length of the Trunnion, 5 Inches 7 Lines $\frac{2}{3}$ which is the Diameter of the Piece.

From the Border of the Base Ring to the Trunnion Ring, 7 Feet 7 Inches, 9 Lines in Length.

The Diameter of the Trunnion Ring, 16 Inches 4 Lines.

From the Border of the Base Ring to the Cornish Ring, 9 Feet in Length.

The Diameter of the Cornish Ring, 11 Inches.

From the Cornish Ring to the Mouth of the Piece, 12 Inches in Length, the Diameter of the Piece, 5 Inches 7 Lines $\frac{1}{3}$.

The Piece has in Length from the Mouth to the End of the Cassacabel Deck 11 Feet, which is the Length of a brads Piece of the same Caliber.

Proportions for an Iron Piece of 18, for Land Service; which must weigh 4700 lb. or thereabouts.

The Length from the Border, or Edge of the Base Ring to the Mouth of the Piece, 10 Feet.

From the Edge of the Base Ring to the End of the

the

the Cassacabel Deck 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ Inches in Length.

The Diameter of the Cassacabel Deck 7 Inches.

The Diameter of the Base Ring 17 Inches 11 Lines.

From the Bottom of the Bore to the Border or Edge of the Base Ring, the Thickness of the Metal is 7 Inches.

The Diameter at the Touch-Hole 17 Inches 3 Lines.

From the Edge of the Base Ring to the reinfoc'd Ring, 2 Feet 11 Inches, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ Lines in Length.

The Diameter of the reinfoc'd Ring, 16 Inches 2 Lines.

From the Edge of the Base Ring to the Trunnions, 4 Feet 5 Inches, 4 Lines in Length. The Trunnions must be placed within the 4 Feet 5 Inches and 4 Lines.

The Diameter of the big End of the Trunnion, 15 Inches 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Line which is the Diameter of the Piece.

The Diameter of the small End of the Trunnion, 4 Inches 11 Lines and $\frac{3}{4}$, which is the Caliber of the Bullet of the Piece.

The Length of the Trunnion, 5 Inches 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Line, which is the Caliber of the Piece.

From the Edge of the Base Ring to the Trunnion Ring, 4 Feet 7 Inches, 9 Lines in Length.

The Diameter of the Trunnion Ring, 14 Inches 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ Lines.

From the Edge of the Base Ring to the Cornish Ring, 9 Feet in Length.

The Diameter of the Cornish Ring, 10 Inches.

From the Cornish Ring to the Mouth, 12 Inches in Length.

The Diameter of the Piece, 4 Inches 5 Lines $\frac{3}{4}$.

The Piece has from the Mouth to the End of the Cassacabel Deck, 10 Feet 10 Inches 6 Lines in Length, which is the Length of a Brass Piece of the same Caliber.

Proportions for an Iron Piece of 8 for Land Service, which must weigh 2700 lb. or thereabouts.

The Length from the Base Ring to the Mouth of the Piece, 9 Feet.

From the Edge of the Base Ring to the End of the Cassacabel Deck, 10 Inches in Length.

The Diameter of the Cassacabel Deck, 5 Inches 6 Lines.

The Diameter of the Base Ring, 14 Inches 3 Lines.

From the Bottom of the Bore to the Base Ring, the Thickness of the Metal is five Inches 6 Lines.

The Diameter at the Touch Hole, 13 Inches 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Lines.

From the Edge of the Base Ring to the reinfoc'd Ring, 2 Feet 9 Inches in Length.

The Diameter of the reinfoc'd Ring, 12 Inches 9 Lines.

From the Edge of the Base Ring to the Trunnions, 4 Feet in Length, the Trunnions must be placed in the 4 Feet.

The Diameter of the large End of the Trunnion, 3 Inches 11 Lines, which is the Diameter of the Piece.

The Diameter of the small End of the Trunnion, 3 Inches 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ Lines, which is the Caliber of the Bullet.

The Length of the Trunnion, 3 Inches 11 Lines, which is the Diameter of the Piece.

From the Edge of the Base Ring to the Trunnion Ring, 4 Feet 3 Inches in Length.

The Diameter of the Trunnion Ring, 11 Inches 10 Lines.

From the Edge of the Base Ring to the Cornish Ring, 8 Feet 1 Inch 6 Lines in Length.

The Diameter of the Cornish Ring, 9 Inches 10 Lines.

From the Cornish Ring to the Mouth, 10 Inches 6 Lines in Length.

The Diameter of the Piece, 3 Inches 11 Lines.

From the Mouth of the Piece to the End of the Cassacabel Deck, has in Length 9 Feet 10 Inches, which is the Length of a Brass Piece of the same Caliber.

Proportions for an Iron Piece of 8, for Land Service, which must weigh 2000 lb. or thereabout.

The Length from the Edge of the Base Ring to the Mouth of the Piece, is 8 Feet,

From the Edge of the Base Ring to the End of the Cassacabel Deck, 6 Lines in Length.

The Diameter of the Cassacabel Deck, 5 Inches.

The Diameter of the Base Ring, 12 Inches 11 Lines.

From the Bottom of the Bore to the End of the Base Ring, the Thickness of the Metal is 5 Inches.

The Diameter at the Touch Hole, 11 Inches 11 Lines.

From the Edge of the Base Ring to the reinfoc'd Ring, 2 Feet 5 Inches in Length.

The Diameter of the reinfoc'd Ring, 11 Inches 4 Lines.

From the Edge of the Base Ring to the Trunnions, 3 Feet 6 Inches 8 Lines in Length; the Trunnions are placed in the 3 Feet 6 Inches 8 Lines.

The Diameter of the large End of the Trunnion, 3 Inches 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ Lines which is the Caliber of the Piece.

The Diameter of the small End of the Trunnion, 5 Inches 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ Lines, which is the Caliber of the Bullet.

The Length of the Trunnion, 3 Inches 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ Lines, which is the Diameter of the Piece.

From the Edge of the Base Ring to the Trunnion Ring, 3 Feet 8 Inches long.

The Diameter of the Trunnion Ring, 10 Inches 9 Lines.

From the Edge of the Base Ring to the Cornish Ring, 7 Feet 2 Inches 6 Lines in Length.

The Diameter of the Cornish Ring, 7 Inches 2 Lines.

From the Cornish Ring to the Mouth, 9 Inches 6 Lines in Length.

The Diameter of the Piece, 3 Inches 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ Lines.

From the Mouth to the End of the Cassacabel Deck, the Piece has in Length 8 Feet 9 Inches 6 Lines; which is the Length of a Brass Piece of the same Caliber.

Proportions of an Iron Piece of 4, for Land Service, which must weigh 1500 lb. or thereabout.

The Length from the Base Ring to the Mouth of the Piece, 7 Feet.

From the Base Ring to the End of the Cassacabel Deck, 9 Inches in Length.

The Diameter of the Cassacabel Deck, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ Inches.

The Diameter of the Base Ring 11 Inches 2 Lines.

From the Bottom of the Bore to the End of the Base Ring, the Thickness of the Metal, 7 Inches 6 Lines.

The Diameter at the Touch Hole, 10 Inches 5 Lines.

From the Edge of the Base Ring to the reinfoc'd Ring, 2 Feet 1 Inch 6 Lines in Length.

The Diameter of the reinfoc'd Ring, 9 Inches 9 Lines.

From the Edge of the Base Ring to the Trunnions, 3 Feet 1 Inch 4 Lines in Length; the Trunnions placed in the 3 Feet 1 Inch 4 Lines.

The Diameter of the large End of the Trunnion, 3 Inches 1 Line $\frac{1}{4}$, which is the Caliber of the Piece.

The Diameter of the small End of the Trunnion, 3 Inches, which is the Caliber of the Bullet.

The Length of the Trunnion, 3 Inches 1 Line $\frac{1}{4}$, which is the Caliber of the Piece.

From the Edge of the Base Ring to the Trunnion Ring, 3 Feet 3 Inches long.

The Diameter of the Trunnion Ring, 9 Inches 2 Lines.

From the Edge of the Base Ring to the Cornish Ring, 6 Feet 4 Inches in Length.

The Diameter of the Cornish Ring, 6 Inches 2 Lines.

From the Cornish Ring to the Mouth of the Piece, 8 Inches in Length.

From the Mouth to the End of the Cassacabel Deck, the Piece has in Length 7 Feet 9 Inches, which is the Length of a Brass Piece of the same Caliber.

The Diameter of the Caliber of the Piece, 3 Inches 1 Line $\frac{1}{4}$.

The Furnace to cast these above-mention'd Iron Pieces, must be 24 Feet high, more or less, and its Sides must be equal with two arch'd Roofs, one on one Side for the Bellows, and the other to work at the Furnace, on which Side is built the Work, in the Middle of

of the Furnace, 18 or 20 Inches broad, and 36 or 40 Inches long.

Above the Furnace there is an Augmentation of Masonry, 4 Feet or thereabout high, and 25 or 30 Inches of Diameter inside, called the *Guider*.

To melt the Metal in this Furnace, they begin to fill it with Charcoal, over which they throw a certain Quantity of Iron Mine; and when the Coal has lowered 5 or 6 Feet, they throw in more Coal, and over it more Mine, always increasing the Quantity of the Mine, till the Workmen find that the Fire of the Furnace can bear no more.

A single Furnace can't contain more Iron in the Work, than what is necessary to cast a Piece of 8.

Two Furnaces to cast a Piece of 12, 16, or 18.

Three Furnaces to cast a Piece of 24.

Four Furnaces to cast a Piece of 36, or of 48.

Besides the large Pieces mention'd throughout this Treatise, invented for the Destruction of Mankind, there are others called small Guns, viz. *Muskets of Rampart, Common Muskets, Fusils, Carabines, Musketoons, and Pistols*.

A *Musket*, or *Musquet*, is a Fire-Arm borne on the Shoulder, and used in War, formerly fir'd by the Application of a lighted Match, but at present with a Flint and Lock.

The *Common Muskets* are of the Caliber of 20 Leaden Balls to the Pound, and receive Balls from 22 to 24: Its Length is fix'd to 3 Feet 8 Inches from the Muzzle to the Touch-Pan.

Muskets were antiently borne in the Field by the Infantry; at present they are little used save in the Defence of Places.

A *Fusil*, or *Fire-lock*, has the same Length and Caliber; and serves at present instead of a Musket.

A *Carabine*, is a small Sort of Fire-Arm, shorter than a Fusil, and carrying a Ball of 24 in the Pound; borne by the Light-Horse, hanging at a Belt over the left Shoulder.

The *Carabine* is a Kind of Medium between the Pistol and the Musket; and bears a near Affinity to the Arquebush, only that its Bore is smaller. It was formerly made with a Match Lock, but of late only with a Flint Lock.

The Barrel is two Foot and a half long, and is sometimes furrow'd spirally within, which is said to add to the Range of the Piece.

The *Musquetoon* is of the same Length of the Carabine, the Barrel polished and clean within.

Those of the Life-Guards of the King of France, are very fine damaskeen'd with Gold, &c.

The *Musquetoon* carries five Ounces of Iron, or seven and a half of Lead, with an equal Quantity of Powder.

The Barrel of a Pistol is of 14 Inches long.

Note, That *Larry* makes Brass Cannon the Invention of *J. Owen*, and says, the first known in England were in 1533. Cannons, however, he owns were known before; and observes, that at the Battle of *Cressy* in 1346, there were five Pieces of Cannon in the English Army, which were the first that had been seen in France: *Mezeray* adds, that King *Edward* struck Terror in the French Army, by five or six Pieces of Cannon; it being the first Time they had seen such thundering Machines.

Note, also, That the Invention of Gunpowder, is ascribed by *Polidore Virgil* to a Chymist, who having accidentally put some of this Composition in a Mortar, and covered it with a Stone, it happened to take Fire and blew up the Stone. *Thevet* says, the Person here spoke of, was a Monk of *Fribourg*, named *Constantine Anelzui*, but *Bellforet* and other Authors, with more Probability hold it to be *Bartholdus Schwartz*, or the Black: At least it is affirmed he first taught the Use of it to the *Venetians* in the Year 1380, during the War with the *Genoese*; and that it was first employ'd in a Place called *Fossa Clodia*, now *Chioggia*, against *Laurence de Medicis*; and that all Italy made Com-

VOL. II.

plaints against it, as a manifest Contravention of a fair Warfare. But what contradicts this Account, and shews Gunpowder of an older Era is, that *Peter Mexia* in his *Various Readings*, mentions, that the *Moors* being besieged in 1343, by *Alphonfus XI*. King of *Castille*, discharged a sort of Iron Mortars upon them, which made a Noise like Thunder; which is seconded by what *Don Pedro* Bishop of *Leon*, relates in his Chronicle of King *Alphonfus*, who reduced *Toledo*, viz. that in a Sea Combat between the King of *Tunis* and a *Moorish* King of *Seville*, above 400 Years ago, those of *Tunis* had certain Iron Tuns or Barrels where-with they threw Thunderbolts of Fire.—*Du Cange* adds, that there is mention made of Gunpowder in the Registers of the Chamber of Accounts in France, as early as the Year 1338.

The antient Instruments of War were the *Aries*, *Catapulta*, &c.

ARIES, or *Battering Ram*, was an Engine with an Iron Head, much in Use among the Antients to batter and beat down the Walls of Places besieged.

Of this there were three Kinds; the first, rude and plain, the others artificial and compound.

The first seems to have been no more than a great Beam, which the Soldiers bore in their Arms, and with an End of it, by main Force assailed the Walls. This required a great Force to work it, yet produced but a small Effect.

The second, or *Compound Ram*, is described by *Josephus* (*de excid. Hierosol.* 3.) thus; 'The Ram is a vast long Beam like the Mast of a Ship, strengthened at one End with a Head of Iron, something resembling that of a Ram, whence it took its Name. This is hung by the Middle with Ropes to another Beam, which lies across a couple of Posts; and hanging thus equally ballanced, is by a great Number of Men violently thrust forwards, and recoiled backwards, and so shake the Wall with its Iron Head, nor is there any Tower or Wall so thick or strong, as to resist the repeated Assaults of this forcible Machine.'

The third only differed from the former in that it was covered with a *χελων*, or Skreen to guard the Soldiers, whence it is also called *Testudo Arietaria*.

M. Fellibien describes a fourth Sort of *Battering Ram*, which runs on Wheels, and was the most perfect and effectual of them all.—*Vitruvius* affirms, that the *Battering Ram* was first invented by the *Carthaginians*, while they laid Siege to *Cadiz*; there was the simple Kind above-mentioned, *Pephaemenos* a *Tyrian*, contrived to suspend it with Ropes; and *Polydus* the *Thessalian*, to mount it on Wheels at the Siege of *Byzantium*, under *Philip* of *Macedon*. Yet *Pliny* assures us the Ram was invented at the Siege of *Troy*; and it was this gave Occasion to the Fable of a wooden Horse.

The Engine opposed to the *Ram* was called *Lupus*, the Wolf.—*Plutarch* tells us, that *Mark Antony*, in the *Parthian War*, used a Ram of 80 Feet long; and *Vitruvius* assures us they were sometimes made 106, and sometimes 120 Feet long, to which perhaps, the Force of the Engine was in a great measure owing.

The *Ram* was managed at once by a whole Century of Soldiers, so that it played continually, and without intermission; being usually covered with a Vine to protect it from the Attempts of the Enemy.

The Vine was a kind of Manteler, or moveable Parapet, built slighter, and yet larger than ours, being eight or nine Feet high, as many broad, and sixteen long: They were defended by a double Covering, the one of Boards, the other of Faggots, with the Ribs of Osiers, and cased without with Skins steeped in Water, to prevent Fire; for in Process of Time a certain Composition of Combustibles was invented, called *Greek Fire*, or *Pen Gregois*, because first used by the *Greeks*, to burn those Machines.

The Composition was made of Sulphur, Naphtha, Pitch, Gum, and Bitumen; and was only extinguishable by Vinegar mixed with Sand and Urine, or with raw Hides.

Its Motion of Tendency is said to be contrary to that of

Ee

of

of natural Fire, and always follows the Direction in which it is thrown; whether it be downwards, sideways, or otherwise.

The Jesuit *Patavius* ascribes the Invention of it to an Engineer of *Heliopolis* in *Syria*, named *Callinicus*, who first applied it in the Sea Fight, commanded by *Constantine Pogonates* against the *Saracens*, near *Cyzicus* in the *Hellepont*; and with such Effect, that he burnt the whole Fleet therewith, wherein were 30,000 Men.

But others will have it of a much older Date, and hold *Marcus Gracchus* the Inventor; which Opinion is supported by several Passages, both in the *Greek* and *Roman* Writers, which shew it to have been antiently used by both those Nations in the Wars.

Constantine's Successors used it on divers Occasions, with equal Advantage as himself; and what is remarkable is, that they were so happy as to keep the Secret of the Composition to themselves, so that no other Nation knew it in the Year 960.

Hugh King of *Burgundy*, demanding Ships of the Emperor *Leo* for the Siege of *Fresne*, desired likewise the *Greek Fire*.

F. Daniel gives us a good Description of the *Greek Fire*, in his Account of the Siege of *Diametta* under *St. Louis*.—Every Body, says that Author, was astonished with the *Greek Fire*, which the *Turks* then prepared; and the Secret whereof is now lost: They threw it out of a kind of Mortar; and sometimes shot it with an odd sort of Cross-Bow, which was strongly bent by means of a Handle or Winch, of much greater Force than the bare Arms. That thrown with the Mortar, sometimes appeared in the Air of the Size of a Tun, with a long Tail, and a Noise like that of Thunder. The *French* by degrees got the Secret of extinguishing it, in which they succeeded several Times.

The CATAPULTA, was a Machine us'd for throwing huge Stones, and sometimes large Darts, and Javelins 12 or 15 Feet long on the Enemy.

The Catapulta is said to be the Invention of the *Syrians*. Some Authors make it the same with the *Ballista*, others different.

Marcellinus describes the BALLISTA thus: A round Iron Cylinder is fastened between two Planks, from which reaches a hollow square Beam placed cross-ways, fastened with Cords, to which are added Screws; at one End of this stands the Engineer, who puts a wooden Shaft with

a big Head into the Cavity of the Beam; this done, two Men bend the Engine by drawing some Wheels: When the Top of the Head is drawn to the utmost End of the Cords, the Shaft is driven out of the *Ballista*, &c.

The SCORPION was also a military Machine of the Antients, used chiefly in the Defence of Walls, &c.

Marcellinus describes the *Scorpion*, as consisting of two Beams bound together by Ropes: From the Middle of the two rose a third Beam, so disposed as to be pulled up and let down at Pleasure; and on the Top of this were fastened Iron Hooks, where was hung a Sling, either of Iron or Hemp. Under the third Beam lay a Piece of Hair-Cloth full of Chaff tied with Cords.

To use the Engine, a round Stone was put into the Sling, and four Persons on each Side, loosening the Beams bound by the Ropes, drew back the erect Beam to the Hook; when the Engineer standing on an Eminence, giving a Stroke with a Hammer, on the Cord to which the Beam was fastened with its Hook, set it at Liberty; so that hitting again the soft Hair-Cloth, it struck out the Stone with a great Force.

It has its Name *Scorpion*, because when the long Beam or Tillar was erected, it had a sharp Top in manner of a Sting—More modern Times have given it the Name of *Onager*, wild Ass, because that Animal when hunted flings back Stones.

The TESTUDO, *Tortoise*, was a kind of Cover, or Skreen, which the Soldiers, *e.gr.* a whole Company made themselves of their Bucklers, by holding them up over their Heads, and standing close to each other, this Expedient served to shelter them from Darts, Stones, &c. thrown upon them, especially those thrown from above, when they went to the Assault.

Testudo was also a kind of large wooden Tower which moved on several Wheels, and was covered with Bullocks Hides flead, serving to shelter the Soldiers when they approached the Walls to mine them, or to batter them with Rams. It was called *Testudo* from the Strength of its Roof, which covered the Workmen as the Shell does the Tortoise.

There were also movable Towers of Wood mounted on Wheels, to set the Besiegers on a level with the Walls, and drive the Besieged from under the same. These Towers were sometimes 20 Stories, and 30 Fathom high; they were covered with raw Skins, and 100 Men employ'd to move them.

H A T - M A K I N G.

HAT-MAKING, is the Art of preparing, mixing, and working together, either Wool, or Hair of divers Animals, particularly the Castor, Hare, Coney, Camel, &c. in order to make of it a Covering and Ornament for the Head.

Note, That before we can proceed in this Undertaking, we must fit our Shop with all the Tools, &c. proper for the Business, *viz.* with two Sorts of Knives, large ones in the Shape of a Shoemaker's Knife, to cut the long Hairs; and smaller, not unlike a Vine-knife, to shave or shape off the shorter Hair.—Cards, like those used in the Woollen Manufactory, only finer, to card the Hair withal.—A Hurdle, which is a square Table parallel to the Horizon, having longitudinal Chinks cut through it.—A Bow, resembling that of a Violin, but larger; whose String is worked with a little Bow-slick, or a Sieve, or Scarce of Hair, which some Hatters make use of in lieu of a Bow, and through which they pass the Stuff.—A hardening Skin.—A Bason, which is a sort of Bench, with an Iron Pan fitted therein.—Moulds of different Sizes.—A Receiver or Trough, resembling a Mill-hopper, going sloping or narrowing down from the Edge or Rim to the Bottom, which is a Copper Kettle filled with Water, and Grounds kept hot; a wooden Roller.—A Commander, which is a Piece of Packthread

to tie the Crown of the Hat round the wooden Block,—A Stamper, which is a Piece of Iron or Copper, bent.—Pumice,—Seal-Skin.—An Oven or Stove, where the Hats are dried.—A Steaming-Bason, which is a little Hearth or Fire-place, raised three Feet high, with an Iron Plate laid over it, exactly covering the Earth.—A Stall-Board.—Irons like those used in ironing Linnen.—Brushes, Scissors, &c.—Besides these a Hatter must have a good Provision of Wool and Castor, Hare, Coney, Camels, &c. Hair; old Coats, &c.

Provided with all these Implements, we'll go to work to make Hats; and as the Process is much the same in all, we shall content ourselves, for Instance, with making Castors, as the finest. Observing previously to it, that the Skin of this Animal is set with two Kinds of Hair, the one long, stiff, glossy, and pretty scarce, and the other, short, thick, and soft, which alone is used in Hats.

We'll begin by setting the Women we employ to work, with the Knives above-mentioned, using the largest to tear the long Hair off the Skin; and the smaller to shave and scrape off the shorter Sort.

The Hair being off we'll mix the Stuff, to one Third of dry Castor, putting two Thirds of old Coat, *i.e.* Hair which have been wore some Time by the Savages;

HERALDRY.

King	Prince	Arch Duke	Duke	Marquis	Earl	Vicomte	Baron	Bishop	King	Earl
Helm	Esquire	Order of the Garter	Or	Argent	Sable	Gules	Azure	Vert	Purpure	Ermine
Ermine	Vert	Potent	Checky	Party per pale	Per fesse	Per bend	P. bend Grenelle	Sinister	Per cross	Per saltire
Quarter	Caston	Giron	Girony of 8	Escutcheon	a scarpe	batton	a fesse	Barr	Clozel	Barulet
Barulet	Benlet	Quarter	Cost	Ribbon	a Bendlet sinister	an Orle	Orle	Voysers	Flasques	Flanches
Quarter impaled	Purflower	Gobonated	Entoyre	Enaluron	Pile	2 Piles	Transposed	P. flory	Cotized	Main Cross
Pury	Voysed	Vimbratio	Potent	Moline	Patonce	Avellane	Potent fished	Pale fished	Spring flury	Bottomy
Impaled	Couped point	C. Voysed	Triparted	double parted	Reguled	a Saltire	S. counter charged	Surmounted	a Pale	a Pallet
Endorse	Paleto wavy	Radiant Rayonne	Band	Wavy	Crenelle	Ingrailed	Flory	Lozange	Chief	Chief indented
Impaled	Chamelly	Vibule	Tress	Arctle	Rampant	Reguardant	Conard	Chained	Dormant	Couchant
Impaled	Pasant	P. Guardant	Saliant	Leaping	Current	Displayed	Solymant	Lodget	Crowned	Demy Lyon
Impaled	Saliant	Emboit	Ereled	Muzzled	Crowned	Couped	Cubed	1 st House	2 nd House	3 rd House

vages; and cause the whole to be well carded.

This done, we'll weigh it, and take more or less, according to the Size or Thickness of the *Hat* intended. The Stuff is now laid on the Hurdle, where it is flayed and mixed together with the Bow, the Dust and Filth, at the same Time passing through the Chinks. This is reckoned by *Hatters*, one of the most difficult Operations of the whole; by Reason of the Justness requir'd in the Hand, to make the Stuff fall precisely together, and that it may be every where of the same Thickness.

After this Manner we'll form *Gores*, or two *Capades*, of an oval Form, ending in an acute Angle a-top; and with what Stuff remains, we'll supply and strengthen them in Places where they happen to be slenderer than ordinary. Though we must remember, that they are to be made thicker in the Brim, near the Crown, than towards the Circumference, or in the Crown itself.

The *Capades* thus finished, we go on to harden them into closer, more consistent Flakes, by pressing down our hardening Skin, or Leather thereon. This done, we'll carry them to the *Bason*, upon which we'll lay one of the harden'd *Capades*, sprinkling it over with Water, and applying a Mould thereon. The Heat of the Fire with the Water and pressing, unbody the Stuff into a slight hairy Sort of Stuff or Felt: After which, turning up the Edges all around over the Mould, we'll lay it by, and thus proceed to the other.

This finished, we'll next join the two together, so as to meet in an Angle a-top, and only form one conical Cap, after the Manner of a *Manica Hypocrates*.

The *Hat* thus basen'd, we'll remove it to our Receiver or Trough, laying it on the Descent or sloping Side of the Trough, called the *Plank*, having first dipped it in it. And here we'll proceed to work it, by rolling and unrolling it again and again, one Part after another, first with the Hand, and then with a little wooden Roller; taking Care to dip it from Time to Time; till at length by thus fulling and thickening it, four or five Hours, it is reduced to the Extent or Dimensions of the *Hat* intended. To secure the Hands from being injured by this frequent rolling, &c. we'll guard them with a Sort of thick Glove.

The *Hat* thus wrought, we'll proceed to give it the proper Form, by laying the conical Cap on a wooden Block of the intended Size of the Crown of the *Hat*; and thus tie it round with the *Commander*, which we'll beat and gradually drive down all around with the Stamper, till it has reached the Bottom of the Block; and thus will the Crown be formed, what remains at the Bottom, below the String, being the Brim.

The *Hat* being now set to dry, we'll proceed to singe it, by holding it over a Flair of Straw, or the like; then pounce or rub it over with Pumice, to take off the coarser Nap; then rub it over afresh with Seal-Skin, to lay the Nap still finer; and lastly, card it with a fine Card, to raise the fine Cotton, with which the *Hat* is afterwards to appear.

Things thus far advanced, the *Hat* will be sent upon its Block, and tied about with Packthread, as before, to be dyed.

The Dyer's Copper is usually very large, holding 10 or 12 Dozen *Hats*. The Dye or Tincture is made of Logwood, Verdigrease, Copperas, and Alder-Bark, to which some add Galls and Sumack. Here the *Hat* is kept boiling for about three Quarters of an Hour; then taken out and set to cool, and then return'd to the Dye,

and this for 10 or 12 Times successively.

The Dye being compleat, the *Hat* will be return'd to us *Hatters*; and then we'll proceed to dry it, by hanging it in the Top or Roof of our Stove or Oven; at the Bottom of which is a Charcoal Fire.

When dry, we'll stiffen it with melted Glue, or Gum Seneca, which we'll apply thereon by smearing it, and beating it over with a Brush, and then rubbing it with the Hand. Next we'll steam it, on the steaming *Bason*, by first spreading Cloths upon it, sprinkled over with Water to keep the *Hat* from burning, then placing the *Hat* Brim downwards thereon.

When moderately hot, we'll strike it gently on the Brim with the Flat of our Hand to make the Jointings incorporate and bind; turning it from Time to Time, this Way and that Way, and at last overturning and setting it on the Crown.

When steamed sufficiently and dried, we'll put it again off the Block, brush it, and iron it on our Stall-board; rubbing each Part of the *Hat* over and over with the Iron, which with the Assistance of the Brush, smoothes and gives it a Gloss, and which is the last Operation; nothing now remaining but to clip the Edges even with Scissars, and sew a Lining into the Crown.

Hats are said to have been first seen about the Year 1400; at which Time they became of Use for Country-wear, Riding, &c. F. Daniel relates, that when Charles II. made his publick Entry into *Rouen*, in 1449, he had on a *Hat* lin'd with red Velvet, and surmounted with a Plume, or Tuft of Feathers. He adds, that it is from this Entry, at least under this Reign, that the Use of *Hats* and Caps is to be dated, which henceforward began to take Place of the Chaperons and Hoods, that had been wore before.

In Process of Time, from the Laity, the Clergy likewise took the Habit. But it was look'd upon as a crying Abuse, and several Regulations were published, forbidding any Priest, or religious Person, to appear abroad with a *Hat*, without Cornets; and enjoining them to keep to the Use of Chaperons, made of black Cloth, with decent Cornets: If they were poor, they were at least to have Cornets fasten'd to their *Hats*, and this upon Penalty of Suspension and Excommunication. Indeed the Use of *Hats* is said to have been of a longer Standing among the Ecclesiasticks of *Britanny*, by 200 Years, and especially among the Canons; but these were no other than a Kind of Caps; and it was from hence arose the square Caps wore in Colleges, &c.

Lobineau observes, that a Bishop of *Dol*, in the twelfth Century, zealous for good Order, allowed the Canons alone to wear such *Hats*, enjoining, that if any other Person should come with them to Church, divine Service should immediately stand still.

Formerly, none but the *French* knew very well how to make *Hats*, and it is but of late Years that the *English* come near to them in that Manufacture; for within these few Years they were rather a Burden to the Head than a Covering; and had not that Softness, fine Gloss they have at present; there was as much Stuff in one as could have made two, and were too much loaded with Stiffening; which when the *Hat* had been wore a little while, appear'd on the *Hat* as if it had been dipped in Tar; at present they have none of those Faults, for they are light, flexible, glossy, and have a very smooth and fine Nap.

HERALDRY.

HERALDRY, is the Art of Armoury and Blazoning; or the Knowledge of what relates to the bearing of Arms, and the Laws and Regulations thereof.

Arms or *Armories*, are Marks of Dignity and Honour, regularly composed of certain Figures and Colours, given or authorized by Sovereigns, and bore in Banners,

Shields, Coats, &c. for the Distinction of Persons, Families, and States, and passing by Descent to Posterity.

They are called *Arms*, in Regard they are bore principally on the Buckler, Cuirasse, Banners, and other Apparatus of War; and by the *English* *Coats of Arms*, *Coat Armour*, &c. because antiently embroider'd on a Cloak.

Cloak or Habit, worn by the antient Knights over their Arms, both in War and at Tournaments; and still borne by the Heralds at Arms.

It was a Kind of Surcoat, reaching only as low as the Navel, open at the Sides, with short Sleeves; sometimes furred with Ermins and Vair, wherein were applied the Armories of the Knight, embroidered with Gold and Silver, and enamelled with beaten Tin, colour'd black, green, red, and blue; whence the Rule never to apply Colour on Colour, nor Metal on Metal.

The *Coats of Arms* were frequently open, and diversified with Bands and Fillets of several Colours, alternately placed, as we still see Cloths scarleted, watered, &c. Hence they were also called *Divices* or *Divises*, and being divided, or composed of several Pieces, sewed together, whence the Words *Fesse*, *Pale*, *Chevron*, *Bend*, *Cross*, *Salter*, *Lozenge*, &c. which have since become honourable Pieces, or Ordinaries of the Shield.

The Surcoat being embroider'd with Gold and Silver, was the Occasion that those two Metals have been since placed in the Coats of Arms, under their *French* Name of *Or* and *Argent*; and there being colour'd black, green, red, and blue; that those different Colours have also been introduced in them: Therefore,

There are two Metals in *Heraldry*, viz. *Or* and *Argent*; and seven Colours, which are *Gules*, *Azure*, *Sable*, *Vert*, *Purpure*, *Tenne*, and *Sanguine*.

OR, in the Coats of Arms is painted Yellow, and represented in Engraving by small Points or Dots, all over the Field, or Bearing, as in our Table of *Heraldry*.

In the Coats of Nobles it is called *Topaz*; and in those of sovereign Princes *Sol*; but this Distinction is only made by the *English* Heralds; for the *French*, who are accounted the best skilled in this Art, give it no other Name, than its own proper one, viz. *Or*.

Without this, or *Argent*, there can be no good Armory; and it is accounted the Symbol of Wisdom, Temperance, Faith, Force, Constancy, &c.

ARGENT, a *French* Word, likewise, from the *Latin* *Argentum*, Silver; is painted White in the Escutcheons, and expressed in Engraving, by the Parts being left plain, without any Strokes from the Graver, as in our Table.

The *French* when they blazon an Escutcheon, give it no other Name; but the *English* observe the same Distinction in this, as in *Or*, and call for Barons and all Nobles, the white Colour *Pearl*; and for sovereign Princes, *Luna*.

In the Doubling of Mantles, where the White is supposed to represent a Fur, and not a Metal, it may be blazon'd White.

GULES (which among Colours I place the first, as the most honourable) is painted Red; and in Engraving expressed by perpendicular Strokes, drawn from the Top of the Escutcheon to the Bottom.

Note, That the Word is also in *French* *Gueule*, which F. *Monet* derives from the *Hebrew* *Gulud*, and *Guludit*, a reddish Pellicle or Skin appearing on a Wound when it begins to heal; but F. *Menestrier* reproaches him, that there are no such Words in the *Hebrew* Tongue. This however is not strictly true: All the Eastern Languages, the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Syriack*, and *Arabs* say גולד, for *Cutis*, *Pellis*; whence the *Arabick* *Gulud*. And in the general, the Word *Gules* signifies Red among most of the oriental Nations: The *Arabs* and *Persians* give the Name to the Rose. Others, with *Nicod*, derive the Name *Gules* from *Gula*, the Throats of Animals being generally Red; or from the *Latin* *Cusculicem*, which is the κόκκι of the *Greeks*.

Gules is reputed a Symbol of Charity, Valour, Hardiness, Generosity, and represents Blood Colour, Cinabar, and true Scarlet. Antiently it was prohibited any Person to wear *Gules* in his Coat Armour, unless he was a Prince, or had Permission from the Prince.

Spelman, in his *Aspilogia*, says this Colour was particularly honoured by the *Romans*, as it had been before by the *Trojans*, and that they painted the Bodies of their Gods, and of their Generals that triumphed, with Ver-

million. Under the Consuls, the *Roman* Soldiers wore Red, whence they were denominated *Ruffati*. *Joan. de Bado Aureo* adds, that the red Dye, which the *Greeks* called *Phenician*, and we *Scarlet*, was first used by the *Romans*, to prevent the Blood being seen to issue from Wounds in Fight.

In Effect, *Gules* has always been esteem'd an imperial Colour; the Emperors were cloathed, shod, and had their Apartments furnished with Red: Their Edicts, Dispatches, Signatures, and Seals, were of red Ink, and red Wax; whence the Name *Rubricks*. The *English* speak thus in Praise of *Gules*, it being the Field of the Arms of *England*.

AZURE, the second Colour, is painted Blue; and in Engraving is represented by Strokes or Hatches drawn horizontally, as in our Table.

The *French* prefer this Colour to all others, by Reason the Field of the Arms of their Kings is *Azure*; though I cannot imagine why there should be any Disputes on that Subject; since it is the illustrious Blood of the Person which renders his Arms noble, and not the Arms which add any Thing to the Quality of the Person; since the Art of Blazoning had no other Rules at first, but the Imagination or Fancy of its Inventors.

SABLE, the third Colour, is painted black; and expressed in Engraving by perpendicular and horizontal Hatches drawn a cross each other, as represented in our Table.

VERT, the fourth Colour, is painted green; and in Engraving is expressed by Diagonals, or Lines drawn athwart from Right to Left, from the dexter chief Corner to the sinister Base; as in our Table.

In lieu of *Vert* the *French* Heralds use *Sinople* or *Synople*; which is expressed in the same Manner, both in Painting and Engraving as the *English* *Vert*, which *Vert* is also a *French* Word signifying *Green*.

Note, That *Vert* or *Synople*, is supposed to signify Love, Youth, Beauty, Rejoycing and Liberty; whence it is that Letters of Grace, Abolition, Legitimation, &c. are used to be sealed with green Wax.

PURPURE, or *PURPLE*, the fifth Colour, is a Compound of *Gules* and *Azure*, bordering on Violet, it is painted in its natural Colour, and represented in Engraving by diagonal Lines drawn from the sinister Chief to the dexter base Point, as in our Table.

Purple, is supposed a Symbol of Temperance, Liberality, Dignity, Authority, Faith, and Piety.—Most Authors in *Heraldry*, as *Faven*, *Geliot*, *Monet*, and *Menestrier*, do not allow Purple for a Colour, in regard it is not simple, but composed of an equal Mixture of four other Colours.—They rather esteem it a kind of intermediate Tincture, sometimes Metal, and sometimes Colour: Hence the *Spaniards* call it *una mistion*; so that one cannot lay it on Metal and Colour without falsifying the Arms.

Add, that many take the *Purple*, as it is accounted on many antient Bearings, by which some of the Moderns would evince the Regularity and Legitimacy of this Colour in Armory, to be no other than Silver tarnished.

Spelman however, in his *Aspilogia*, allows Purple the Preference before all other Colours, as having been an Ensign of Royalty for many Ages; yet he allows it to have been excluded by the antient Heralds as only an imperfect Colour.

TENNE, *TENNY*, or *TAWNY*, is a bright Colour made of red and yellow mixed, sometimes also called Brusk, and expressed in Engraving by thwart or diagonal Strokes or Hatches, beginning from the sinister Chief, like Purple.

This Colour is not known in the *French* Blazon; neither can it be properly ranked among the genuine Colours.

SANGUINE, is the Colour usually called *Murrey*; being made of red Lake, tinged with a little *Spanish* Brown.

It is represented in Engraving by transverse Hatches like Purple, and is mostly used in the Coats of Knights of the Bath.

This Colour is not better known in the *French* Blazon than

than the Tenne; and the *French* Heralds reject them both as no Colour at all.

Having thus given a true Description of the *Metals* and *Colours* used in *Heraldry*, I'll put some of them in an *Escutcheon* for the Field of a Coat of Arms.

But what do I call an *Escutcheon*? An *Escutcheon* is a Shield or Coat, wherein the Bearing or Arms of any Person is represented, and is of a square Figure, excepting the bottom Part, which is usually a little rounded, ending in a Point in the Middle.

Note, That the Word *Escutcheon* is formed of the *French* *Ecusson*, and that from the *Latin* *scutum*, Shield; which was the Place, Arms were originally bore on, before ever they came in Banners; and still wherever they are placed, it is on something representing the Form of a Shield.—The *Latin* *scutum*, no doubt, came originally from the *Greek* *ξυστήν* Leather, wherewith the Shields were usually covered.

Till within a few hundred Years the *Escutcheons* of the *French* and *English* were triangular: Those of the *Spaniards* are still quite round at Bottom without any Point: Those of the *Italians* are oval; and those of the *Germans* in Form of Cartoozes.

The antient *Escutcheons* were generally couched or inclin'd; and they only began to place them upright, when Crowns, &c. were put over them by Way of Crest.

In *France*, *Ecusson*, *Escutcheon*, was formerly restrained to a Shield, or Coat pointed at Bottom; by which it was distinguished from the *Ecu*, which was quite square, and was only allowed to be bore by the Counts and Viscounts. Those of inferior Quality were confin'd to the *Escusson*, or pointed *Escu*.

The several Parts or Points of the *Escutcheon* have their several Names, viz. the *Dexter Chief Point*; the *middle Chief*; and the *Sinister Chief Point*; the *Honour Point*; the *Fesse Point*; the *Nombril Point*; the *Dexter Base*; the *Middle*, and the *Sinister Base Point*.

The *Escutcheon* is diversly denominated, according to its Divisions. It is called *Dexterated*, when the perpendicular Line that divides it, is to the Right of a third Part of the *Escutcheon*; *Sinistered*, when on the Left; *tierced in pale*, when this Line is double, and divides the *Escutcheon* into three equal Parts; *Paled*, when increased to the Number of six, eight, or ten. A horizontal Line makes the Chief, when at a third Part from the Top; the *Plein*, when at a third Part from the Bottom; and when double, in the Middle, at an equal Distance from both Extremes, it makes the *Fess*, and the *Tierced in Fess*; when it is multiplied, it denominates it *fessed*; when there are 8 or 10 equal Spaces, *Burelle*; a Diagonal from the dexter Point of the Chief, to the sinister of the Base, makes it *Tranché*; the contrary, *double*. If it be double at equal Distances, the first makes *Bandé*, and the *Tierce in bande*, and the other *Barré*, or *Tierce in Bar*; increasing the Number of the first makes *Bandé* and *Cotticé*; and increasing that of the second, *Barré* and *Traversé*.

There is also *Escutcheon of Pretence*, which is an *Inescutcheon*, or little *Escutcheon*, which a Man who has married an Heiress, and has Issue by her, may bear over his own Coat of Arms; and in it the Arms of his Wife; and the surviving Issue will bear both Coats quarterly.

The Surface, or Face of the *Escutcheon*, is called the *Field*, because it contains the Achievements antiently acquir'd in the Field of Battle, e. gr. the Field in the Coat of Arms of *England*, is *Gules*; in that of *France*, *Azure*, &c. which Field is always named in Blazoning, before any other Part of the *Escutcheon*, viz. in Blazoning the Kings of *France* Coat of Arms, we say *Azure* with three Flower de luces, or two in Chief and one in Point: The most modern Heralds, two and one.

The Field being laid, we'll charge it with some Pieces, observing that all common Charges, or Bearings, are born in, upon, within, or between, Chief, Pale, Saltier, Chevron, Cross, Canton, Fess, Gyron, Pile, *Escutcheon*, *Bordure*, or *Orle*.

Counter-Charges of Colour or Metal, is when a Field is divided by a single Line, and the Charge exchanges Colour as it goes over both.

There are different Lines in the *Escutcheon*, as right, crooked, engrailed, invecked, waived, crenelled, or embattled, nebulee, or cloudy, indented, and dancette.

A right Line is carried equally throughout the *Escutcheon* without rising or falling.

A crooked Line is either bunched or corner'd, which crooked Line is the Origin of all the following ones, viz.

ENGRAILED, or INGRAILED (from the *French* *Gresle*, Hail) is when a Thing is represented with its Edges ragged, or notched circularly, as if broke by something falling on it.

It differs from *indented*, in that the Breaches there are all in strait Lines, but here semi-circular; and from *invecked*, in that the Points of the little Arches are turn'd inwards towards the Middle of the Field; which is invecked are turn'd outwards. *Spelman* expresses it in *Latin*, by *Imbricatus*, others by *Ingrediatius*, and others by *Striatius*.

INVECTED, denotes a Thing flatted or furrowed, and is the just Reverse of Engrailed, because the Points of *invecked* are turn'd inward to the ordinary.

WAVED, is when a Bordure, or any ordinary Charge, has its outer Lines indented, in Manner of the rising or falling of Waves. This is also called *undy*, *undé*, or *ondé*.

CRENELLED, or EMBATTLED, is when any honourable Ordinary is dented, after the Manner of Battlements of a Wall; the Origin hereof is, doubtless from the Figures of such Walls being given to Warriors, either for having been the first at mounting, or the Chief in defending them.

Note, The *French* Word *Crenellé* comes from *Cran*, a Notch, or Interval; the *English* from its being a Place of Fighting or Battle. *Upton*, in *Latin*, calls this *Imbatallatum*, a Word forged from the *English*; but most others term it *Pinnatum*, from *Pinna*, a Battlement.

NEBULED, is when a Coat is charged with several little Figures in Form of Clouds, running within one another, or, when the Outline of a Bordure, Ordinary, &c. is indented or waved.

INDENTED, INDENTEE, is when the Outline of a Bordure, Ordinary, &c. is notched in Form of the Teeth of a Saw.

DANCETTE, is when the Outline of any Bordure, or Ordinary, is indented very largely; the Largeness of the Indentures being the only Thing that distinguishes it from the indented.

There is also a Bearing of a Bend, called double *Dancetté*; thus he beareth *Azure*, a bend double *Dancetté* *Argent*.

We may conclude, hence, that of these different Lines are composed all Bordures, and honourable Ordinaries, an *Escutcheon* is charged with.

A BORDURE, is a Kind of Addition on the Limb of an *Escutcheon*, in Form of a Hem, or Girdle, encompassing it all around. The *Bordure* must be about one sixth Part of the Breadth of the Shield.

Simple *Bordure*, is that which is of the same Colour or Metal throughout; and is the first Addition of younger Brothers.

There are others composed, countered, engrailed, indented, and charged with other Pieces; which make different Additions for younger Brothers, in several Degrees.

If the Line which constitutes the *Bordure* be straight, and the *Bordure* plain, the Colour of the *Bordure* alone is named: As he beareth *Gules*, a *Bordure* *Or*. If a *Bordure* be charged with any Parts of Plants or Flowers; they say, *Verdoy of Trefoils*. If it consist of Ermins, Vairy, or any of the Furs, the Term is, *Perflew of Ermins*. If the *Bordure* be charged with Martlets, the Word is, *charged with an Enaluron of Martlets*, &c.

The HONOURABLE, or honourable Ordinaries, are the principal Ordinaries or Bearings, which, when in their full Extent, may possess one Third of the Field.

These are ten in Number, viz. the *Cross*, *Chief*, *Pale*, *Bend*, *Fesse*, *Bar*, *Saltier*, *Chevron*, *Bordure*, and *Orle*.

The *Cross* is defined by *Guillim*, an Ordinary composed of four-fold Lines; whereof two are perpendicular, and the other two transverse; for so we must conceive of them, though they be not drawn throughout, but meet by Couples, in four right Angles, near the Fess-point in the *Escutcheon*.

The Content of a *Cross* is not always the same: For when it is not charged, canton'd, nor accompanied, it has only the fifth Part of the Field; but if it be charged it must contain the third Part thereof.

This Bearing was first bestow'd on such as had perform'd, or at least undertaken, some Service for *Christ*, and the *Christian* Profession; and is held by divers the most honourable Charge in *Heraldry*. What brought it into such frequent Use, was the antient Expeditions into the *Holy Land*; and the Holy War Pilgrims, after their Pilgrimage, taking the *Cross* for their Cognizance, and the Ensign of that War being the *Cross*; whence its Name *Croisade*.

In those Wars, says *Mackenzey*, the *Scots* carried *St. Andrew's Cross*; the *French* a *Cross Argent*; the *English* a *Cross Or*; the *German*, *Sable*; the *Italians*, *Azure*; the *Spaniards*, *Gules*. Thus the illustrious Family of *Montmorancy* in *France*, carry the *Cross*, because they are the first *Christian* Barons; and the Dukes of *Savoy*, because they assisted *Rhodes* against the *Turks*.

St. George's Cross, or the *Red Cross*, in a Field *Argent*, is now the Standard of *England*; that Saint being the reputed Patron of the *English* Nation.

Guillim enumerates thirty-nine different Sorts of *Crosses* used in *Heraldry*, viz. a *Cross* voided, a *Cross* wavy-voided, a *Cross* patee fimbriated, a *Cross* patee fitch on the Foot, a *Cross* patee on three Parts, and fitch on the fourth, a *Cross* engrail'd, a *Cross* potance, a *Cross* flory, a *Cross* potance voided, a *Cross* avelane, a *Cross* patee lambeaux, a *Cross* furchee, a *Cross* croset, a *Cross* croset fitch at the Point, a *Cross* bottonee, a *Cross* pommee, a *Cross* urdee, a *Cross* degraded fitch, a *Cross* potent, a *Cross* potent fitch, a *Cross* calvary, a *Cross* croset set in degrees, a *Cross* patriarchal, a *Cross* anchored, a *Cross* molinee, a *Cross* clechee, a *Cross* flory or fleurdelysee, a *Cross* double fitch, a *Cross* a secze Points, a *Cross* miltinee, a *Cross* raguled, a *Cross* pointed voided, a *Cross* pall, a *Tau*, or *S. Anthony's Cross*, a *Cross* wided and couped, a *Cross* couped pierced, a *Cross* molinee pierced lozange-woup, a *Cross* molinee quarter-pierced, a *Saltier* or *St. Andrew's Cross*, &c.

A *Cross* voided, differs from the *Cross* fimbriated, in that this latter does not shew the Field through it, as the other does. And the same obtains in other Ordinaries.

A *Cross* wavy-voided, is a *Cross* which has its Outlines indented, in Manner of the rising and falling of Waves.

A *Cross* patee is a *Cross* small in the Centre, and widening towards the Extremes; this is called in *Latin*, *Crux patula ad Scopos*, seu *Crux patens*.

A *Cross* patee fitch on the Foot, is a *Cross* whose Foot is made sharp, that it may be more apt to be fasten'd any where. *Mackenzey* says, it is called *fitch*, from the *French* Word *fichée*, and that Writing it *fitch*, with a *t*, is an Error. The same Author is of Opinion, that the Reason of *Crosses* fitch, being borne in Arms was, that the primitive Christians did always carry *Crosses* with them as Marks of Devotion, and when they settled themselves in their Journey at any Place for Devotion, they fixed their portable *Crosses* in the Ground.

A *Cross* patee on three Parts, and fitch on the fourth, is a *Cross* which has the whole fourth Part fitch.

A *Cross* engrailed, is a *Cross* which has the Edges ragged, or notched circularly.

A *Cross* patonce, is a *Cross* formed of bunched Lines; extending and stretching to a certain patee

Form. *Colomb* calls it *Croix enbendee*, and not *patonce*. *Cross fleury*, is a *Cross*, which turns down its Extremities like a *Fleur de lys*. In *Latin* this is termed *Crux Florida*.

A *Cross* avelane, in *Latin*, *Crux Avelana*, is a *Cross* whose Quarters resemble the Filberd Nuts.

A *Cross* croselet, is a *Cross* which terminates in *Crosetlets*, or little *Crosses*.

A *Cross* botonee, is a *Cross* which the *French* *Heralds* call *Trefflee*, from *Treffe*, a Trefoil, or three-leaved Grass, which the Ends of this *Cross* imitate.

A *Cross* pomel, is a *Cross* whose Extremities are in the Form of round Balls, like the End of the Guard and Gras of a Sword, whence it borrows the Name *Pomel*, that End of the Guard of a Sword being called in *French* *Le Pomeau*, *Pomel*.

A *Cross* urde, seems to be the same with what we otherwise call *Clechee*.

A *Cross* degraded fitch, is a *Cross* with Degrees or Sort of Steps at each Extream.

A *Cross* potent, by the *French* called *Potenciee*, in *Latin*, *Crux patibularia*, is a *Cross* which has its Extremities in the Form of a Crutch, used for the Support of feeble and aged Persons.

A *Cross* calvary, is a *Cross* long in the Pale, and short in the Arms, resembling the *Cross* of our Redemption fixed on Mount *Calvary*.

Patriarchal Cross, is that where the Shaft is twice crossed, the lower Arms or Traverse being longer, and the upper shorter; it is also called a *Cross* of *Lorraine*.

An anchored *Cross*, is a *Cross* whose Points thereof are made sharp like those of an Anchor.

A *Cross* moline, is that which turns round both Ways at all its Extremities, though not so wide or sharp as that said to be anchored. In *Upton* the Points are all cut off, which makes it very different from the *Cross* anchored. This is called by the *French* *Heralds*, *Fer de Moulin*, q. d. Iron of the Mill, supposed to represent the Iron Ink, or Ink of a Mill, which sustains the moving Mill Stone.

Cross clechee, is a *Cross* open to the Light, or pierc'd through with another inner one of the same Figure, e. gr. when a *Cross* appears as if charged with another *Cross* of the same Colour with the Field, or as if the Field appear'd through the Apertures thereof.

Note, That the Word is *French*, supposed to be formed of *Clef Key*; the Ends of the *Cross* being thought to bear some Resemblance to the Bowls of the antient Keys.

But *Colombiere*, and some other Writers, will have this piercing to be only a Circumstance of the *Cross* *Cleche*, and call it by the Name *Vuide*, voided. The Thing that determines its *Cleche*, is its spreading from the Centre towards the Extremities, which are very wide, and ending in an Angle in the Middle.

Cross flory, or *Fleur de lisee*, is a *Cross*, the Extremities whereof are in the Form of Flowers, Lillies, Flower de luces.

A *Cross* double fitch, or double fitchy, is a *Cross* whose Extremities are pointed at each Angle; that is, each Extremity has two Points: In Contradistinction to *fiche*, where the Extremity is sharpened away to one Point.

Leigh calls it *double pitchy*, which seems to be a Mistake. *Gibbon* expresses it by an octagonal *Cross*, the two Points whereof at each Extremity are parted inward by a small Space of a Line; by which it is distinguished from the *Cross* of *Malta*; the two Points whereof proceed from a third Point, or acute Angle between them.

Cross à seize Pointes, is a *Cross*, each Extremity whereof has four Points.

Cross mitrine, is a *Cross*, the Extremities whereof are hooked.

A *raguled* *Cross*, is a *Cross* whose Outlines are jagged or knotted. — *Raguled* differs from indented, in that the latter is regular and the former not.

A *Cross*

A *Cross Pall*, is a Kind of *Cross* representing the *Pallium*, or archiepiscopal Ornament sent from *Rome* to *Metropolitans*.

A *TAU*, or *Cross of S. Anthony*, is a *Cross* in the Form of a T. — *Morgan* says, that in antient Times it was the Hieroglyphick of Security.

A *Cross pierced*, is a *Cross* perforated, or struck through, shewing as it were a Hole in it.

This *Piercing* is to be expressed in Blazon, as to its Shape: Thus if a *Cross* has a square Hole or Perforation in the Center, it is blazon'd *square pierced*, which is more proper than *quarter pierced*, as *Leigh* expresses it, and accordingly the *French* Herald calls it *percée en quarre*. When the Hole or Perforation is round, it must be expressed *round pierced*, which *Gibbon*, in *Latin*, calls *perforata*, because all Holes made with Piercers or Augers are round. If the Hole in the Center be in the Shape of a Lozenge, it is expressed *pierced Lozenge ways*.

All Piercings must be of the Colour of the Field, because Piercing implies the shewing of what is under the Ordinary or Bearing. Though when such Figures appear on the Center of a *Cross*, &c. of another Colour, the *Cross* is not to be supposed pierced, but that the Figure on it is a Charge, and must be accordingly blazoned.

The *SALTIER*, is a Kind of *St. Andrew's Cross*, antiently called the *Cross of Burgundy*. — The *Saltier* may be said to be composed of a bended Dexter and Sinister, crossing each other in the Center of the Escutcheon. Its ordinary Breadth when alone is one Third of the Escutcheon. It is sometimes bore alazé, and sometimes in Number, placed in different Parts of the Field: Sometimes charged, countercharged with the Field, accompanied, raguled, engrailed, indented, quarterly-quartered, &c.

The *Saltier* was antiently a Piece of the Knight's Harness, being fastened to the Saddle, and serving him for a Stirrup to mount on; and it was hence it had its Name *Saltier*, by the *French Sautoir*, from *sauter*, to leap. — It was made of Silk Cord, or some other Kind of Cord covered with rich Stuff.

Others will have it that the original *Saltier* was a Kind of Pallifade, serving to fence Parks, Woods, &c. where wild Beasts were inclosed. Though *Spelman* says it was an Instrument for the taking them, thus called, *quod sit in usu in saltu*. Lastly, others assure us, that *Saltier* was antiently the Figure of an Engine, which being full of Pins was used in the scaling of the Walls of a besieged Place; whence its Origin from *sauter*, as it helped the Soldiers to leap over the Wall.

Colombiere adds thirty-three more Sorts of *Crosses* to those above-mention'd, viz. — A *Croix remplie*, which is only one *Cross* charged with another; a *Cross party*, that is, one half of one Colour, and the other of another; a *Cross quartered*, that is, the opposite Quarters of several Colours; a *Cross of five Pieces*, that is, of so many Colours; a *Cross mouffée* and *abaissée*; a *Cross barbée*; a *Cross croissantée*, or *crested*, that is, having a Crescent at each End; a *Cross forked* of three Points; a *Cross panctée* of three Pieces; a *Cross ressercelée*; a *Cross pointed*; a *Cross ankered*, and *sur-anker*; a *Cross ankered* with Snakes Heads; a *Cross orled*; a *high Cross*; a *Cross rayonnante*, or casting out Rays of Glory; a *Cross of Malta*; a *Cross of the Holy Ghost*; a *Cross forked* like the antient Rests for Muskets; a *Cross with eight Points*; a *Cross bourdonnée*; a *Cross cramponée* and *tournée*; a *Cross cablée*; a *Cross inclining*; a *Cross Pater noster*, that is made of Beads, though we most properly call it *une croix en chapellet*; a *Cross tressée*; a *Cross fleuronée*; a *Cross voidée*, *clechée*, and *Pommetée*; a *Cross crenellée* and *Battilée*; a *Cross* with four Steps to every Arm; a *Cross rounded*; a *Cross and an half*; a *Cross estoillée* or *Starways*; a *Cross corded*; a *Cross doubled* of six Pieces set together; a *double Cross* solit in pale; a *long Cross* cut in Pieces and dismembered; a *Cross coupé*, or cut through in Fesse, of the two contrary Colours to the Field; a *Chevron* surmounted by an *half Cross*; four *Tails of Ermins* in a *Cross*, the *Tops* of the *Ermins* opposite to each other in the Middle; four *Pieces of Wire*

placed cross-ways, and counterpointing in the Center; the *Cross* or *Sword of St. James*; *Cross* *potence cramponée* on the dexter upper Arm, and a *Potence* about the Middle of the Shaft.

These are the various *Crosses* we find in the afore said Authors, which some may think too many, as not being all used in *England*; but *Heraldry*, like all other Arts and Sciences, extends to all Countries, and all Terms used require to be explained.

Nor is it only in *Crosses* that the Variety is so great, the like is found in many other Bearings, and particularly in *Lions*, and the Parts of them; whereas the same *Colombiere* gives us no less than ninety-six Varieties. *Leigh* mentions but forty-six several *Crosses*, *Sylvanus Morgan* twenty-six, *Upton* thirty, *Johannes de Bado Aureo* twelve, and others, whom it is needless to mention. — *Upton* owns, he dares not presume to ascertain all the various *Crosses* used in Arms, for that they are at present almost innumerable; and therefore he only takes Notice of such as had been used in his own Time.

The *CHIEF*, is the second honourable Ordinary, and is placed athwart the Top of the Coat, containing one third Part of its Height.

When the Escutcheon is cut in Stone, or in Relievo, the *Chief* stands prominent beyond the rest, and is supposed to represent the Diadem of the antient Kings and Prelates, or the Casks of the Knights.

It is frequently without any Ornament; sometimes it is charged with other Bearings; sometimes it is of a Colour or Metal different from that of the Coat.

The Line that binds it at Bottom is sometimes straight, sometimes indented, engrailed, embatteled, lozenged, &c. Thus, say they, the Field is Gules, a chief Argent, &c. Again he bears Gules, a chief Crenele, or embatteled Argent.

Sometimes one *Chief* is borne on another, expressed by a Line drawn along the upper Part of the *Chief*; when the Line is along the under Part it is called a *Fillet*. The first is an Addition of Honour, the second a Diminution.

The *Chief* is said to be *abaissé*, when it is detached from the upper Edge of the Coat, by the Colour of the Field which is over it; and which retrenches from it one Third of its Height. — They also say, a *Chief* is *chevroned*, *paled*, or *bended*, when it has a *Chevron*, *Pale*, or *Bend* contiguous to it, and of the same Colour with itself. — A *Chief* is said to be supported, when the two Thirds a-top are of the Colour of the Field, and that at Bottom of a different Colour.

PALE, the third honourable Honorary in my Catalogue, is the Representation of a *Pale* or Stake placed upright; and comprehending the whole Height of the Coat, from the Top of the *Chief* to the Point. — When the *Pale* is single, it is to contain one Third of the Breadth of the Shield; when there are several more properly called *Pallets*, they are proportioned so, as that two take up two Fifths of the Shield, and three take up three Sevenths: And in those Cases the Number of Pieces is specified as well as that of those they are charged withal, &c.

Pales are bore various Ways, as *wavy*, *crenelle*, *faillis*, *indented*, *ingrailed*, &c. There are also *cometed* and *flaming Pales*, which are pointed, sometimes waved, &c.

The *French*, says *Mackenzey*, observe that Soldiers in antient Times, carried *Pales* of Wood for their Encampment, which they fixed in the Earth: And, according to *Varenne*, they are bestowed on him who impaled a City for its Defence.

A *PALLET*, in the *English* Heraldry, is the Moiety or one Half of the *Pale*, and therefore receives its Name of Diminution, as being a demy or little *Pale*: And an *Endorse* is the fourth Part of the *Pallet*.

The *French* have no such Diminutive of a *Pale*, tho' they have such a Bearing, which they only call *Pale*.

The *BEND*, our next honourable Ordinary, is formed by two Lines, drawn diagonally or athwart, from the upper Part of the Shield on the Right, to the lower Part on the Left; being supposed to represent a Shoulder-Belt, or Scarf worn over the Shoulder. — It contains a third Part of the Field when charged, and a fifth when plain.

It is sometimes indented, ingrailed, &c.

Heralds speak of a *Bend dexter*, and a *Bend sinister*. — A *Bend dexter* is that properly and absolutely called a *Bend*; which Word *dexter* is usually annexed to prevent Mistakes, and distinguish it from the *Bend sinister*, which is the same with what is otherwise called after the *French* Herald, a *Bar*, *barre*.

The *Bend sinister* is subdivided into the *Scarf* or *Scarp*, and the *Battoon*; which latter is the fourth Part of the *Bend*, and the most usual Mark of Illegitimacy; but then it never extends itself quite athwart the Shield, but is cut off a little at each End.

When two straight Lines drawn within the *Bend*, run nearly parallel to the outward Edges of it, this is called voiding; and he that bears it, is said to bear a *Bend* voided.

A *Bend* is sub-divided into a *Benlet* or *Bandelet*, which is the sixth Part of the Shield; a *Garter*, which is the Moiety of a *Bend*; a *Coft*, which is the fourth Part of a *Bend*; and a *Ribband*, which is the Moiety of a *Coft* or *Cotise*.

FESSE, the next honourable Ordinary of the Escutcheon, divides it horizontally in the Middle, and separates the Chief from the Point. It is supposed to represent a broad Girdle, or Belt of Honour, which Knights at Arms were antiently girded withal. The *Fesse* possesses the Center of the Escutcheon, and contains in Breadth one third Part thereof. When it takes up less than its proper Breadth it is called a *Bar*.

The *Fesse* has no Diminutives in the *English* Heraldry, which *Mackenzey* wonders at, seeing the *English* Herald assign so many to other Ordinaries: While the *French* call little Faces, *Triangles*, if they be equal in Number; and *Burells* if they be unequal, as five or seven.

CHEVRON, or CHEVERON, which is the next Ordinary, represents two Rafters of a House joined together without any Division: It descends from the Chief towards the Extremities of the Coat, in Form of a Pair of Compasses half open.

The *Chevron* is the Symbol of Protection, say some, or of Constancy according to others: Some say it represents the Knight's Spurs; others, the Head-Attire of Priestesses; others a Piece of the List, or the Barrier, or Fence of a Park.

When it is alone it should take up the third Part of the Coat: When it is accompanied with any other Bearings, its Breadth must be adjusted thereby.

It is bore divers Ways, sometimes in Chief, sometimes in Base, sometimes marched, sometimes reversed, &c.

The *Chevron* is sometimes charged with another *Chevron*, one Third of its own Height.

Two *Chevrons* are allowed in the same Field, but not more; when they exceed that Number they are called *Chevronwise* or *Chevronels*. There are *Chevrons* of several Pieces.

A *Chevron* is said to be abased, when its Point does not approach the Head of the Chief, nor reach further than the Middle of the Coat; *mutilated* when it does not touch the Extremes of the Coat; *cleven*, when the upper Point is taken off, so that the Pieces only touch at one of the Angles; *broken*, when one Branch is separated into two Pieces; *couched*, when the Point is turned towards one Side of the Escutcheon; *divided*, when the Branches are of several Metals, or when Metal is opposed to Colour; *inverted*, when the Point is towards the Point of the Coat, and its Branches towards the Chief.

A Coat is said to be *chevroned*, when it is filled with an equal Number of *Chevrons*, of Colour and Metal.

Counterchevroned, is when it is so divided, as that Colour is opposite to Metal, and *vice versa*.

The next in Order to the *Chevron* is the *BAR*, *BARR*, or *BARRE*, nearly resembling the *Fesse*; from which it only differs by its Narrowness, and by this, that the *Bar* may be placed in any Part of the Field, whereas the *Fess* is confined to a single Place.

The *French* have no such Ordinary as this; for what the *English* call a *Bend sinister*, they call it a *Barre*; and when they say he bears *Barres* or *Barre*, they mean a Bearing like their Scarpes or bended Sinister; and so on the contrary, when we blazon what they call *Bars*

or barry, they say Faces or *facé*.

GIRON, the next in Order, is an Ordinary consisting of two straight Lines drawn from divers Parts of the Escutcheon, and meeting in an acute Angle in the fess Point of the same.

The Word is *French*, and literally signifies the *Gremium* or Lap. In *Latin* they are called *pinnule octone*, and *Merli octango-laxi* by the *Italians*.

If the *Girons* be eight in Number, says *Mackenzey*, they need not be expressed, but if there be fewer, or more, it must.

Girons are bore diversely, *viz.* single, by Couples of six, of eight, of ten, and of twelve.

When a Coat has six, eight, or ten of these *Girons* meeting or centring in the Middle of the Coat, it is said to be *gironné* or *girrony*.

Some, instead of *gironné*, say *parti*, *couppé*, *tranché*, and *taillé*, by reason the *Girons* are formed by such Divisions of the Field. Four *Girons* form a *Saltier*, and eight a *Crofs*.

Note, That the Herald give several Reasons for the heretofore mention'd Ordinaries being called *honourable*. 1. Their great Antiquity, as having been used ever since Armoury was set on Foot. And, 2. For that they denote the Ornaments most necessary for noble and generous Men: Thus the *Chief* represents the Helmet, Wreath, or Crown, covering the Head: The *Pale* represents his Lance or Spear: The *Bend* and *Bar*, his Belt: The *Fesse*, his Scarf: The *Crofs* and *Saltier*, his Sword: The *Chevron*, his Boots and Spurs: And the *Bordure* and *Orle*, his Coat of Mail.

As to the allotting or distributing of these *Ordinaries*, some Authors write, that when a Gentleman having behaved himself gallantly in Fight, was presented to the Prince, or General, and a suitable Coat Armour order'd him; if he were wounded in the Head, they gave him a Chief; if in the Legs he had a Chevron; and if his Sword and Armour were discolour'd with the Blood of Enemies, a Crofs or *Bordure*.

Some Herald have attempted to increase the Number of *honourable Ordinaries* to twenty; adding to those abovemention'd, the *plain Quarter*, the *Escutcheon*, *Cappe* dexter and sinister, *Emmanch* dexter and sinister, *Chausse* dexter and sinister, and the Point; but these are not yet authorized.

Besides the above-mention'd *honourable Ordinaries*, there are other Ordinaries, composed of the like Lines, *viz.*

The CANTON, which is a square Portion of the Escutcheon, parted from the rest. It has not any fixed Proportion; tho' regularly it should be less than a Quarter: It is often only a ninth Part, and used as an Addition or Difference, frequently to express Bastardy.

The *Canton* is sometimes placed at the right Corner, and sometimes at the left, in which latter Case, it is called a *Canton sinister*.

The *Canton* is form'd of two strait Lines, the one drawn perpendicularly from the Chief, and the other transverse from the Side of the Escutcheon, and meeting therewith in a right Angle, near to the Corner of the Escutcheon.

Mackenzey and *Guillim* say, that it is called *Canton* from the *French* Word *Canton*, which signifies a Corner; and it represents the Banner which has been given to the Bearer, as a Reward of his Service; or at least is equivalent, as if a Banner had been given him.

The QUARTER, an Ordinary of the like Composition with the *Canton*, and occupies the same Places, and bears a great Resemblance to it; insomuch that the same Rules that serve for the one, may be attributed to the other. The sole Difference between them is, that the *Canton* keeps only a Cantle or small Portion of the Escutcheon; and the *Quarter* comprehends the full fourth Part of the Escutcheon.

The PILE, which is an Ordinary consisting of two-fold Lines, formed in the Manner of a Wedge; that's to say broad at the upper End, and diminishing by Degrees throughout with a comely Narrowness, and taper Growth.

Growth, meeting together at the lower End in an acute Angle.

A *Pile*, says *Mackenzey*, represents that Engine whereby Soldiers and others secured the Foundations of their Buildings; and have since been given to such as were very useful in founding Commonwealths, Colonies, or Families: But he observes, that three *Piles* are often mistaken for the Passion-Nails, which were common Symbols assumed by such as went to the *Holy Land*.

Others are of Opinion, that the *Pile* is probably formed in Imitation of the *Roman Pilum*, which was a tapering Dart about 5 Feet long, and sharpen'd at the Point with Steel.

The *Pile* is borne inverted, ingrailed, &c. like other Ordinaries, and issues indifferently from any Point of the Verge of the Escutcheon. He bears a *Pile Gules* by the Name of *Chandois*.

The *FLASK*, or *FLANCH*, which is an Ordinary formed by an arched Line, which begins at the Corner of the Chief, and ends in the Base of the Escutcheon. *Flanches* are always borne by Pairs.

Leigh makes *Flanch* and *Flask* two distinct Bearings, whereof the former is more bent in than the latter; but *Gibbon* judiciously makes them but one, which he calls *Flangue*.

The *VOIDER*, an Ordinary, whose Figure is much like that of the *Flask* or *Flanch*; only that it does not bend so much.

This Armoury, they say, is properly the Reward of a Gentlewoman that has well served her Prince. It is always borne by Pairs.

Besides the above-mention'd Charges of the Escutcheon, which are called *proper*, there are others called *common Charges*, viz. *celestial Intelligences*, as *Angels*, *Cherubims*, &c. Planets, as the *Sun*, *Moon*, *Stars*, &c. Fossils, as all Sorts of precious and other Stones; Vegetables, as *Fruits*, *Trees*, *Flowers*, &c. Animals, as *Lions*, *Leopards*, *Wolves*, *Horses*, *Griffins*, *Bears*, *Eagles*, *Cocks*, &c. *Fishes* of all Sorts.

I'll begin by the Description of *Angels* and *Cherubims*, which are either *volant*, *standing*, or *kneeling*, with their Wings either *extended*, *displayed*, or *crossed*; and these are often of different Metals or Colours. The *Angels* almost always at full Length; and the *Cherubims* with only their Head and Wings.

Of the *heavenly Bodies*, the *STAR* is the first in Dignity, and being frequently borne on the Shield, and honourable Ordinaries, I'll speak of it first, by observing, that it differs from the *Mullet* or *Spur-Rowel*, in that it is not pierced as this last is.

The *STAR*, in *Heraldry*, usually consists of five Rays or Sparks. When it has six or eight, as among the *Germans* and *Italians*, particular Mention must be made thereof in Blazoning.

The *SUN*, is blazoned according to his different Phases, and is either called *in its Glory*, or *rayoning*, when in its greatest Radiancy; or eclipsed, or in a Cloud, and sometimes none but his Rays appearing.

The *MOON*, is also blazon'd according to its Phases; and is either *Crescent*, when with her Horns up to the Chief of the Escutcheon, or *Increscent*, when she enters into her first Quarter, and has her Horns towards the dexter Part of the Escutcheon; and when in her Eclipse, it is called *Detrimment*.

A *COMET* has also its Place in *Heraldry*, and is called *Streaming*.

Next to the Planets I'll place the *Elements*, since sometimes they are found in an Escutcheon.

The *FIRE*, which is consider'd as the most noble of them, and is either *Flamant* or *Scintillant*, and sometimes both.

The *SEA*, which we'll take for Water in general, is blazon'd waved, in *French* *Ondoise*.

The *EARTH*, is seldom or never represented but in Part, in the Blazon, which admits only of Mountains, Rocks, and Islands, which are differenced by their Metal or Colour.

Of all precious Stones, the *ESCARBUNCLE* is the most in Use in *Heraldry*; and is a Charge or Bearing consisting of eight Radii, or Spokes; four whereof make

a common Cross, and the other four a Saltier.

Some call these Radii *Battons*, or *Staves*, because round and enriched with Buttons, or pearl'd like Pilgrims Staves; and frequently tipped or terminated with Flower de Luces. Others blazon them royal Scepters, placed in Saltier pale and fesse.

From the Fossils I'll pass to the Vegetables, and among them place TREES first in Order; which are blazoned in a different Manner, according to their different Products, Shapes, &c. for Example, according to their Products, an Oak is blazoned *acorned*, a Pine Apple Tree, Pear Tree, &c. *fruited*; if represented with Fruits on them.

According to their Shapes, they are either Trunks of Trees, and are blazon'd *eradicated*, or *mooted up by the Root*; or Limbs of Trees, and are blazon'd *trunkated*, or *raguled*, or both; or Stocks or Stumps of Trees, and are blazon'd *couped*, or *eradicated*, or both; or Branches of Trees, which are blazon'd either *starved* or *slipped*, or both: Or Slips or Leaves, which are blazon'd either *pendant*, *bendways*, *barways*, *slipped*, *proper*, in *saltier*, or *erected*.

The Fruits of Trees have also their Place in *Heraldry*, and are either *slipped*, *pendant*, *erected*, *proper*, or have their Stalks trunked.

Note, That Trees, their Trunks, Limbs, Branches, Slips, Fruits, &c. are all of the different Metals and Colours adapted to *Heraldry*.

FLOWERS are the next Charges which fall under our Consideration; and are blazon'd either *bearded*, *seeded*, or *slipped*.

From Flowers I'll pass to HERBS of all Sorts; and particularly to CORN, which is blazon'd either *couped*, *bladed*, *eared*, or in *Stalks*, or in *Garbe* or *Sheaf*, which Sheaf is subject to different Changes, according to the different Metals and Colours of *Heraldry*.

We must not forget here the *Fleur de lys*, which is the Bearing of the Kings of *France*; and which are blazon'd either *Or*, *Argent*, &c. according to the different Sorts of Metals, and Colours of *Heraldry*.

TREFOIL, which is blazon'd either *erazed in the Stalk*, or *slipped*; as well as the *Cinquemoils*.

ANIMALS are the next in Order.

Lions, Griffins, Wolves, and Bears, if exactly in *pale*, are said to be *rampant*; but if set more bend-ways, Lions, Wolves, and Bears, are *saliant*; Griffins, *segrant*. Lions are also *langued* (i. e. *tongued*) and *armed*, i. e. have their Nails of some different Colour from that of the Body. Griffins are armed, i. e. their Talons are of a different Colour from the rest of their Body. Eagles and Swans *membered*, i. e. when their Feet are of a different Colour from the rest of their Body. Hawks are *jessed* and *balled*; *jessed*, when they seem to spring or shoot out of some other Charge. Cocks are *armed*, *crested*, and *velloped*. *Crested* when their *Crest* is different from the rest of the Body. Capons are *armed*, *crested*, and *jowlopped*.

LYONS are most commonly borne whole, and then they are either *rampant*, *guardant*, or *rampant-regardant*. When they are set more bend-ways, they are term'd *saliant*. Also they are borne *passant*, *passant-regardant*, *sejant* (or *sitting*) *couchant* (or *lying*) *dormant* (or *sleeping*) *jeffant*, *issuant*, and *naissant*.

Lions, or any other Creature that proceeds from the Bottom of any Ordinary, is term'd *issuant*; when over two Colours, *jeffant*; when from the Middle, *naissant*, or *swimming*; yet these are sometimes called *Demi-Lions*. A *Lion*, or other Thing, said to be *unbraled*, is when the Shape is only tricked out with a Pencil, and the Field appears through it. *Lions* are sometimes borne *barry*, *vairy*, *nebulee*, &c.

STAGS are blazon'd either *tripping*, *standing at gaze*, *lodged* (when resting on a Mount) *springing forward*, and *currant* (when running). *Bucks*, when their Horns are spoke of, are said to be *attired*. All Creatures that are set one passing contrary to the other, are said to be *counter passant*; if two stand Face to Face upright, they are term'd *combatant*; if Back to Back, *endorsed*.

Creatures partly borne, as the *Head*, *Leg*, &c. are

either *erased* (or torn off) *couped* (cut off) The Paw of a Lyon being called a *Gamb*.

When Lyons, Eagles, and other fierce Creatures are eating, they are term'd *ravening*; but when they appear with Flower de Lucés, &c. in their Mouth, it may be said *swallowing* or *devouring*.

All FOWLS are borne *going*, *sitting*, *standing*, or *voloant*, i. e. *flying*. The Beaks and Feet of Cocks, &c. are termed *armed*. But Eagles Feet are called *Talons*, they are often borne with two Heads, and now and then closed, which is when their Wings are not spread.

FISHES are either term'd *naiant*, or *hauriant*. *Naiant* or *natant*, when drawn in an horizontal Posture, fesse-wise, or traversly a-cross the Escutcheon; that being their swimming Posture. *Hauriant* when crected upright. When three or four are borne intermixing with each other, it is term'd *fretted*.

Beasts, Birds, Flowers, or any other Thing, when but three in the Field, and not said to be in *pale*, in *bend*, or in *fesse*, they always stand two above, and one below; and when there are six, three, two, and one. If there be any Ordinary in the Field, where are three Things, it alters not their Position; but if there be six, they are commonly set otherwise.

Beasts, Birds, Flowers, &c. when of the Colour natural to them, in Blazoning, are term'd *proper*.

Note, That *Martlets* are Birds always painted without Legs, because they never use them, although they have them; and *Alerions* are Birds wanting Beaks, Legs, and Feet. *Furs* have also a Place in *Heraldry*, particularly *Ermin*, or *Ermine*, which is a white Fur, powder'd or interspersed with black Spots.

It is supposed to represent the Skin of an Animal of the same Denomination; which some will have a Water-Rat, others a Sort of Weazel, and others an *Armenian Mouse*. In Effect, there is no Animal whose Skin naturally corresponds to the Herald's Ermin.

The Animal is Milk white, and so far it is from Spots, that Tradition has it, he will rather die, or be taken, than sully its Whiteness. Whence its symbolical Use.

But white Skins having for many Ages been used for the Linings of the Robes of Magistrates, and great Men; the Furriers at length, to add to their Beauty, used to sew Bits of the black Tails of those Creatures upon the white Skins, to render them the more conspicuous; which Alteration was introduc'd into Armoury.

The sable Spots in Ermin, are not of any determinate Number, but may be more or less at the Pleasure of the Painter or Furrier.

We call *Ermine*, v. g. a *Cross Ermine*, a Cross composed of four Ermin Spots. It must be observ'd, that the Colours in such Arms are not to be expressed, by Reason neither the Cross nor the Arms can be of any Colour but white and black.

Colombiere blazons it, *quatre queues d'Ermine en Croix*. The Editor of *Guillim* describes it thus, a Cross of four *Ermines*; or more properly of four Ermine Spots in the Cross; it is the Coat of *Hurston* in *Cheshire*.

The Coat of the antient Dukes of *Bretagne*, and at present of the Province, is *Ermines sans nombre*; or a *Field Ermine*, without any Charge or Addition; and that of the House of *Coetlogon*, is by Concession of those Dukes, as a Reward for the great Attachment of my Ancestors to their natural Sovereigns, and their signal Services both in the Field, and in the Cabinet, a Field Gules, charged with *three Escutcheons Ermine*, two in Chief and one in Point; or according to our modern Manner of Blazoning, *two and one*.

ERMINS are used by some *English* Writers for the Reverse of *Ermins*, i. e. for white Spots on a black Field: But on what Foundation no Body can tell, for the *French*, from whom the *English* (as they themselves confess) have their *Heraldry*, have no such Term, but call this black powder'd with white, *Contre-Ermine*; as denoting the Counter, or Reverse of *Ermine*, which is white powder'd with black.

What the *French* blazon *sème d'Ermines de sable*, some

English Authors call it *Erminites*, which should seem a Diminutive of *Ermine*, and naturally to signify little *Ermines*; but they are mistaken, since *Erminites* expresses a white Field powder'd with black; only every Spot has a little red Hair therein.

VAIR, is also a Kind of Fur or Doubling, consisting of divers little Pieces, *Argent* and *Azure*, resembling a *Dutch U*, or a Bell-Glass.

Vairs have their Point *Azure*, opposite to their Point *Argent*, and the Base *Argent* to the *Azure*.

When there are only two or three *Vairs*, the antient Heralds call it *great Vair*; and when they are more *small Vair*.

Vair is intended to represent a Kind of Skin, used antiently by the Kings of *France* in lieu of Fur, and where-with the Gowns of the *Presidents a Mortier*, the Counsellors of the Court, the Heralds Coats, &c. were lin'd, till the fifteenth Century.

It was properly the Skin of a Kind of Squirrel, called also in *French Vair*, and in *Latin Scirveus*; which was white underneath, and Dove-Colour a-top. It is described by *Aldrovandus*, under the Name of *Scirveo varia*, and is the same, according to *Gesner*, with the *mus ponticus* of *Aristotle* and *Pliny*; which the *Latins* call *varus* or *varius*, from the Variety of its Colours. It's two Skins join'd together, make the Figure of the *Vairs* in Armories; being naturally White and Azure.

Vair, *Colombiere* observes, is the second Sort of Fur, antiently used as a Lining of the Garments of great Men; consisting of little Pieces, sewed by the Furriers on white Skins; and because these Pieces were usually blue, those who first settled the Rules of *Heraldry*, decreed, that this Fur in its natural Blazon, should always be *Argent* and *Azure*. So if it be absolutely said, such a Family bears *Vair*, it is supposed to be *Argent* and *Azure*.

Regularly there must be but four Rows, or Ranks of *Vair* in the Shield; if there be either more or less, the Number must be specified. The smallest Number being three Rows, is called *besfroy de vair*; and the most being five or six, is called *menu* or *small vair*.

The *Bessfroy* is also known by the first Figure on the dexter Side of the Escutcheon, being always of Metal, and in Form of a Belt; whereas that of mere *vair*, is in Shape of a Glass.

When a Coat is charged, or chequer'd with *Vair*, it is blazon'd VAIRY, or *Vairé*.

When the Colours are *Argent* and *Azure*, or White and Blue, it is *very proper*; if it be otherwise, the Colours are to be expressly named, viz. *Vairy* of such a Colour or Metal. *He bears Vairy, Or, and Vert*. This is particularly called *Vair composed*.

The Bearings are likewise said to be *Vairy*, when they are charged with *Vairs*. When Chiefs, Crosses, Pales, Fesses, &c. happen to be *Vairy*, the Number of Ranks are to be specified.

Vairy Gowns are observed by *Julius Pollux*, to have been the Habit of the antient *Gauls*, as *Ermins* were of the *Armenians*.

Artificial Things have also been borrowed by the Inventors of the Art of *Heraldry*, to make of them Charges for their Escutcheons, as Crowns, Scepters, Swords, Rings, Battering-Rams, Cannons, Bows, Arrows, Stirrups, Horse-Shoes, Rowels of Stirrups, Lozenges, Fusile, &c. All which Charges have the same different Positions in a Shield, with the *honourable Ordinaries*; for they are either placed in Chief, in Pale, or in Point, or saltier-wise, bend-wise, or bar-wise, &c.

Note, That there are several Charges, singular in their Kind, and which are found no where but in *Heraldry*, and have scarce any Meaning, viz. *Fret*, *Compony*, and *Gobony*.

FRET, is a Bearing consisting of six Bars, crossed, and interlaced fret-wise. *Guillim* derives the Word from the *French Rets*, Net: But the Reader will easily furnish himself with a better Etymology, from the Word *Fret* in Architecture. Some call this the *True Lover's Knot*; others *Harrington's Knot*, because it is their Arms, and *nodo firmo* the Motto. *Gibbon*

is for calling it *Heraldorum nodus amatorius*.

When it consists of more than six Pieces, the Number must be specified.

COMPONY.—A Bordure *componée*, is that form'd or compos'd of a Row of angular Parts, or Chequers of two Colours.

Compound or *composed*, is also used in the general, for a Bordure, a Pale, or a Fesse, composed of two different Colours or Metals disposed alternately, separated, and divided by Fillets, excepting at the Corners; where the Junctures are made in the Form of a Goat's Foot.

GOBONY, is the same as *Compony*.

CHECKY, is where the Shield, or a Part thereof, as a Bordure, is chequer'd, or divided into Chequers, or Squares.

Where there is but one Row of Squares, it is not properly called *Checky*, but *Countercomponed*.

Checky, according to *Colombiere*, is one of the most noble, and antient Figures in all Armoury; and ought never to be given but to Persons who have distinguished themselves in War: For it represents a Chess-Board, which itself is a Representation of a Field of Battle. The Pawns and Men, placed on both Sides, represents the Soldiers of the two Armies; which move, advance, attack, or retire, according to the Will of the two Gamesters, who are the Generals. But had *Colombiere* been acquainted with *England*, he had known that so noble a Piece of Armoury is rendered so despicable here, as to be made the distinguishable Sign of an Ale-House; because, perhaps, it is often made a Field of Battle, when the Knights of Malt find themselves inspired with a warlike Humour.

Checky is always composed of Metal and Colour. Some Authors would have it ranked among the Sorts of Furs.

When the whole Escutcheon is chequer'd, it should ordinarily contain six Ranges: There is no Need of Blazoning to express them; only it must be observed to begin to blazon by the first Square in Chief on the dexter Side; so that, if that be *Or*, and the next *Gules*, the House or Family is said to bear *Checky, Or, and Gules*.

When the whole Shield is not chequer'd, but only the Chief, a Bend, Cross, or the like, the Number of Ranges should be expressed.

Heralds have also invented Pieces, wherewith they charge their Escutcheon to distinguish Families, and make a Difference between Brothers, as also to distinguish legitimate from natural Issues, or Children.

Those Pieces are, a LABEL of three Points for the eldest Son.

Note, That a *Label*, in *French* a *Lambel*, is esteemed the most honourable of all Differences, and is form'd by a Fillet usually placed in the Middle, and along the Chief of the Coat, without touching its Extremities. Its Breadth ought to be a ninth Part of the Chief. It is adorn'd with Pendants, something like the Drops under the Triglyphs in the Dorick Frieze. When there are above three Pendants, the Number must be specified in Blazoning. There are sometimes six.

A *Crescent* for the second Son.

A *Mullet* for the third Son.

A *Martlet* for the fourth Son.

An *Annulet* for the fifth Son.

A *Flower de luce* for the sixth Son.

And they have appointed for the eldest Son of the second House, a *Label* upon a *Crescent*; the second a *Crescent* upon a *Crescent*; the third a *Mullet* upon a *Crescent*; and so on.

And for the eldest Son of a third House, a *Label* upon a *Mullet*, the second a *Crescent* upon a *Mullet*, &c. but Daughters all bear their Father's Coat without any Difference.

A Bastard's Arms should be crossed with a Bar, Fillet, or traverse from the Left to the Right. They were not formerly allowed to carry the Arms of their Father,

and therefore they invented Arms for themselves. The Difference for the King of *France's* legitimated Children, is a *Batton Pery en Barre*.

Having given an exact Description of all the different Charges of any Kind whatsoever, an Escutcheon can be charged with, and of the Pieces, which mark the Distinction of Families, and the Difference between Brothers, I must pass to those which Heralds have placed over the Escutcheon, to mark the Difference of Nobility, beginning by the HELMET.

The HELMET was antiently an Armour of Defence, wore by the Cavaliers, both in War and in Tournaments, as a Cover and Defence of the Head; and still used by Way of Crest or Ornament over the Shield, or Coat of Arms.

The *Helmet* is known by divers other Names, as the Cask, Head-piece, Steel Cap, &c.

The *Helmet* cover'd the Head and Face, only leaving an Aperture about the Eyes, secured by Bars, which served as a Visor.

The *Helmet* is bore in Armoury as a Mark of Nobility; and by the different Circumstance of the Bearing of the *Helmet*, are the different Degrees of Nobility indicated. In *France*, whence all the *English* Heraldry originally came, the following Rules obtain.

A *Person* newly enobled, or made a Gentleman; bears over his Escutcheon a *Helmet* of bright Iron or Steel, in profile, or standing sideways; the Visor quite close.

A *Gentleman* of three Descents bears it a little open, but still in profile; shewing three Bars of the Visor.

Antient Knights, &c. have it in profile, but shewing five Bars; the Edges of Silver.

A *Baron's* *Helmet* is of Silver, the Edges Gold; with seven Bars, neither quite in profile, nor yet in front; with a Coronet over it, adorned with Pearls.

Viscounts, and *Earls*, formerly bore a silver *Helmet*, with gold Edges, its Position like the former; but now they bear it quite fronting, with a Coronet over it.

Marquisses bear a silver *Helmet*, damasked, fronting; with eleven Bars, and their Coronets.

Dukes, and *Princes*, have their *Helmet* damasked, fronting; the Visor almost open, and without Bars; with their Coronets over them.

Lastly, the *Helmet*s of *Kings* and *Princes* are all of Gold, damasked, full fronting, and the Visor quite open, and without Bars.

The *Helmet*s of *Bastards* are turn'd to the Left, to denote their Bastardy.

Among the *English* Heralds, these Laws are of late somewhat varied.—*Leigh* will have the *Helmet* in profile, and close, to belong to Knights: But all other Authors give it to Esquires and Gentlemen.

To a Knight they assign the *Helmet* standing right forward, and the Bearer a little open.

The *Helmet* in profile, or posited sideways, and open, with Bars, belongs to a Nobleman under the Condition of a Duke.

The *Helmet* right forward, and open, with many Bars, is assigned to Dukes, Princes, and Kings.

Over the *Helmet* is placed a *Crown*, or *Coronet*, different, according to the different Degree of Nobility, from a *Baron* to an *Emperor*.

Over the *Helmet* of a *Baron*, the *English* Heralds put a *Coronet*, which has but six Pearls, four of them in Sight: The *French* Heralds a gold Circle, adorned with Pearls turned round it, in form of Necklaces.

Over that of a *Viscount*, a *Coronet* set full of Pearls close to the Circle.—And the *French*, one which has but six Pearls, three of them in Sight.

Over that of an *Earl*, a *Coronet* of Pearls, and Strawberry Leaves.—And the *French*, one set full of Pearls, close to the Circle or Ring.

Over that of a *Marquis*, a *Coronet* of Strawberry Leaves, and Pearls.—And the *French* the same.

Over that of a *Duke*, a *Coronet*, all Strawberry Leaves.—The *French* the same.

Over that of a *Prince*, a *Coronet* composed of Crosses and Flower-de-Luces.—The *French* all Flower-de-Luces for the Princes of the Blood.

The *Electoral Crown*, or *Coronet*, is a scarlet Cap, turned

turned up with Ermine, closed with a Semi-circle of Gold, all covered with Pearls: On the Top is a Globe with a Cross thereon.

The *Spanish Crown*, is adorned with large indented Leaves, covered with Diadems, bordering on a Globe, surmounted with a Cross.

The *English Crown*, is adorned with four Crosses, in the Manner of those of *Malta*; between which are Flower-de-Luces: It is covered with four Diadems, which meet at a little Globe supporting a Cross.

The *French Crown*, is a Circle of Flower-de-Luces, encompassed with six Diadems; bearing a-top a double Flower-de-Luce, which is the Crest of *France*.

The *Imperial Crown*, is a Bonnet, or Tiara, with a Semi-circle of Gold, supporting a Globe, with a Cross a-top.

Note, That in the remotest Antiquity, the *Crown* was only given to Gods: *Pliny* says, that *Bacchus* was the first who used it: *Phercydes*, cited by *Tertullian de Corona*, says *Saturn*: *Diodorus* ascribes it to *Jupiter*, after his Victory over the *Titans*: *Q. Fabius Pictor* attributes the Invention to *Janus*; adding, that it was an Ornament he used in sacrificing: *Leo the Egyptian* says, it was *Isis* who first wore a Crown, and that it consisted of Ears of Corn; the Use whereof she first taught Men.

In this most Authors agree, that the Crown originally was rather a religious than a civil Ornament; rather one of the *Pontificalia* than the *Regalia*: That it only became common to Kings, as the ancient Kings were Priests as well as Princes (hence *regale Sacerdotium*) and that the modern Princes are entitled to it in their ecclesiastical Capacity, as well as their temporal.

The first Crowns were no more than a Bandelet or Head-band, drawn round the Head, and tied behind; as we still see it represented on Medals, around the Head of *Jupiter*, the *Ptolemies*, and the Kings of *Syria*. Afterwards they consisted of two Bandelets; by Degrees they took Branches of Trees of divers Kinds: At length they added Flowers; inasmuch that *Tertullian de Coronâ* assures us (from *Claudius Saturninus* who had wrote expressly on the Subject) there was not any Plant whereof Crowns had not been made. Woods and Groves were searched to find different Crowns for the several Deities. Thus on Medals, we find *Jupiter's* Crown of Flowers, more frequently of Laurel; *Juno* of the Vine; that of *Bacchus* the Vine with Grapes, Vine-Leaves, and Branches of Ivy, with Flowers and Berries; those of *Castor*, *Pollux*, and the River Gods, of Bulrushes; that of *Apollo*, sometimes of Laurel, sometimes of Rushes; that of *Saturn*, new Figs; that of *Hercules*, Poplar; that of *Pan*, Pine, or Alder; that of *Lucina*, Dittany; that of the *Hours*, the Fruits proper to each Season; that of the Graces, Olive-Branches, as well as that of *Minerva*; that of *Venus*, Roses; of *Ceres*, Ears of Corn, as well as that of *Isis*; that of the *Lares*, Myrtle, or Rosemary.

Crowns were not only used on the Statues and Images of the Gods, by the Priests in sacrificing, and by Kings and Emperors, but also on Altars, Temples, Doors of Houses, sacred Vessels, Victims, Ships, &c.

The *Argonothetæ* crowned those who were Victors in the solemn Games, Warriors, &c.

From some Passages in *Eusebius Cesariensis*, some Authors conclude, that Bishops had likewise antiently their Crowns.

The *Roman* Emperors had four Kinds of Crowns, still seen on Medals, viz. a Crown of Laurel, a radiating Crown, a Crown adorn'd with Pearls and precious Stones, the fourth a Kind of Bonnet, or Cap, something like the *Mortier* wore by the Presidents of the Parliaments of *France*.

The first was that ordinarily used from the Time of *Julius Cæsar*: The Right of bearing it was granted him by the Senate; some lay on Account of his Baldness, and afterwards continued to his Successors. *Justinian* was the first who took that of the Bonnet-Kind.

Among the *Romans* there were various Kinds of Crowns, distributed as Rewards of military Achievements. The oval Crown was the first made of Myrtle; and was bestow'd on Generals who had been victorious over Slaves or Enemies unworthy of the *Roman* Valour, and who were entitled to the Honour of the lesser Triumph, called *Ovation*.

The second was the naval, or rostral Crown, consisting of a Circle of Gold, raised with Prows and Poops of Ships; given to the Captain who first grappled, or the Soldiers who first jumped a-board an Enemy's Ship.

The third called *Vallaris* or *Castrensis*, was also a Circle of Gold, raised with Piles or Pallisades, given him who first leaped into the Enemy's Camp, or forc'd the Pallisades.

The fourth called mural Crown, was a Circle of Gold, indented or imbattled; given him who first mounted the Wall of a Place besieged, and there lodged a Standard. This Crown we also find given on Medals, to the particular Genii and Guardians of Provinces and Places.

The fifth the civick Crown, made of a Branch of green Oak; given him who had saved the Life of a Citizen in a Battle or an Assault.

The sixth was the triumphal Crown, made of Branches of Laurel, given to a General who had gained a Battle, or conquer'd a Province. This was afterwards made of Gold.

The seventh, the *Corona obsidionalis*, or *Graminea*, made of Grass or Herbs found on the Ground; given to a General who had delivered a *Roman* Army besieged by the Enemy, and obliged them to decamp.

The eighth was also a Crown of Laurel, given by the *Greeks* to their *Athletæ*; and by the *Romans* to those who had negotiated or confirm'd a Peace with an Enemy; this was the least esteemed. Besides these in Antiquity we meet with radial Crowns, given to Princes at their Translation among the Gods, whether before or after their Death. *Casaubon* says, this Sort of Crowns was peculiar to Deities, yet it is certain *Nero* took it in his Life-Time.

Athletick Crowns were destin'd to crown Victors at the publick Games.

Father *Daniel* says, that *S. Louis* King of *France* ransom'd the Crown of Thorns of our Saviour, which had been pawn'd by *Baldwin*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, for an immense Sum of Money; and transported it with great Ceremony to *France*, where it is still kept in the Holy Chapel. The Author of the History of *S. Louis*, adds, that the Thorns were still green in his Days. Some Writers, from *Clemens Alexandrinus*, hold that it was made of Bramble, *ex rubo*; others of black Thorn, *ex rammo*; others of white Thorn. Those who see it in the Chapel, take it to be the *Jun-cus marinus*.

Galiot derives the Word *Corona*, whence Crown, from the *Latin Cornu*, Horn; because the antient Crowns were pointed in Manner of Horns; which were antiently, both by *Jews* and *Gentiles*, esteemed as Marks of Power, Strength, Authority, and Empire. Hence, in the holy Scripture, Horns are us'd for the regal Dignity: And accordingly Horn and Crown in the *Hebrew*, are expressed by the same Words.

Bishops and Abbots, instead of a Helmet, place a Mitre over their Escutcheon; the Bishops theirs in Front, and that of an Abbot in Profile. Though Bishops in *France*, cause to be placed over their Escutcheon, the Coronet borne by their House or Family, together with the Mitre, placed front-wise, on the Right of the Coronet, and the Crosier on the Left. An Archbishop, besides the Mitre and Crosier, places a double Cross in pale behind his Escutcheon, the double Arms of the Cross, surmounting the Coronet, and placed in Front. The Bishops of the Church of *England* content themselves with impaling their Arms with those of their Diocese, over which is placed a Mitre in Front.

If

If the Bishop be a Cardinal, the Cardinal's *Hat* with sixteen Loops is placed over all.

The Pope has over his Escutcheon a *Crown* composed of a Cap or Tiara, and a triple *Crown* encompassing it, having two Pendants like the Bishop's Mitres: Those three *Crowns* are supposed to represent the triple Capacity attributed to him by the Catholics, viz. as high Priest, supreme Judge, and sole Legislator of the Christians.

The Helmet, Crown, Coronet, &c. are also often surmounted with what is called *CREST*; which is always one of the Pieces of *Heraldry*, oftner an Animal, or Part thereof, than any Thing else.

Guillim says, that next to the Mantle, the *Crest* or Cognizance claims the highest Place, being seated on the most eminent Part of the Helmet; yet so as to admit an Interposition of some Escrol, Wreath, Chapeau or Hat, Crown, &c.

The *Crest* of the Arms of *France*, is a *Flower de Lys*, and that of the Arms of *England*, a *Lion passant gardant*, crowned with an Imperial Crown.

Note, That in the ancient Tournaments the Cavaliers had Plumes of Feathers, especially those of Ostriches and Herons, for their *Crests*; these Tufts they called *Plumarts*, and were placed in Tubes on the Top of high Caps or Bonnets.—Some had their *Crests* of Leather, others of Parchment, Paste-board, &c. painted or varnished to keep out the Weather; others of Steel, Wood, &c. on which were sometimes represented a Member, or Ordinary of the Coat, as an Eagle, Flower de Lys, &c. but never any of those called honourable Ordinaries, as Pale, Fesse, &c.—The *Crests* were changeable at Pleasure, being reputed no other than as an arbitrary Devise or Ornament.

Herodotus attributes the Rise of *Crests* to the *Carians*, who first bore Feathers on their Casks, and painted Figures on their Bucklers; whence the *Persians* called them *Cocks*.—The oldest of the heathen Gods are said to have wore *Crests*, even before Arms were made of Iron and Steel.—*Jupiter Ammon* bore a Ram's Head for his *Crest*; *Mars* that of a Lion, or a Tyger casting out Fire at his Mouth and Nostrils. *Alexander the Great* wore for his *Crest* a Ram's Head, to inculcate that he was the Son of *Jupiter Ammon*; *Julius Cæsar* sometimes bore a Star to denote that he was descended from *Venus*; and sometimes the Head of a Bull, or an Elephant with his Trunk; and sometimes the Wolf that suckled *Romulus* and *Remus*.

The Christians in their first religious Wars were wont to wear a Cross darting forth Rays for their *Crests*, as well as on their Shields and Banners, as *Prudentius* informs us;

Clypeorum insignia Christus
Scripserat, ardebat summis crux addita Cristis.

The ancient Warriors bore *Crests* to strike Terror in their Enemies, at the Sight of the Spoils of Animals they had killed; or to give them the more formidable Mien, by making them appear taller, &c.—*Plutarch* observes, that the *Crest* of *Pyrrhus* was a Bunch of Feathers with a Stag's Horn; and *Diodorus Siculus* that of the Kings of *Egypt*, Lions Heads, Bulls, or Dragons.

The *Crests* have given Rise to several Fables: The Antients, e. gr. give *Scrapis* the Head of a Sparrow-Hawk, this being the *Crest* of that Cavalier. *Geryon*, they made a Monster with three Heads, because he bore a triple *Crest*; they feigned that *Proteus* changed his Form every Moment, because, being King of *Egypt*, he frequently changed his *Crest*; sometimes bearing that of a Lion, sometimes of a Dragon, &c.

The *Crest* is esteemed a greater Mark of Nobility than the Armoury, as being bore at Tournaments; to which none were admitted till they had given Proof of their Nobility. Sometimes it serves to distinguish the several Branches of a Family: It has served on Occasions, as the distinguishing Badge of Factions.

Sometimes the *Crest* is taken from the Device, but most usually is formed of some Piece of the Arms: Thus

the Emperor's *Crest* is an Eagle, that of *Castile* a Castle, &c.—Families that exchange Arms, as have done the Houses of *Brunswick* and *Cologne*, do not change their *Crests*; the first still retain the Horse, and the latter the Mermaid.

Having thus adorned the Top of the Escutcheon with all its different Pieces or Ornaments, I'll adorn the Bottom thereof with a Motto, where it is most commonly placed; though sometimes a-top, and sometimes round the Escutcheon.

The *Motto*, is a short Sentence or Phrase carried in a Scroll, generally under the Arms, alluding to the Name of the Bearer, sometimes to the Bearing, and sometimes to neither.

The *Motto*, or Word, says *Guillim*, is an external Ornament annexed to Coat-Armour; being the Invention or Conceit of the Bearer, succinctly and significantly expressed, usually in three or four Words, which are set on some Scroll or Compartment, placed at the Foot of the Escutcheon.

As the *Motto* holds the lowest Place in Arms, so it is the last Blazoning. In Strictness it should express something in the Achievement; but Custom has now received whatsoever is the Fancy of the Deviser.

Note, That the Use of *Motto's* is very antient; History both antient and prophane furnishing Instances thereof. Our Ancestors made choice of *Motto's* to express their predominant Passions, as of Piety, Love, War, &c. or some extraordinary Adventure befallen them; most of which from such Originals, have become hereditary in divers Families.

The *Motto* of the Royal House of *Bourbon* is *Esperance*, Hope; and that of the late King *Louis XIV.* and of his Successor, the present King *Louis XV.* *Nec pluribus impar*.—The *Motto* of the Royal Family of *England* is, *Dieu & mon Droit*, God and my Right; and of the Order of the Garter, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, Shame be to him that evil thinks; of the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Sola virtus invicta*; of the Duke of *Bedford*, *Che sara sara*; of the Duke of *Devonshire*, *Cavendo tutus*, alluding to the Family's Name *Cavendish*; of the Duke of *Kingston*, *Piè repone te*, alluding to the Name *Pierpoint*; of the Earl of *Radnor*, *Quæ supra*, alluding to the three Stars in his Arms; of the Earl of *Abingdon*, *Virtus ariete fortior*, alluding to three Battering Rams bore in the Arms; of *Fortescue* Lord *Clinton*, *Fortè scutum salus Ducum*.

Note, That if the Person be a Knight Companion of the Garter, his Escutcheon is environed with the Garter buckled, and adorned with the Motto, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*.—In *France* the Knights of *St. Michael*, and of the Holy Ghost, have their Escutcheons environed with the Collars of those two Orders; and in blazoning such an Escutcheon, it is said to be environed with the Collars of the King's Orders.

Next we'll put *SUPPORTERS* to our Escutcheon, thus charged and adorned; which *Supporters* are Figures in an Achievement, placed by the Side of the Shield, and seeming to hold or support it.

Supporters are chiefly Figures of Beasts; Figures of human Creatures used for the like Purposes, are more properly called *Tenants*.

Some make another Difference between *Tenant* and *Supporter*; when the Shield is bore by a single Animal it is called *Tenant*, when by two they are called *Supporters*.

The Figures of Things inanimated sometimes placed aside the Escutcheons, but not touching, or seeming to bear them; though sometimes called *Supporters*, are more properly called *Cotises*.

The *Supporters* of the *French* Arms are Angels; which are said to have been first introduced by *Philip VI.* his Device being an Angel overthrowing a Dragon; the Dragon being at that Time the Device of the King of *England*.

The *Supporters* of the *English* Arms are a Lion and an Unicorn; some of the former Kings had a Leopard and

and an Unicorn, others Griffins, and others Eagles.

Those of the Prince of *Monaco* are *Augustine* Monks; those of the Family of the *Ursini*, Bears, in Allusion to their Name.

In *England* none below the Degree of a Banneret are allowed *Supporters*, which are restrained to those called the *High Nobility*.—The *Germans* permit none but Princes and Noblemen of Rank to bear them. Among the *French* the Use is more promiscuous.

Supporters are always the last blazoned.

The Escutcheon of Kings, Princes, and Dukes, with all its Ornaments and *Supporters*, is wrapped in a MANTLE, which has the Appearance of foulding of Cloth, Flourishing, or Drapery, that is in any Atchievement drawn about the Coat of Arms.

It is supposed originally to have been the Representation of a *Mantle*, or military Habit worn by antient Cavaliers over their Armour to preserve it from Rust: Or as others hold, a short Covering only worn over the Helmet; which in After times was lengthened, and made to hang from the Helmet below the whole Shield.

The *Mantle* is always said in Blazon to be doubled, that is, lined throughout with one of the Furs, as Ermin, Pean, Vairy, &c.

The *Mantle* is seldom mentioned in blazoning a Coat of Arms, and it is not at all necessary to do it.

Note, That having thus compleated our Escutcheon, we must proceed to the blazoning it; which is deciphering it, and naming all the Parts thereof in their proper and particular Terms; and which cannot be done without having Regard to the following Rules.

1. The Metal, or Colour of the Field must be named first:—As *Or*, *Argent*, or *Gules*, &c.
2. The Manner of the Division of the Escutcheon by Line, whether downright or bendwise, and also the Difference of the Line, whether it be indented, ingrailed, &c.
3. The Charge which is on the Field.
4. Having thus expressed the Field, the Division, and the Charge, if there be more Parts of the Field occupied by the Charge than one, you are to name the principal Part of the Field first.
5. If there be more than one Kind of Charge in a Field, that in the chief Part is to be named first.
6. No Iteration or Repetition of Words is to be used in blazoning a Coat, especially of any of these four Words, *of*, *or*, *and*, *with*.
7. That there are but two Forms of Blazon, *viz.* Metals and Colours.
8. That Metal upon Metal, and Colour upon Colour is false Heraldry; which admits of no Exception but in the Arms of *Jerusalem*, which are, *Argent*, a Cross potent between four Crosslets, *Or*.

These previously considered, we'll begin by *Blazoning* the most simple Escutcheon, which is always accounted the noblest; for the great Quantity of different Pieces an Escutcheon is charged with, is not a greater Mark of the Nobility of the Family who bears it.

The Arms of the Kings of *France*, for Instance, are very simple, though the Arms of the most august House of the whole World; for I have heard say, that the late King *Louis XIV.* told an Ambassador of the Emperor, who boasted in his Presence of the Antiquity and Nobility of the House of *Austria*, that there were Princes of the House of *Bourbon*, when there were no Gentlemen yet of that of *Austria*.

The Arms of *FRANCE* are blazoned, *Azure*, *Three Fleurs de Lys Or*, two in Chief and one in Point.

The Arms of the antient Dukes of *Bretagne*, which are those of the Province, are also very simple, and are blazoned *Ermines sans nombre*, Ermines without Number.

The Arms of the House of *Noailles* in *France*, are but *Gules*, a Bend *Or*.

Those of the Dukes of *La forté senmeterre*, *Azure*, *three Fusiles ranged in Vesse*.

Those of the Dukes of *Roban*, *Gules*, *nine Maces Or*.

Those of the House of *Richelieu*, *Argent* *three Chevrons Gules*.

Those of the Dukes of *Brissac*, *Sable* *three Vesses dantée*, *Or*.

Those of the Dukes of *Sicily*, *Argent* a *Vesse Gules*.

Those of the Marquis of *Coetlogon*, *Gules*, *three*

Escutcheons Ermine, two in Chief, and one in Point.

The Arms of the Kings of *England*, as Kings of *England* only, are also very simple, and are blazoned, *Gules* *three Lions passant gardant in Pale*, *Or*.

The Arms of *Ireland* are but, *Azure* a *Harp Or*, *Strung Argent*.

The Arms of the Duke of *Ormond* are, *Or*, a chief indented *Azure*.

Those of the Duke of *Hamilton*, *Gules* *three Cinquefoils Ermine*.

Those of the Duke of *Ancafter*, *Argent* *three Batter-ing Rams*, *Bar-wise*, *Azure*, *headed and hooped*, *Or*.

From these simple Escutcheons, I'll pass to those which are charged with more Pieces.

The Marshal of *Montmorency* in *France*, Duke of *Luxembourg*, bears *Or*, a Cross *Gules*, cantoned with sixteen *Alerons Azure*, four and four charged encaur with an Escutcheon *Argent*, a *Lion Gules*.

The Duke of *Villeroy* bears *Azure*, a *Chevron Or*, accompanied with three anchored Crosses of the same.

The Duke de' *Aumont* bears *Argent*, a *Chevron Gules*, accompanied with seven Merlets of the same, four in Chief, and three in Point.

Note, That in blazoning in the *French* Manner, the Term accompanied is never used, but with regard to Pieces of an equal Dignity.

The Arms of the Duke of *Norfolk*, first Duke, and Hereditary Earl Marshal of *England* (though contrary to the pernicious Maxims of a modern Politick, he prefers the Glory of professing his Religion, such as he has received it from his illustrious Ancestors, to the great Privileges he should enjoy in those two Qualities) are blazoned thus in *English*.—*Gules* a Band between six Cross-Crosets, *fishee Argent*, with an Augmentation, *viz.* in the Middle of the Bend an Inescutcheon, *Or*, charged with a demi Lion rampant, pierced through the Mouth with an Arrow, within a double Tressure contre-fleury *Gules*.—Which Manner of blazoning this antient Coat of Arms, is in my Opinion very defective, in several Particulars; for, 1. It is too prolix. 2. The Band is named without mentioning if it be *Argent*, or any other Metal or Colour. 3. The Band is left to mention the Cross-Crosets, without mentioning what that Band is charged with; and after the Cross-Crosets have been mentioned, they returned to the Cross-Crosets, contrary to the strictest Rules of Blazoning, which require that when a Piece is blazoned, the other Piece it is charged with must be blazoned next, before one passes to the blazoning of other Pieces. 4. The Arrow, mentioned as a Piece, is not blazoned as a Piece: Therefore I would blazon this antient Escutcheon thus; *Gules* a Band *Argent*, charged encaur with a Lion rampant, arrowed in the Mouth, within a Tressure contre-fleury *Gules*, the Band accompanied with six Cross-Crosets *Argent*, three and three.

Those of the Earl of *Derby* are blazoned in *English* thus; *Argent*, on a Bend *Azure*, three Stags Heads caboshed *Or*, with a Crescent for Difference; which I would blazon, *Argent* a Bend *Azure*, charged with three Stags Heads caboshed *Or*, the Difference a Crescent.

Those of the Earl of *Rivers*, are blazoned in *English* *Argent* five Lions rampant 3, 2, 1, *Sable*: Which blazoning is also lame, because the Colour of the Lions should be named before their Number, since the Colour is so inseparable from the Piece, that it would not be a Piece without it; therefore I blazon it thus:—*Argent*, five Lions rampant *Sable*, 3, 2, 1.

Those of the Earl of *Peterborough*, are blazoned in *English*, *Argent* a *Chevron* between three Stars *sable*. This is also defective, because the Colour of the Chevron is not named; therefore I blazon it, *Argent* a Chevron *Gules*, three Stars *Sable*, two in Chief, and one in Point; which last Circumstance, though essential in Blazoning, where the Position of the Pieces is always to be mentioned, is also omitted in the *English* Manner of blazoning this Escutcheon.

Those of the Earl of *Nottingham*, are blazoned in the *English* Manner, *Argent*, a *Chevron* between three Griffins passant *Sable*, where the Colour of the honourable Ordinary, which should always be mentioned, is omitted, as well

well as the Position of the Griffins. Besides it is false, that the Chevron is between the Griffins; for to be thus, the Griffins should be even in Number, viz. four or six, &c. Therefore I blazon it thus: Argent a Chevron fable, accompanied with three Griffins passant of the same, two in Chief and one in Point.

Those of the Earl of *Chesterfield* are blazon'd in the *English* Manner, *Party per Cross Ermine, and Gules*. Which Blazoning is contrary to the strictest Rules of *Heraldry*, which cannot admit of the Term *Party*, but where there is but two Divisions, for what is called here *Party per Cross*, is properly quartered; and if in other Occasions it is called so by the *English* Herald, why not in this? Therefore I'll blazon it in a more proper, and shorter Manner, *Quarter'd Ermine and Gules of four Pieces*.

Note, That as the different Alliances contracted between noble Houses, seldom fails making some Additions to their Escutcheons, and engage a Family to quarter their Arms with those of another, or several Houses, according as they judge those Quarters more capable to Honour their own, we must give here some Instructions or Rules relating to quartering Escutcheons.

Quartering, in the *French* Manner, is to divide the Escutcheon into four equal Parts, by drawing first a Line perpendicularly from Top to Bottom, which divides it exactly into two equal Parts, and another a-cross which divides it into two other equal Parts, which together make four equal Parts or Quarters, which is told thus, 1, 2, 3, 4. The Quarter on the Left a-top, being the first *Quarter*; the next to it the second; the Quarter on the Left at Bottom, the third; and the next to it the fourth, or last.

If the first and the last Quarter are the same Coat, they are blazon'd together first; and the second and third together, if they be likewise the same Coat; which always happens if there be but two Coats in the fourth Quarter. For Example, in the *French* Escutcheon, where the Arms of *France* are only quarter'd with those of *Navarre*, the *French* Escutcheon is the first and last; and that of *Navarre* the second and third; therefore we blazon it, quarter'd in the first and last of *France*; and in the second and third of *Navarre*; naming, if we please, the different Colours and Pieces of the Escutcheon; though there is much more Skill to blazon an Escutcheon, which contains several Quarters, in naming the Family to which the Quarter belongs, than in Blazoning the Pieces. For Example, I suppose that the Arms of the Duke of *Norfolk* were quarter'd with those of that excellent Nobleman the Viscount *Montacute Brown*, I would say, quarter'd in the first and last of *Norfolk*; and in the second and third of *Montacute*.

But perhaps the Escutcheon thus quarter'd, contains four different Coats of Arms; that of the Duke of *Norfolk*, of the Duke of *Montague*, of the Earl of *Harrington*, and of the Viscount *Montacute*; I'll say, quarter'd in the first of *Norfolk*, in the second of *Montague*, in the third of *Harrington*, and in the last of *Montacute*.

To divide the Escutcheon into six Quarters, we draw two perpendicular Lines, which divide it into three equal Parts, then draw another a-cross, which divides those three Parts into six, which Parts are told (beginning at the first on the Left a-top, proceeding to the next to it, from thence to the next to that, which is that on the Right a-top, then to the first on the Left at Bottom, from it to the next, ending at that on the Right at Bottom) 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. This the *French* Herald do not call quarter'd, but *Coupe of three Pieces*; for Example, the Duke of *Ledignieres*, in *France*, bears *Coupe of three Pieces in Chief supported with three in Point*. In the first, Or a crequier Gules, which is of *Crequi*. In the second, Or two Lions leoparded Gules, which is of *Blanche-fort*. In the third, Or a Wolf hauriant Azure, armed Gules, which is of *Sault-agout*. In the fourth (which is the first of the Point) Azure three Towers Or, which is of *Montauban*. In the fifth Azure three Pales Or, a Chief of the same, which is of *Pise*.

In the sixth, and last, Or, two Leopards Azure, which is of *Montlaur*. And over all of *Bonne*, which is Gules a Lyon Or, the chief Coult Azure, charged with three Roses Argent.

Note, That the *French* have but this Kind of *Parti*, which is the same as the *English* *Parti per pale*; the *English* Herald applying the Word to all the Sorts of Partitioning, and never use it without some Addition to specify the particular one intended. Thus they have *Parti*, or parted per cross, per chief, per pale, per fess, per bend dexter, per bend sinister, per chevron, &c.

Parti per pale, is when the Chief is divided perpendicularly into two Halves, by a Cut in the Middle from Top to Bottom. This, and this only, the *French* call *Parti*.

Parti per fess, is when the Cut is a-cross the Middle, from Side to Side; which the *French* call *Coupé*.

Parti per bend dexter, is when the Cut comes from the upper Corner of the Shield on the Right Hand, and descends a-thwart to the opposite lower Corner; called by the *French*, *Tranché*.

Parti per bend sinister, is when the Cut coming from the upper left Corner, descends a-cross to the opposite lower Corner one, called by the *French*, *Taillé*.

When the Shield is *Parti* and *Coupé*, it is said to be quarter'd, or *Ecartele*.

It is said to be *Parti* one from the other, when the whole Shield is charged with some honourable Bearing, divided by the same Line that parts the Shield. Here it is a Rule, the one Side be of Metal, and the other of Colour.

The Humour of our Ancestors, *Colombiere* observes, turning much upon Exploits of Arms and Chivalry; they used to preserve their batter'd and hacked Armour as honourable Symbols of their hardy Deeds; and those who had been in the hottest Service, were distinguished by the most Cuts and Bruises that appear'd on their Shields. To perpetuate the Memory thereof, says the same Author, they caused them to be painted on their Shields, and thus handed down to Posterity. And when *Heraldry* grew into an Art, and Officers were appointed to direct the Manner of Bearing and Blazoning; they gave Names to those Cuts, answerable to the Nature thereof; appointing the four above-mention'd, from which all the others proceed.

When the Quarters are quarter'd over again, subdivided each into four, this is called by the *French*, *Contre-Ecartele*, and by the *English*, *counter-quarter'd*.

There are counter-quarter'd Coats which have twenty or twenty-five Quarters.

Colombiere observes, that thirty-two is the greatest Number us'd in *France*, but that the *English* and *Germans* sometimes extend to forty; as a Testimony of the Truth whereof, he says, he saw the Escutcheon of the Earl of *Leicester*, Ambassador Extraordinary in *France*, in the Year 1639, divided into forty Quarters; and some, he affirms, go on to sixty-four several Coats.

But a Multitude of Quarters makes a Confusion; and accordingly all the Writers of Blazon cry out against it as an Abuse.

The first Instance of Quartering, whereof we have any Account, is said to be in the Arms of *Renatus*, King of *Sicily*, &c. in the Year 1435, who quarter'd the Arms of *Sicily*, *Aragon*, *Jerusalem*, &c.

William Wickley observes, that such Quarterings are much more proper for a Pedigree to be locked up in a Chest, and occasionally produced as an Evidence for the clearing and ascertaining of Alliances of Families, or Titles to Lands, than to be borne as a Cognizance.

When the Quartering is by a Saltier (which is sometimes used in the *English* Heraldry) the Chief and Point are the first and second Quarters, the right Side the third, the left the fourth.

Note, That in the Middle of a Quarter Shield, is almost always placed the proper Coat of the Family, who quarters it with others, which is blazon'd over all

all in *English*, and *sur le tout* in *French*, because it covers the two lowermost inward Corners of the two uppermost Quarters, and the two uppermost inward Corners of the lowermost Quarters.

Note also, That to render all the Rules of *Heraldry* given in this Treatise still clearer, and more practicable, I'll digest here, in an alphabetical Manner, all the technical Terms proper to it, and heretofore mentioned, with their Name and Signification, in *English*, *French*, and *Latin*.

ENGLISH.	FRENCH.	LATIN.
A.	A.	A.
<i>Abatement.</i> Is understood to be some accidental Figure, annexed to the principal Bearing of any Family, whereby it is abated as to its Dignity.	<i>Abatement.</i>	<i>Diminutiones Armorum.</i>
<i>Adumbration.</i>	The <i>French</i> have no such Thing.	<i>Adumbratus.</i>
<i>Alerions.</i> Are Birds the same with Martlets.	<i>Alerions.</i> The same Signification in <i>French</i> .	None in the <i>Latin</i> .
<i>Anchor'd.</i> A particular Kind of Cross, whose Extremities resemble the Flukes of an Anchor.	<i>Ancre.</i> The same Signification as in the <i>English</i> .	<i>Anchoratus.</i> Also the same Signification.
<i>Annulet.</i> A small Ring.	<i>Annulet.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Annulus, vel annellus.</i> The same.
<i>Animé.</i> A <i>French</i> Term, used when the Eyes of a rapacious Creature, are borne of a different Colour from the Creature itself.	<i>Animé.</i> The same Signification, only our modern <i>Heralds</i> have changed the Term <i>Animé</i> into <i>Alumé</i> .	<i>Animatus.</i> The same Signification.
<i>Armed.</i> Used when the Horns, Beak, or Talons of any Beast, or Bird of Prey, are borne of a different Colour from those of their Bodies.	<i>Armé.</i> The same Signification in the <i>French</i> .	<i>Armatus.</i> Also the same Signification.
<i>Armorie, or Armory.</i> The same with Coats of Arms.	<i>Armoiries.</i> <i>Ecussons.</i>	<i>Insignia.</i>
<i>Arraché.</i> A <i>French</i> Word to express any Member forcibly torn off from the rest of the Body. Also called <i>erased</i> .	<i>Arraché.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Extirpatus.</i>
<i>Attired.</i> Used to express the Horns of Stags, Bucks, &c. when of a different Colour from their Bodies or Heads.	<i>Acorné.</i> The same Signification.	No such Term.
<i>Avelant.</i> A Term peculiar to the Form of a Cross, whose Quarters resemble the Philbird Nut.	No such Thing.	<i>Crux avelana.</i>
<i>Azure.</i> The Colour blue.	<i>Azur.</i> The same Colour.	<i>Aureus.</i> The same.
B.	B.	B.
<i>Barbed and Crested.</i> Used when the Comb and Gills of a Cock are of a different Colour from the Body.	<i>Barbe & Cresté.</i> The same Signification as in <i>English</i> .	<i>Barbula & Crista.</i>
<i>Bar.</i> An honourable Ordinary in form of, but less than the Fess, drawn transverse-wise, from the right Corner of the Escutcheon a-top, down to the Left Corner.	<i>Barre.</i> Placed in the same Manner in the <i>French</i> Blazon.	<i>Vellus.</i>

ENGLISH.	FRENCH.	LATIN.
<i>Bar Gemel.</i> A double Bar.	<i>Jumelles.</i> The same Thing as in the <i>English</i> .	<i>Jugurice fasciola.</i>
<i>Barrelet, or Barrulet.</i> The Diminutive of the Bar, consisting of a quarter Part, or one half of the Clofet.	<i>Barelle.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Barrula.</i>
<i>Barruly.</i> A Field divided Bar-wise, in many equal Parts.	<i>Barrellé.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Transversæ fasciolatus.</i>
<i>Barry.</i> A Shield divided transverse into 4, 6, or more equal Parts, and consisting of two or more Colours, interchangeably disposed.	<i>Fascé.</i> The same Signification, with this single Difference, that in the <i>English</i> <i>Barry</i> , the Pieces are always even, and in the <i>French</i> <i>Heraldry</i> , <i>fascé</i> is sometimes of 7, 9, or 3, or 4 Pieces.	<i>Fasciatum.</i>
<i>Barry-Pily.</i> Piles in Fesse counter-placed; others call it, <i>Party per Pale, dancetté.</i>	<i>Parti-Emanché.</i> Blazoned <i>Emanché d'argent & de gules</i> , of so many Pieces.	<i>Runcinatus.</i>
<i>Baton, or Battoon.</i> Signifying a staff, or Cudgel generally used in Bastardy.	<i>Baton.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Bacillus.</i>
<i>Becqué.</i> Signifying beaked, when the Beak and Legs of any Bird of Prey are of a different Colour from the Body they are blazoned, <i>beaked and membered of such Colour</i> .	<i>Becqué.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Rostratus.</i>
<i>Bend.</i> One of the honourable Ordinaries, containing a third Part of the Field when charged, and a fifth when plain; drawn from the left Corner of the Escutcheon a-top, down to the right Corner.	<i>Bande.</i> The same Thing as in the <i>English</i> .	<i>Tænia.</i>
<i>A Bend sinister.</i> It differs from a Bend only in its Location, being drawn from the right Corner a-top, down to the left.	<i>Barre.</i> It differs from <i>Bande</i> only in its Location, being drawn like the <i>English</i> Bend sinister.	<i>Vitta.</i>
<i>Bendlet.</i> The half of a Bend.	<i>Bandelette.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Bandula.</i>
<i>In Bend.</i> Signify a Piece located Bendwise.	<i>En Bande.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Obliqué dextorsus positus.</i>
<i>Per Bend, or Party per Bend.</i> Signifying a Line drawn from the upper left Corner of the Escutcheon down to the lower left Corner, to divide it into two equal Parts.	<i>Tranché.</i> The same Signification as the <i>English</i> <i>per Bend</i> .	<i>Obliqué dextorsus bipartitum.</i>
<i>Bezants or Besants.</i> By this are understood certain round and flat Pieces of Bullion, without Impression, supposed to be the Money of <i>Byzantium</i> , now <i>Constantinople</i> , whence they borrow that Name. With the <i>English</i> they are always said to be of Gold; but the <i>French</i> and other Nations have them also of Silver.	<i>Besant.</i> The same Signification, as in the <i>English</i> .	<i>Byzantium nummus.</i>
<i>Billets.</i> Signifying Bricks; for <i>Mackensy</i> tells us, that many <i>English</i> Families, settled in <i>France</i> , bear them to denote their extraction from <i>England</i> , where so much Brick is made.	<i>Billettes.</i> Signifying, in my Opinion, the same as in the <i>English</i> .	<i>Laterculi.</i>
		<i>Billoty.</i>

ENGLISH.	FRENCH.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.	FRENCH.	LATIN.
<i>Billetty.</i> Signifies something strewed as it were all over with Billets.	<i>Billeté.</i> The same Signification as in the <i>English</i> .	<i>Laterculatus.</i>	<i>Charged.</i> Is when a Shield is charged with any Figure.	<i>Chargé.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Ferens.</i>
<i>Bordure.</i> A French Word signifying a Border.	<i>Bordure.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Fimbria.</i>	<i>Checky.</i> To express an Escutcheon or a Piece chequer'd with a Metal and a Colour; for if it was chequer'd with two Colours or two Metals, it would be false Blazon.	<i>Echiqueté.</i> The same Signification, with this Difference, that the French mention of how many Panes their chequer Work consists, and sometimes they only mention the fewest Number that appears, accounting as it were the rest a Field.	<i>Quadrif contextus.</i>
<i>Brise.</i> A French Word signifying any Thing broken, as a Chevron, or other Ordinary; but then the Form in which such Ordinary is broken, ought to be expressed.	<i>Brisé.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Utrinque principatus.</i>	<i>Chevron.</i> Representing the Raftors of a House.	<i>Chevron.</i> Represents the same as in the <i>English</i> .	<i>Cantherius.</i>
<i>Brisure.</i>	<i>Brisure.</i> By this Word the French express Family Differences borne in Coats of Arms, because they seem to break the principal Figure with which they are carried.	<i>Fraclus.</i>	<i>Per Chevron, or Party per Chevron.</i> Which Term is very little or not at all used in Heraldry.	<i>Mantelé.</i>	<i>Manteliatum.</i>
<i>C.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>Adscitia scutis.</i>	<i>Chevronny.</i> Signifies a Shield divided into several by Partitions chevron-wise.	<i>Chevroné.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Cantheriatus.</i>
<i>Caboshed, or Cabossed.</i> From <i>Cabosse</i> , an obsolete French Word, signifying a Head, and used when Beasts Heads are borne, without any Part of the Neck, full-faced.	<i>Cabossé.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>Chief.</i> Signifies the Head of a Shield; 'tis one of the Ordinaries, and occupies a third Part of the Field.	<i>Chef.</i> The same Thing as in the <i>English</i> .	<i>Summum.</i>
	<i>Cabré.</i> Signifying erect.	<i>Ora obvertentia.</i>	<i>In Chief.</i> Any Thing borne in the chief Part, or Top of an Escutcheon.	<i>En Chef.</i> The same Signification.	<i>In Summo.</i>
<i>Caltraps.</i> A Kind of Machine used in War, to throw into the Roads through which the Cavalry is to pass, to gall the Feet of their Horses; having always a Point upright, in whatever Manner they are hung.	<i>Cabré.</i> <i>Cheval Cabré.</i> This the <i>English</i> would call Saliant.	<i>Erectus.</i>		<i>Cimier.</i> A Term used for the Crest, but never used in <i>English</i> .	<i>Accessio scuti Coronaria.</i>
<i>Canton.</i> Is a French Word, signifying a Quarter, or rather a Corner, placed a top of the Escutcheon, on the Left Side.	<i>Cabossé.</i>	<i>Murices or Tribuli.</i>	<i>Cleché.</i> Is a French Term to signify any Ordinary pierced throughout; that is, when any Figure is so perforated, as that the chief Substance is lost, and nothing visible but the very Edges.	<i>Clariné.</i> A Term by which French Heraldry expresses a Collar of Bells, round the Neck of any Beast, &c. <i>Vache Clarinée d'Azur.</i> The <i>English</i> would say, a Cow gorged with a Collar of Bells <i>Azure</i> .	<i>Cymbalatus.</i>
<i>Cantonée.</i> Is also a French Word used by them, to express the Position of such Things as are borne with a Cross; when placed in the Angles.	<i>Canton.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Quadrans Angularis.</i>	<i>Cloze.</i> A Term borrow'd from the French Word <i>Clos</i> , which signifies any Thing closed or inclosed, and used to express the Bearing of such Birds Wings, as are generally addicted to Flight, as an Eagle, Falcon, Swallow, &c.	<i>Cleché.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Foratū.</i>
<i>Chapeau.</i> The common French Word for a Hat.	<i>Cantonée.</i> They blazon the Arms of <i>Montmorency, d'Or a la Croix de Gule, cantonnée de seize Alerions d'Azur.</i>	<i>Stipatus.</i>	<i>Closet.</i> The Diminutive of the Bar.	<i>Fermé.</i> Used for the Bearing of a Helmet with the Visor down.	<i>Clausum.</i>
<i>Chaperonne.</i>	<i>Chapeau.</i>		<i>Combatant.</i> Used when any two Figures are represented fighting.		<i>Pugnantes.</i>
<i>Chaperonné.</i> Hooded.	<i>Chapron.</i> An old French Word, signifying a Hood, whence it is become the Name of those little Shields containing Death Heads, and other Funeral Devices, placed upon the Foreheads of the Horses that draw Hearses at Funeral Poms.	<i>Calyptratus.</i>	<i>Company.</i> Signifies the Shield being composed of seven or eight Pieces.	<i>Composé.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Compositus.</i>
<i>Charge.</i> By the Charge of a Field is understood the Impressions or Figures therein contain'd.	<i>Chaproné.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Figura.</i>	<i>Counter Company.</i> Is when the Figure is composed of two Panes.	<i>Contre-composé.</i> The same Signification.	
	<i>Charge.</i>		<i>Counter-charged.</i> Signifies a Field and Charge divided or parted by any Line or Lines of Partition, confining all interchangeably of the same Colours.	No such Term in this Language.	<i>Transmutatus.</i>

ENGLISH.	FRENCH.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.	FRENCH.	LATIN.
	<i>Contrebandé.</i> Entirely a French Term, used by us to express what the English call bendy of six per bend sinister counter-changed.		<i>Couped.</i> Is as much as to say cut, and is used to express when the Head or any other Limb of an Animal is cut off from the Trunk, and not forcibly erased or torn therefrom. Couped is used also to denote such Crosses, Bars, Bends, Chevrons, &c. as do not touch the Sides of the Shield; but seem, as it were, to be cut therefrom.		<i>A latere scui disjunctum.</i>
	<i>Contrebarré.</i> The same with the English bend sinister per bend counter-changed.	<i>Contravitatus.</i>			
<i>Counter-quarter'd.</i> When any one of the grand Quarters consists quarterly of two or more Coats.	<i>Cont'Escartelé.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Contraquadriti partitus.</i>	<i>Counterpassant.</i> Whereby are understood two Beasts, passing the contrary Way to each other.		
	<i>Contrechevroné.</i> Signifies a Shield Chevron and parted by some Line. This is very seldom found in Heraldry.	<i>Contracanthetriatus.</i>	<i>Counterfaiant.</i> When two are leaping different Ways from each other.		
	<i>Contrefaqué.</i> Is by the French understood to signify what the English call barry per pale counter-changed; always specifying the Number of Panes into which the Escutcheon is divided.	<i>Contrafasciatus.</i>	<i>Countertripping.</i> As Counterfaiant, applied only to Deer, which are said to trip.		
	<i>Contrepalé.</i> The same as the English paly per fesse counter-changed.	<i>Contrapalitus.</i>	<i>A Couple close.</i> Thus called from enclosing by Couple the Chevron.		<i>Cantheria</i>
	<i>Contrepotencé.</i> (The same with the English potent counter-potent) is used to express what some antiently called <i>Varry couppeé</i> .	<i>Patibulum.</i>	<i>Courant.</i> A French Word signifying running or posting forwards, in which Sense it is used in Eng. Heraldry.	<i>Courant.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Currens.</i>
	<i>Contrevairé.</i> This Fur is never found in English Writers, tho' the French use it.			<i>Couronné.</i> Signifying crowned.	<i>Coronatus.</i>
<i>Cotice, or Cotise.</i> The fourth Part of the Bend, never borne by the English but in Couples, with a Bend between them.	<i>Cotice.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Tæniola.</i>	<i>Cousu.</i> Sewed: A Term taken from the French, to express a Chief, Bordure, &c. which is of the same Metal or Colour with the rest of the Field. Because as it is a Rule that Metal cannot be carried upon Metal, nor Colour upon Colour, those Pieces are understood to be sewed to, not carried upon the Field.	<i>Cousu.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Sutus.</i>
	<i>Cotisé.</i> The Manner of expressing any Escutcheon divided bend ways into many equal Parts; as in the Coat of Anois, blazon'd by Baron Cotice, d'Argent & d'Azure de dix Pieces; but when it is divided into six, they only say, <i>bandé de six</i> .			<i>Crenelé.</i> The French Term for embattled, also frequently used by the English.	
	<i>Cotoyé.</i> This is the French Manner of expressing what the English understand by cottised. For <i>Cotoyé</i> signifying properly any Thing accosted or sided, does very well here for the Bend.	<i>Utræque latere accinctus.</i>	<i>A Crescent.</i> That Sort of Half Moon that has its Horns turn'd upwards.	<i>Croissant montant.</i>	<i>Luna Cornuta</i>
			<i>Crest.</i> Expressing those Devices with which antient Soldiers used to adorn the Tops of their Helmets.	<i>Crête.</i>	<i>Crista.</i>
<i>Couchant.</i> This is understood of a Beast laying.	<i>Couchant.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Jacens.</i>	<i>Cross.</i> This is easily understood by every Body; and has the same Signification in all the three Languages.	<i>Croix.</i>	<i>Crux.</i>
	<i>Coupi.</i> By this is meant one of the honourable Lines of Partition among the French, viz. the same as the English party per fesse, and represents a Cut athwart the Shield, received in Battle.	<i>Scutum.</i>	<i>Croset.</i> Signifies a little Cross.	<i>Croisette.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Crucicula.</i>
			<i>Crossways.</i> Signifies the Position of such Figures, whose Location seems to represent the Form of a Cross.	<i>En Croix.</i>	<i>In modum crucis collocata</i>
			<i>D.</i>	<i>D.</i>	<i>D.</i>
			<i>Dancetta.</i> A large Sort of Indenting.	<i>Danché.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Denticulatus</i>
					<i>Debruisé.</i>

ENGLISH.	FRENCH.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.	FRENCH.	LATIN.
<i>Debruised.</i> A Term peculiar to the <i>English</i> ; by which they would intimate the grievous Restraint of any Animal, debarred its natural Freedom by any of the Ordinaries being laid over it.			<i>Erasé or Erated.</i> Signifies any Thing plucked off from the Part to which Nature fix'd it. As Lyon's, Wolf's, &c. Head.	<i>Araché</i> The same Signification.	<i>Extirpatus.</i>
<i>Demi, or Demy.</i> A <i>French</i> Word, which signifies half. And thus the <i>English</i> use it as Demi or Half-Lyon.	<i>Demi.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Dimidiatus.</i>	F.	F.	F.
<i>Diapred.</i> A certain dividing of the Field in Panes, like Fret-work, and filling the same with Variety of Figures.	<i>Diapré.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Duriatus.</i>		<i>Face.</i> Is the <i>French</i> Word for the <i>English</i> Fesse.	
<i>Differences.</i> Certain Additions to a Coat of Arms, whereby something is added or alter'd to shew Juniority, or a Removal from the principal House.	<i>Brisures.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Diminutiones armorum.</i>	<i>A Fer de Moline, Inkmoline.</i> Signify the same Thing, viz. the Iron of a Mill.	<i>Facé.</i> Is the same as the <i>English</i> Barry.	<i>Fer de Moulin.</i> La Piece de fer qui soutient la meule tournante dun moulin.
<i>Displayed.</i> Signifies a Bird with its Wings expanded.	<i>Éployé.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Expansus.</i>	<i>Fesse.</i> One of the honourable Ordinaries, containing always a third Part of the Field.	<i>Face.</i>	<i>Fascia.</i>
<i>Dormant.</i> A <i>French</i> Word, borrowed by the <i>English</i> Heralds to signify any Creature sleeping.	No such Bearing in the <i>French</i> Heraldry.	<i>Dormiens.</i>	<i>Fillet.</i> An Ordinary which, according to <i>Guillim</i> , contains the fourth Part of a Shield.	<i>Ficbé.</i> Signifying the <i>English</i> Fitchy.	
<i>Doublings.</i> To express the Linings of Robes, or Mantles of Estate.	<i>Double.</i> The same Signification.		<i>Fimbriated.</i> An Ordinary having a Bordure or Hem of another Colour.	<i>Frangé.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Fimbriatus.</i>
	<i>Dragoné.</i> A Term used in <i>French</i> Heraldry for bigenerous Serpents, to express such whose hinder Part partakes of the Dragon, and especially when of a different Colour from the rest of the Body.		<i>Fleury.</i> Which signifies flowered.	<i>Flanqué.</i> By this the <i>French</i> express the <i>English</i> Party per saltiere.	<i>Decussaté quadrifidus.</i>
E.	E.	E.	<i>Fretty.</i> Is of six, eight, or more Pieces.	<i>Florené.</i> The same Signification as in the <i>English</i> .	<i>Liliatus.</i>
	<i>Escuçon.</i> The same as the <i>English</i> Escutcheon.		<i>Fusil.</i> Signifies a Spindle.	<i>Fretté.</i> The same as in the <i>English</i> .	<i>Caltratus.</i>
	<i>Essaré.</i> A Term used by the <i>French</i> Heralds to signify any Thing scared, or put in a Passion, particularly attributed to Animals, as an Unicorn, a Horse, &c.	<i>Elatus.</i>	<i>Fusillé.</i> By this Word is understood any Thing entirely full of Fusils.	<i>Fusée.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Fusus.</i>
<i>Endorsed, the Corruption of Indorsed.</i> Erroneously used for Adorsed, which signifies something borne Back to Back.	<i>Adoffé.</i>		G.	<i>Fuselé.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Fusillatum.</i>
<i>Engrailed.</i> Which signifies something made ragged at the Edges, by being struck with Hail.	<i>Engrailé.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Striatus.</i>	<i>Garbe.</i> By which is expressed a Sheaf of any Kind of Grain.	G.	G.
	<i>Enté.</i> Signifies something grafted or ingrafted.	<i>Institus.</i>	<i>Gardant.</i> Is a <i>French</i> Word signifying guarding, preserving, &c. In Heraldry 'tis understood to represent any Thing full-fac'd, because the Action seems to imply a Watchfulness.	<i>Gerbe.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Fascis frumentarius.</i>
	<i>Environé.</i> A Term used by the <i>French</i> , when a Lyon, or other Figure is environ'd or encompassed round with other Things: They say environ'd with so many Besants, &c. in Orle, or whatsoever other Form their Position may resemble.	<i>Septus.</i>	<i>Regardant.</i> By this is understood any Thing looking behind him.	<i>Gardant.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Obverso ors.</i>
			<i>Gules.</i> Is the red Colour in Heraldry.	<i>Regardant.</i>	<i>Retrospiciens.</i>
			<i>Gutty.</i> Signifies any Thing full of Drops.	<i>Gurule.</i> The same in the <i>French</i> Heraldry.	<i>Ruber.</i>
			H.	<i>Guttf.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Guttis respersum.</i>
			<i>Hauriant.</i> A Term used to express any Fish erected upright.	H.	H.
				<i>Hauriant.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Hauriens.</i>

ENGLISH.	FRENCH.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.	FRENCH.	LATIN.
I.	I.	I.			
<i>Iffant.</i> Is a Term which some Her- alds use to express a Lyon, or any other Fi- gure borne Jacent, or as it were over all, having a Chief or other Ordinary, under some Part of it.			<i>Lozenge.</i> Is much like the Fusil in Shape, except that it is more upon the Square.	<i>Lozange.</i> The same Signification as in <i>English</i> .	<i>Plintbium.</i>
			<i>Lozengy.</i> Signifies a Shield full of Lozenges.	<i>Lozangé.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Rhombulis in- terflingis.</i>
<i>Imbattled.</i> Signifies a Notch.	<i>Crenelle.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Pinnatus.</i>	M.	M.	M.
			<i>Mantle.</i> The Cloak or Mantle Coats of Arms are adorn- ed with.	<i>Manteau.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Pallium.</i>
<i>Impaling.</i> Is properly the halving or dimidiating any Thing by a perpendicular Line; in <i>Heraldry</i> it is used to ex- press the Manner of Mar- shalling the Arms of Man and Wife, which an- ciently was done in that Manner; that is, the dexter half of the Man's Coat was join'd with the sinister half of the Wo- man's; but of later Years, the two Coats compleat are join'd to- gether, yet retain the same Term, and are said to be impaled.			<i>Martlets.</i> It is a little swift Bird, that used to build in Castles and high Turrets; and is painted without Feet.		<i>Merula.</i>
<i>Indorsed.</i> By this is understood any Thing borne Back to Back.	<i>Adosse.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Ad invicem tergum ver- tentes.</i>	<i>Masle.</i> Are said to represent Spots in certain Flints; and o- thers believe the <i>Masle</i> to be the Mesh of a Net.	<i>Macle.</i>	<i>Macula.</i>
<i>Inescutcheon.</i> Is a small Escutcheon borne within the Field, and one of the Ordina- ries, according to <i>Guil- lim</i> .			<i>Massoned.</i> Signifies the setting or joining of Stones in a Building.	<i>Massonné.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Glutinatus.</i>
			<i>Membred.</i> Used when the Legs of an Animal are of a different Colour from the Body.	<i>Membre.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Tibiatus.</i>
<i>Ingrailed.</i> Any Thing struck, and notched by the Hail.	<i>Engrailé.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Striatus.</i>	<i>Mooted.</i> By this is understood any Tree that is eradicated, or torn up by the Roots.		<i>Eradicatus.</i>
<i>Invected.</i> Signifies something fur- rowed.	<i>Canelé.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Invectus.</i>		<i>Montant.</i> Expressing in the <i>French</i> <i>Heraldry</i> any Animal laying upon its Back, with its Belly upwards carelessly.	<i>Resupinus.</i>
<i>Iffuant.</i> Signifies issuing or coming forth, which also is the direct Signification of the Word <i>Naissant</i> . Yet Heralds dispute their Significations when used as Terms in <i>Heraldry</i> : Some being of Opinion, that when a Lyon is term'd <i>Iffuant</i> , he shews but his Head, the Top of his Tail, and the End of his Fore-Legs; whereas <i>Naissant</i> is generally un- derstood to be the upper half of the Lyon; there- fore to avoid confounding these Terms, we should express what Part of the Lyon appears.		<i>Nascent.</i>	<i>A Mounde.</i> Is the Sign of imperial Authority, being a Ball or Globe, encircled, and having a Cross on the Top, frequently to be met with in the Pictures of Princes.	<i>Morné.</i> A Word for any Thing lame or imperfect.	<i>Mutilatus.</i>
				<i>Monde.</i>	
L.	L.	L.	<i>Mullet.</i>	<i>Molette.</i> All <i>French</i> Authors take this for the Rowel of a Spur, and affirm it must be always pierced, which differs it from a Star, which is never so. The <i>English</i> are some of them for having it a Meteor, or falling Star.	<i>Rotula Cal- caris.</i>
<i>A Label.</i> Authors differ concerning what this really is; there- fore we need not wonder it has met with various Names.	<i>Lambel.</i>	<i>Lambella.</i>	N.	N.	N.
			<i>Nebuly.</i> Signifies Cloudy.	<i>Nebule.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Nebulatum.</i>
<i>Lambrequin.</i> The Point of a Label, or Label of a File.	<i>Lambrequins.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Pennée.</i>		<i>Nouri.</i> A Term used in the <i>French</i> <i>Heraldry</i> , when the Stalk of a Flower, &c. is of a different Colour from the rest.	<i>Nutritus.</i>
			O.	O.	O.
<i>Langued.</i> A Term used when an Animal has its Tongue of a different Colour from the rest of his Body.	<i>Lan passé.</i>			<i>Ombre.</i> Signifies shadowed.	<i>Inumbratus.</i>
				<i>Ondé.</i> Is waved, or wavy.	
				<i>Onglé.</i> When the Claws or Ta- lons of any rapacious Creature, are of different Colours from their Bo- dies.	<i>Ungulatus.</i>
					<i>Or.</i>

ENGLISH.	FRENCH.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.	FRENCH.	LATIN.
<i>Or.</i> Is the Term by which Heralds express the Me- tal Gold.	<i>Or.</i>	<i>Aurum.</i>	<i>A Point.</i> Is an Ordinary, something like to a Pile, and rising out of the Base.	<i>Pointe.</i> The same Thing in the French <i>Heraldry</i> , where it is reckoned among the twelve honourable Or- dinaries.	<i>Cuspis.</i>
<i>Orle.</i> In vulgar <i>French</i> , signifies a Selvage or Welt; and which is also its Signifi- cation in <i>Heraldry</i> . This Trace going round the Shield, in the inner Side, in the Form of a Selvage.	<i>Orle.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Limbus.</i>	<i>In Pointe.</i> When Swords, Piles, &c. are so borne, as that their Points resemble the End or Point of a Pile.	<i>En Pointe.</i>	
<i>In Orle.</i> That is, several Things borne orleways, or in the Form of an Orle.		<i>Ad oram posi- tus.</i>	<i>Powdering.</i> Is the strewing or filling up a Field irregularly with any small Figures, as Ermine Spots, &c.		<i>Repletus.</i>
<i>Over all.</i> Thus Heralds term any Figure which is borne over another, obscuring Part thereof, together with Part of the Field.	<i>Sur le tout.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Toti superin- ductum.</i>	<i>Proper.</i> When any Animal, Vege- table, &c. is of its na- tural Hue or Colour, it is said to be borne pro- per, that is, of a proper Colour.		<i>Color natura- lis.</i>
<i>P.</i>	<i>P.</i>	<i>P.</i>	<i>Purslew.</i> Is a Term by which some fancy to express a Bor- dure, or other Furr.		
<i>Pale.</i> An honourable Ordinary, containing a third Part of the Field.	<i>Pale.</i> The same in the <i>French Heraldry</i> .	<i>Palus.</i>	<i>Purple.</i> Is the Colour Purple.	<i>Pourpre.</i> The same Thing as in the <i>English</i> .	<i>Purpureus Co- lor.</i>
<i>Pallet.</i> A small Pale, containing but one half thereof.	No such Piece in the <i>French</i> .	<i>Palus minutus.</i>	<i>Q.</i> <i>A Quarter.</i> Is a quadrangular Ordi- nary resembling a Ban- ner, and taking up a fourth Part of the Field.	<i>Q.</i> <i>Quartier.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Q.</i> <i>Quadrans.</i>
<i>In Pale.</i> To signify Things borne one above another in Form of a Pale.	<i>En Palé.</i> The same Signification.	<i>In Palum col- locatus.</i>	<i>Quartering.</i> Signifying the Marshalling divers Coats, in separate Area's, or Quarters in one Shield.	<i>Ecarteler.</i>	<i>Cumulationes armorum.</i>
<i>Paly.</i> Is when the Shield is di- vided into four, or more equal Parts by perpen- dicular Lines.	<i>Palé.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Palis exora- tus.</i>		<i>Queüe.</i> Signifies a Tail, and is used to express a Lion with two Tails; as <i>queüe fourchee noüe</i> , &c.	
<i>Paly Bendy.</i> Is when the Escutcheon is divided by Lines perpen- dicular and diagonal, from the dexter chief Point.	No such Term.	No Latin for it.	<i>R.</i>	<i>R.</i>	<i>R.</i>
<i>Pannes.</i> The Term by which the <i>French</i> understand Furs.		<i>Pelles.</i>	<i>Racourci.</i> A <i>French</i> Term, which signifies shortened.		<i>Accisus.</i>
	<i>Papilloné.</i> When the Charge is made in the Form of the Wings of Butterflies.	<i>Papillionatus.</i>	<i>Rampant.</i>	<i>Rampant.</i> Is the Participle of <i>Ram- per</i> , which in <i>French</i> sig- nifies to creep; used in <i>Heraldry</i> , both by the <i>French</i> and <i>English</i> , to ex- press an Animal erect.	<i>Insiliens.</i>
	<i>Parti.</i> The <i>French</i> Method of expressing <i>Party per Pale</i> .	<i>Partitus.</i>		<i>Rangé.</i> A <i>French</i> Term, by which we understand ranged or placed, as so many Mart- lets, &c. ranged in Sal- tire, Bend, or the like.	<i>Ordinatus.</i>
<i>Passant.</i> By this is understood a Lion, or any other Crea- ture, passing along in a gradual Pace.	<i>Passant.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Gradiens.</i>	<i>Rebut's.</i> By this, in <i>Heraldry</i> , is meant such a Coat, as by its Figure alludes to the Name of the Bearer; as three Castles for <i>Castle- ton</i> ; a Bear for <i>Bernard</i> ; three Salmon, for <i>Sal- mon</i> , &c.		<i>Armes parlantes.</i> The same Signification as in the <i>English</i> .
	<i>Passé en Sautoir.</i> By this we express any Thing borne in Saltire.	<i>Decussatus.</i>		<i>Recroisé.</i> Signifies crossed, as a Cro- slet crossed, or as they say in the <i>English</i> a Cross-Croslet.	<i>Crucibus ite- ratus.</i>
	<i>Peri.</i> Something appearing to be sunk in the Middle of the Field. There is <i>Peri en Barre</i> , <i>Peri en Bande</i> .	<i>In medio posi- tus.</i>	<i>Regardant.</i> Is a <i>French</i> Participle, which signifies looking towards the Tail.	<i>Reversé.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Retroficiens.</i>
<i>Phron.</i> Is a Kind of Instrument or Dart, with a barbed Head.	<i>Fer de Dard.</i>	<i>Ferrum Ja- culi.</i>			
<i>Pile.</i> Is an Ordinary, and taken for those Piles on which Bridges, &c. are built.	<i>Pieu.</i>	<i>Pila pontis.</i>			
<i>Pily Bendy, or Bendy Pily.</i> Consists of Piles placed Bend-ways, and extend- ing from one Side of the Escutcheon to the other.					
			<i>K k</i>		<i>Rompu</i>

ENGLISH.	FRENCH.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.	FRENCH.	LATIN.
	<i>Rompu.</i> Signifies broken, from <i>rumpo</i> , to break; it is used to express broken Chevrons, Bends, and the like.	<i>Frausus.</i>		<i>Tiercé.</i> A French Term, by which is understood a Shield tierced, or divided into 3 equal Area's, the Manner of which we express by <i>Tiercé en Pal, en face, &c.</i>	<i>Tertiatum.</i>
<i>Roundle.</i> Is a round Figure borne in Arms. The English have a Whim to distinguish all Roundles, by Name, according to their Colour; but the French call all <i>Tourteaux</i> of this or that Colour, except they be of Metal, and then they term them Bezants.	<i>Tourteau.</i>			<i>Timbré.</i> Having an Helmet.	<i>Galeatus.</i>
				<i>Torce.</i> A French Word, whereby some express a Wreath, or Pieces of Silk wreathed or twisted, on which Crests are frequently placed.	
S.	S.	S.		<i>Torteaux.</i> Are certain Rundles, by some taken for Cakes; by others for Bowls; and by others for Wounds.	<i>Tortellæ.</i>
<i>Sable.</i> By this is understood the Colour black.	<i>Sable.</i> The French use the same, and the English have it from them; but whence they took it is the Question. <i>Guillim</i> thinks it might be from <i>Sabulum</i> , because of its gross, and heavy Aspect. But <i>Mackenzey</i> thinks it was, because the best sable Furrs are black.	<i>Ater, niger, &c.</i>		<i>Tranché.</i> Is the French Term to express <i>Party per Bend</i> .	
				<i>Treillé.</i> Signifies latticed. This Bearing is very like to <i>Fretté</i> ; except that these Pieces do not alternately pass over, and under each other, but are carried throughout, and always nailed in the Joints.	
<i>Salient.</i> Signifies Leaping.	<i>Saillant.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Salient.</i>			
<i>Saltire.</i> <i>Upton</i> says, it was an Instrument to catch wild Beasts; whence it must come from <i>Saltus</i> , a Forest: Others say, it was an Instrument to scale Walls, by which it must come <i>à saltando in muros</i> , from leaping upon Walls. But most Authors agree it is borne in Imitation of St. Andrew's Cross.	<i>Sautoir.</i>		<i>Tripping.</i> As a Buck or Doe, passing in its proper Gait, which is with a Sort of <i>Tripping</i> .		<i>More suo incedens.</i>
			<i>Trunked.</i> Is when the Trunk of a Tree is borne, lopped of its Branches, and cut from the Root.	<i>Trunqué.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Truncatus.</i>
<i>Scarf.</i> A Scarf. <i>Guillim</i> holds it a Diminutive of the Bend sinister, something broader than a Baton.	No such Term.		V.	V.	V.
			<i>Vairé.</i> In Heraldry is a Kind of Fur.	<i>Vairé.</i>	<i>Variegatum.</i>
<i>Escalop.</i> A Sea Shell-fish.	<i>Coquille.</i> The French understand by this Term, all Sorts of Shells.	<i>Conchylium.</i>	<i>Undy.</i> Any Thing formed of a waved Line.	<i>Undé.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Undulatus.</i>
<i>Segrant.</i> Is the proper Term for a Griffin displaying his Wings, as ready to fly.	<i>Segrant.</i> The same Signification.	<i>Erebus.</i>	<i>Voided.</i> By this is understood an Ordinary so evacuated, as that nothing but the bare Edge thereof remains to shew its Form.	<i>Vuidé.</i>	<i>Evacuatus.</i>
	<i>Sejant.</i> Signifies only sitting.	<i>Sedens.</i>		<i>Vole.</i> Signifying two Wings expanded.	<i>Ala.</i>
	<i>Semé.</i> Denotes an irregular Strewing without Number, all over the Field. <i>Semé de fleurs de Lys d'Or.</i>	<i>Sparfus.</i>		<i>Demi-Vole.</i> Signifies but one Wing.	<i>Ala simplex.</i>
	<i>Sinople.</i> Is the French Term for Green, and borrowed from the Name of a Place in the <i>Levant</i> , where the best Materials for dying Green are found.		<i>Volant.</i> That is, flying; and thus any Bird is termed borne in that Action.	<i>Volant.</i>	<i>Volans.</i>
<i>Slyppes.</i> As in Trefoils, or any Branch slipped from the Stem.			W.	W.	W.
T.	T.	T.	<i>Wyverm.</i> A Kind of flying Serpent; the upper Part resembling a Dragon, and the lower an Adder or Snake. This owes its Being to the Heralds, and can boast of no other Creation.		<i>Viverra.</i>
	<i>Taillé.</i> Is the French Term, by which is expressed the <i>Party per Bend sinister</i> of the English.		Note, That I'll conclude this Treatise of Heraldry, by blazoning the Arms of all the Sovereigns of the whole World; beginning with those of the Pope.		

The Papal Escutcheon is Gules, consisting of a long Cap or Head-piece Or, surmounted with a Cross Argent, and garnished with three Royal Crowns, and two Keys of St. Peter, placed in Saltier. These Arms are put for Crest, to those of the House of the reigning Pope.

Note, That Boniface VIII. was the first that wore the Tiara with a double Crown. And Urban V. made it in Form of a Cap, adorned with a triple Circle of Gold for some Mystery contained therein. It is called the *Regnum*, because it denotes the Dignity and Power of Priest and Emperor. Some Popes had for their Devise, *Innocens manibus, & mundo corde*.—The Pope styles himself *Servus Servorum Dei*, the Servant of the Servants of God.

The Arms of the present EMPEROR, are two Escutcheons joined together, 1. *Argent, a Lion Gules, the Tail nowed and passed in Saltier, crowned, armed, and langued Or, for Bohemia.* 2. *Sable a Lion crowned Or, for the Palatinate.* 3. *Fusil in Bend Argent and Azure of 21 Pieces.* The Shield placed on the Breast of an Eagle displayed Sable in a Field Or, diademed, membered, and beaked Gules, holding a naked Sword in the right Talon, and a Scepter in the left (the two Heads signify the Eastern and Western Empire) the Shield crested with an Imperial Crown, closed and raised in the Shape of a Mitre, having betwixt the two Points a Diadem surmounted with a Globe, and Cross Or. For a Devise, *Pax & salus Europæ*.

The Arms of the King of FRANCE, are *Azure, Three Flowers de Lys Or*; and the Arms of Navarre, which he also bears, the Shield environed with the Collars of the Order of St. Michael, and the Holy Ghost. For Crest a Helmet entirely open, whereon a Crown with 8 inarched Rays, topped with a double Flower de Luce. The Supporters, two Angels habited as Levites; the whole under a Pavillion Royal, Semi of France, lined Ermine, with these Words: *Ex omnibus floribus Elegi mihi liliū. Lilia neque laborant neque nent.*

Note, That Sir George Mackenzy speaks thus of the Precedency which the Kings of France have obtained among Christian Kings: 'Next to the Imperial Minsters the French take Place, as being the largest Realm in Christendom, and most noble, since Charlemagne, their King, obtained the Imperial Diadem;' and he should have added, that his next Descendants succeeded him in that Dignity, and were both Emperors and Kings of France.

The Arms of the King of ENGLAND, which I place next, because he is also King of the most ancient Monarchy next to France, viz. Scotland, are quarterly, in the first grand Quarter, England, viz. Gules, three Lions passant guardant Or; impaling Scotland, viz. Or, a Lion rampant within a double Tressure contre-fleury Gules: The second grand Quarter France, viz. Azure three Fleurs de Lys, Or: The third Ireland, viz. Azure, an Harp Or, string Argent: And in the fourth Brunswick, that is Gules, two Lions passant guardant Or, impaled with Lunebourg, viz. Or, semi of Hearts Gules, a Lion rampant Azure, having antient Saxony, that is Gules, a Horse saliant Argent, enté en point, with an Escutcheon surmount Gules, charged with the Imperial Crown of Charlemagne; being the proper Badge of the hereditary Treasurer of the sacred Roman Empire, all within a Garter, the Ensign of the most noble Order of that Name: Above the same an Helmet, answerable to his sovereign Jurisdiction, and thereon a Mantle of Cloth of Gold, double Ermine, adorned with an Imperial Crown, surmounted on the Top, for his Majesty's Crest by a Lion passant guardant Or, crowned with a like Crown proper; sustained, on the dexter Side, with a Lion Imperially crowned Or, as the proper Supporter of the English Ensign; and on the Left by an Unicorn Argent, gorged with a princely Crown; from which is a Chain turn'd over his Back, and between his Legs Gold, of which Metal he is also hoof'd, maned, and tufted, both standing upon a Compartment, adorned with a Rose and Thistle proper, and inscribed (in a Scroll within) with his Majesty's Devise, *Dieu & mon droit.*

The Arms of the King of SPAIN, are quarterly. The first Quarter countrequartered, in the first and fourth Gules, a Castle triple towered Or, bordered Azure, purfled Sable, for Castile. In the second and third, Argent a Lion passant Gules crowned, langued, and armed Or, for Leon. In the second great Quarter, Or, four Pallets Gules, for Arragon. Party Or 4 Pallets, also Gules, betwixt two Flanches Argent, charged with as many Eagles Sable membered, beaked, and crowned Azure, for Sicily. These two great Quarters grafted in Base Argent, a Pomegranate vert, stalked and leaved of the same open, and seeded Gules, for Granada. On the whole the Arms of Portugal: In the third great Quarter, Bendy of 6 Pieces Or, and Azure bordered Gules, for antient Burgundy. In the fourth Quarter, Azure Semi of Flowers de Lys Or, with a Bordure Composé Argent, and Gules, for modern Burgundy. And over all Azure three Flowers de Lys Or, for France.—For Crest a Crown trefoiled Or, raised with 8 Diadems terminating in a Mound Or. The Shield encompassed with the Collars of the Holy Ghost, and of the Golden Fleece; and on the Sides stand two Pillars of Hercules, viz. one on each Side, with this Devise, *Nec plus ultra.*

The Arms of the King of PORTUGAL are, *Argent, five Escutcheons Azure, charged with as many Besants placed in Saltier, for Portugal.* The Shield bordered Gules, charged with seven Towers Or, for Algarve. The Crest a Crown Or, under the two Flanches; and at the Base of the Shield appear the Ends of two Crosses, the one pattee Gules, for the Order of Christ; the other Flower de luced Vert, for the Order of Avis. The Devise changeable; but frequently is, *Pro rege & grege.*

Note, That the five Escutcheons were borne in Memory of five Kings, whom Alphonse I. slew at the Battle of Obrique, Anno 1139. The Border and Towers were added by Alphonso III. on his Investiture into the Kingdom of Algarve by Alphonso X. of Castile, Anno 1257. whose Daughter Beatrix he then married.

The Arms of the Queen of HUNGARY, are quarterly: 1. *Barwise Argent and Gules of eight Pieces, for Hungary:* 2. *Argent, a Lion Gules, the Tail nowed and passed in Saltier, crowned, langued, and armed Or, for Bohemia:* 3. *Gules a Fesse Argent, for Austria: Party, and bendwise Argent and Azure, a Border Gules, for antient Burgundy:* 4. *Quarterly, in the first and fourth Gules a castle triple towered Or, purfled Sable, for Castile: In the second and third Argent, a Lion Purple, for Leon: The Shield environed with the Collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece: For Devise, Uno avulso, non deficit alter.*

The Arms of the King of DENMARK, are Party of three, and Coupé of two, which make 12 Quarters: In the first, Or Semi of Hearts, Gules three Lions passant guardant in pale Azure, for Denmark: Second, a Lion rampant crowned and armed Or, holding a Battle-axe Argent bilted of the second, for Norway: Thirdly, Gules a Lion passant guardant Or, on nine Hearts of the same, in Fesse, for Gotland: Fourthly, Shonen, viz. Gules a Dragon crowned Or: Fifthly, Azure three Crowns Or, for Sweden. Sixthly, Gules a Paschal Lamb Argent, supporting a Flag of the same Mark with a Cross Gules, for Jutland: Seventhly, Or, two Lions passant guardant Azure, for Sleswick: Eighthly, a Fish crowned Argent, for Zeland. Over these eight Quarters, a great Cross Argent (which is the antient Devise of the Kingdom) on the Center of which is placed the Arms of Dithmarsh, viz. Gules a Cavalier armed Argent: 9. Gules a Nettle Leaf open and charged in the Middle with a little Escutcheon, the whole Argent for Holstein: 10. Gules a Cygnet Argent, gorged with a Crown Or, for Stormash: 11. Gules, two Fesses Or, for Delmenborst: 12. Gules a Cross patee fitchy Argent, for Oldemburgh. The Shield surrounded with the Collar of the Order of the Elephant: The Crest is a Crown flowered raised with eight Diadems terminating in a Mound of the same. The Devise on the Reverse of his Medals, *Pietas & justitia coronant*, to which might be added for the present King, *Sapientia.*

The Arms of the King of SWEDEN, are quarterly: In the first and fourth, Azure, three Crowns, for Sweden: In the second and third Barry Argent and Azure, a Lion Or crowned Gules, for Finland. On the whole, quarterly,

terly, in the first and fourth *Sable a Lion Or, crowned, langued, and armed Gules*, for the Palatinate of the Rhine: The second and third *Fusil in Bend, Argent and Azure of 21 Pieces*, for Bavaria. The Crest a Royal Crown garnished with eight small Flowers, and closed by as many Demi-circles, terminating in a Mound Or, which is the Crest of Sweden: The Supporters are two Lions Or, crowned with the same; and the Devise or Motto, *Dominus protector meus*.

The Arms of the King of POLAND, are quarterly: In the first and fourth *Gules an Eagle Argent, crowned and armed Or*, for Poland: In the second and third *Gules a Cavalier armed cap-a-pie, Argent, in the Dexter a naked Sword of the same, in the Sinister, a Shield Azure charged with a double Cross Or, mounted on a Courser of the second, barbed of the third, and nailed of the fourth*, for Lithuania. On the whole the Arms of Saxony (the late King of Poland, and the present, being Elector of Saxony) viz. *Barry of six, Or and Sable, a Bend vert*. For Crest, a Crown raised with eight small Flowers, and closed with eight Semi-circles, terminating in a Mound Or: The Shield is environed with the Order of France; and the Motto *Habent sua sidera reges*.

Note, That the *Bend* in the Coat of the Electorate of Saxony, was added by Frederick Barbarossa, when he invested Bernard of Anhalt in that Dukedom; who desiring some Difference to be added to his Arms, to distinguish it from his former Dukes, the Emperor took a Chaplet of Rue (he wore on his Head) and threw it athwart his Buckler, which was presently painted thereon. (Witness Heylin).

The Arms of the King of PRUSSIA, are *Argent an Eagle vert, membered and crowned Or, langued Gules*, for Prussia. As Marquis of Brandebourg, he bears divers Quarterings, containing several Alliances and Principalities; over all, *Azure a Scepter in pale Or*, which belongs to the Electorship, a *triple Helmet*, and a *triple Crest*.

The Arms of the Great Duke of TUSCANY, are quarterly: In the first and fourth of *Tuscany*, which is *Or five Tourteaux, 2, 2, 1, and one roundle in Chief Azure, charged with three Flower de Lys Or*: In the second and third of *Lorraine*, which is *Bend Gules, charged with three Aleurons Argent*.

The Arms of the Duke of SAVOY, are *Gules a Jerusalem Cross Argent*; and as King of Cyprus, he bears the Arms of that Kingdom, viz. quarterly; 1. *Azure a Cross potent between four Croissants Or*: 2. *Barwise of eight Pieces Argent and Azure, supporting a Lion passant crowned Or*: 3. *Or, a Lion Gules*: 4. *Argent, a Lion Gules*.

Note, That the Jerusalem Cross was given to Amadeus Magnus by the Knights of Rhodes (at present Knights of Malta) Anno 1315. with these Letters in lieu of a Motto, *P. E. R. T. i. e. Fortitudo ejus Rhodum tenuit*, in English, His Courage has saved Rhodes. The Occasion was, Amadeus V. surnamed Magnus, forced Mahomet II. Emperor of the Turks, to raise the Siege he had laid to Rhodes in 1315. before that the Duke of Savoy's Arms were Or, an Eagle displayed with two Heads *Sable armed Gules*, supporting in Fesse an Escutcheon of Saxony, a Coat belonging to the Emperors of the House of Saxony, from whom the first Earls of Savoy were descended.

The Arms of the Duke of MANTUA, are *Argent a Cross pale Gules between four Eagles Sable, under an Escutcheon in Fesse, charged quarterly with Gules, a Lyon rampant Or, and Or three Bars Sable*.

The Arms of the Duke of MODENA, are *Palewise of three Pieces*; 1. *Party per Fesse in Chief Or, an Eagle displayed Sable, membered, beaked, and crowned Gules*, and in Base, *France, within a Bordure indented Or and Gules*: 2. *Gules two Keys in Saltier, one Or, the other Argent charged in Fesse, with an Escutcheon of Pretence Azure, supporting an Eagle of the third, membered and crowned of the second*: Over all, in the Chief, a *Papal Crown Or*. 3. As the first, counterplaced.

The Arms of the Duke of PARMA and PLACENTIA, are Or, *Six Flowers de Lys Azure*.

The Arms of the Elector and Archbishop of MENTZ, is *Gules a Cart Wheel Or*, and over it an Electoral Cap.

Note, That the Wheel is borne in Remembrance of the first Elector of this Church, who being the Son of a Carman, kept always through Humility, a Wheel in his Chamber to remind him of his Extraction.

The Arms of the Elector and Archbishop of TRIERS—The Arms of the Archbishoprick of COLOGN, is a *Cross Sable in a Field Argent*.

The Arms of the Elector of BAVARIA, are those we have blazoned for the present Emperor.

Note, That the Bavarian Arms, *Paly Bendy Argent and Azure*, were antiently borne by the Dukes of Bavaria, for that it resembled the Party coloured Cassocks of the antient Boi; who were those Gauls that attempted the Surprize of the Capitol.

The Arms of the Elector of SAXONY, have been blazoned for the King of Poland.

The Arms of the Elector of BRANDEBOURG, for the King of Prussia.

The Arms of the Elector PALATINE, are quarterly: In the first and fourth, *Sable a Lion Or, crowned, langued, and armed Gules*, for the Palatinate: In the second and third, *Fusil in Bend, Argent and Azure of 21 Pieces with a Mound Or*, which belongs to the Electorate.

Note, That the Arms of the Empress of RUSSIA are, *Or an Eagle displayed with two Heads Sable, bearing on its Breast a Shield*; the Field being *Gules charged with St. George killing the Dragon Argent*; betwixt the Heads of the Eagle are three Crowns placed one above another, which are said to signify Muscovy, and the two Kingdoms of Cassan and Asfracan. They say it was the Tyrant Iwan Basilewitz, who first made use of these Arms, to raise a Belief he was descended from the antient Roman Emperors. Others make the Arms of Muscovy to be *Sable a Portal open of two Leaves and as many Steps Or*.

That the Arms of the Emperor of TURKEY, are *Vert a Crescent Argent, crested with a Turbant, charged with three black Plumes of Heron's Quills*, with this Motto, *Donc totum impleat orbem*.

The Arms of the Republic of VENICE, are *Azure a Lion winged Sejant Or, holding under one of its Paws a Book covered Argent*, supposed to be the Gospel of St. Mark.

The Arms of the Republic of GENOA, are *Argent a Cross Gules with a Crown closed*, by reason of the Isle of Corsica belonging to it, which has the Title of Kingdom. The Supporters are *two Griffins Or*.

The Arms of the Republic of RAGUSA, is the Image of the Virgin Mary.

The Arms of the Republic of LUCCA, are *Azure a Bend, on which is written LIBERTAS, betwixt two Coltises*.

The Arms of the States of HOLLAND, are *Or a Lion Gules, holding with one Paw a Cutlass, and with the other a Bundle of seven Arrows closely bound together* (alluding to the seven confederated Provinces) with this Motto, *Concordia res parvae crescunt*.

The Arms of the Republic of GENEVA, are *Party per Pale Or and Gules*, in the first a *Demi-eagle displayed Sable*, the second a *Key Argent*; with this Devise, *Post tenebras lux*.

Note, That every Canton of Switzerland has its peculiar Coat of Arms, and blazoned in French in the following Manner.

ZURICH, *Porte d'Argent Taillé d'Azure*. These Arms are supported by a Lion standing upright, holding a Bowl or Roundure of the World, with his left Paw forward, and with the other a Sword.

BERN, *Porte de Gueule a la bande d'Or, chargée d'un ours rampant de Sable*. The Supporter a Bear standing upright having on its Thigh a Sword girded.

LUERN, *Porte d'Argent party d'Azure*: The Supporter a naked Switzer, his Head and natural Parts covered

vered with Branches of Oak, and holding in his Right-Hand a Bough of the same.

URI, *Porte d'Or a une Tête de buse de Sable, acorné & buslé ou embucclé de Gueule*: The Supporter a Switzer armed with a Sword and a Poniard.

SWITZ, *Porte de Gueule a la croisette d'Argent*: The Supporter a Switzer armed, bearing a plain Cross upon the Breast-Plate, and a Banner of the same.

UNDERVAL, *Porte de Gueule coupé d'Argent*: The Supporter a Griffin.

ZUG, *Porte d'Argent a la Face d'Azur*: The Supporter an armed Switzer, bearing a Lance in his Left Hand.

GLARYS, *Porte de Gueule un Saint Jaques d'Argent à son bourdon d'Or*: The Supporter an Angel.

BASIL, *D'Argent à l'estuy de Croisse d'Evêque de Sable*: The Supporter a Dragon winged, with two Feet of Griffins.

FRIBURG, *de sable coupé d'Argent*. The Supporter a Servant Switzer, without any other Arm than a Sword.

SOLEURE, *d'Argent coupé de Gueule*. The Supporter a Switzer armed, bearing a Banner of the Canton.

SCHAFFHOUSEN, *D'Or a un Belier sautant de sable a-corne d'Argent*; the Supporter a Ram.

APPENZEL, *d'Argent a l'Ours debout de sable*; the Supporter a Bear standing upright, with the Throat fuming or smoaking out.

The GREAT CHAM of Tartary, in Europe (called *Crim Tartary*) bears *Or three Griffins sable armed Gules*.

The GREAT CHAM of Tartary, in Asia, who is also Emperor of China, bears *Or an Owl sable*.

The EMPEROR of China bears *Argent Three Blackmoors Heads placed in the Front, their Busts vested Gules*. Some say the Arms are *Two Dragons*.

The Arms of the GREAT MOGUL are said to be *Argent Semi of Beasants*.

Note, That as for particular Coats of Arms belonging to particular Houses or Families, there are none in the Indies, neither Estate nor Honour being hereditary, within the Mogul's Dominions.

The Arms of the SOPHY of Persia are various. Some say he bears *the Sun in his Glory in a Field Azure*: Others say a *Crescent*, like the Grand Seignior; others would have it *Or a Dragon Gules*; others again, *Or, a Buffalo's Head sable*; but the last and most received is, *the rising Sun on the Back of a Lyon with a Crescent*.

The Arms of the EMPEROR of Japan, are *Or, six Stars Argent in an oval Shield, and bordered with little Beasants, or Points of Gold*. Some say that his Arms are *Sable three Trefoils Argent*.

The Arms of the EMPEROR of Fez and Morocco, are *Three Wheels Argent in a Field Vert*.

The Arms of the EMPEROR of Abyssinia, or Ethiopia, are a *Lyon supporting a Cross*, with this Motto, *Vicit Leo de Tribu Juda*.

Note, That all these Coats of Arms of the Sovereigns of Asia and Africa (those of the Grand Seignior excepted) are nothing but Imaginations of our European Heralds, who have been pleased (through that Excess of Liberality which engages them to bestow Arms on every Body who is pleased to purchase them, let him be ever so meanly descended) to present those Princes with each their Escutcheon long before they knew any Thing of it.

There has been a great Dispute among the Learned, about the Origin of Arms. Favin will have them to have been from the Beginning of the World; Segoin from the Time of Noah; others from that of Osiris, which is supported by some Passages in *Diodorus Siculus*; others from the Time of the Hebrews, in regard Arms were given to Moses, Joshua, the twelve Tribes, David, &c.

Others will have them to have taken their Rise in the heroical Age, and under the Empires of the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians; building upon *Philostratus*, *Xenophon*, and *Quintus Curtius*.

Some pretend that the Use of Arms, and the Rules of Blazon, were regulated by Alexander. Others will

have them to have had their Original under the Empire of Augustus; others during the Inundations of the Goths; and others under the Empire of Charlemagne.

Chorier observes, that among the antient Gauls, each Man bore a Mark on his Buckler, by the Sight whereof he might be known to his Fellows; and hence he refers the Original of the Arms of noble Families. Camden has observed something like this of the antient Picts and Britons, who going naked to the Wars, painted their Bodies with Blazons, and Figures of divers Colours, which he supposes to have been different in different Families, as they fought divided by Kindreds. Yet Spelman says, that the Saxons, Danes, and Normans first brought Arms from the North into England, and thence into France.

Upon the whole, it is certain, that from Time immemorial, there have been symbolical Marks in Use among Men, to distinguish them in Armies, and to serve as Ornaments of Shields and Ensigns; but these Marks were used arbitrarily as Devices, Emblems, Hieroglyphicks, &c. and were not regular Armories like ours, which should be hereditary Marks of the Nobility of a House, regulated according to the Rules of Heraldry, and authorized by Princes.

Before Marius, even the Eagle was not the constant Ensign of the Roman Army, but they bore in their Standards a Wolf, Leopard, or Eagle indifferently, according to the Fancy of the Generals.

The same Diversity has been observed with Regard to the French and English; on which Account Authors are divided, when they speak of the antient Arms of those Countries. In Effect, it appear from all the best Authors, that the Armories of Houses, as well as the double Names of Families, were not known before the Year 1000; and several have even endeavoured to prove, that the Use of Arms did not begin, till the Time of the first Croisades of the Christians, for the Conquest of the Holy Land.

The Truth is, it appears to have been the antient Tournaments, that occasioned the fixing of Armories. Henry the Fowler, who regulated the Tournaments in Germany, was the first who introduced these Marks of Honour, which appears to be of an older Standing in Germany, than any other Part of Europe. It was then that Coats of Arms were first instituted; which were a Kind of Livery, composed of several Bars, Fillets, and Colours; whence came the Fesse, Pale, Bend, and Lozenge, which were some of the first Elements of Armories. Those who had never been concerned in any Tournament, had no Arms, though they were Gentlemen.

Such of the Nobility and Gentry as crossed the Sea, in the Expeditions to the Holy Land, also assumed these Tokens of Honour to distinguish themselves.

Before these Times, we find nothing upon antient Tombs but Crosses, with Gothic Inscriptions and Representations of the Person deceased. The Tomb of Pope Clement IV. who died in 1268, is the first whereon we find any Arms; nor do they appear on any Coins struck before the Year 1336. We meet with Figures, it is true, much more antient, both in Standards and on Medals; but neither Princes nor Cities ever had Arms in Form; nor does any Author make Mention of Blazoning before that Time.

Originally none but the Nobility had Right of bearing Arms; but Charles V. King of France, having enobled the Parisians by his Charter, in 1371, he permitted them to bear Arms: From whose Example, the most eminent Citizens of other Places did the like.

Camden refers the Original of hereditary Arms in England, to the Time of the first Norman Kings. He says their Use was not established till the Reign of King Henry III. and instances in several of the most considerable Families in England, wherein, till that Time, the Son bore always different Arms from the Father. About the same Time it became the Custom here in England, for private Gentlemen to bear Arms; borrowing them from the Lords of whom they held in Fee, or to whom they were the most devoted.

Arms, at present, follow the Nature of Titles, which being made hereditary, these are also become so; being

the several Marks for distinguishing of Families and Kindred, as Names are of Persons and Individuals.

Note, That several Abuses have been introduced from Time to Time in *Heraldry*, either by *Heralds* or the Princes themselves; *Heralds* by a Motive of Avarice, having blazon'd Arms for Cowards and Scoundrels; and Princes by others as criminal as that, and perhaps the same, having had the scandalous Complaisance of authorizing them; but however, I cannot imagine of what Service a Title and a Coat of Arms can be to such Men, unless it be to render their spurious Birth and Want of Merit more conspicuous; for though it be in the Power of a Prince to give a Title to an unworthy Subject, he cannot give him either Birth or Merit; and though qualified a Nobleman, he remains still a Scoundrel in Reality, to whom an honest and industrious Peasant or Artisan is far preferable; though he has no other *Bearing* but the honourable, though very heavy one, of toiling for the Good of the Commonwealth. Coats of Arms have been so much prodigalized in the last Century, and in this, that they are almost become despicable, and rather the Marks of Unworthiness than of a real Merit, or true Nobility; and what surprizes me most is, that the true Nobility are not ashamed to quarter their Escutcheon (given to their illustrious Ancestors, as a Reward for their signal Services, and to perpetuate in their Descendants the Memory of their noble Exploits) with the spurious one of a rich Scoundrel; who, puffed up with an insolent Pride, is not always contented with that he has bought, but searches some Parasite Genealogists, who to flatter his extravagant and ridiculous Vanity, disguise his spurious Origin, make him descended, or related to the most antient and most illustrious Houses of a Country, carrying sometimes their scandalous Complaisance so far as to quarter his Arms with those of the Prince himself. We have had an Instance of this Kind in *France*, under the late King *Louis XIV.* An Extravagant, whose Grandfather had retail'd Vinegar in the Streets of *Rouen* in *Normandy*, and through some other Means, unknown to every Body but himself, had amassed immense Sums; found a poor Genealogist, who wanting a Dinner, and perceiving that the Vanity of our rich Scoundrel was so excessive, as to have almost entirely disorder'd his Brain, persuaded him, that his Ancestors were very near related to the Crown of *France*, and consequently had a Right to quarter his Arms with Three Flower de Lys. The Fool, elevated at such Discovery, rewarded profusely him who had made it, and soon gave Orders, that his Plate, Coaches, &c. should appear with the new Shield the Genealogist had blazon'd for him. But by Misfortune, Complaints having been made to the King of that extravagant Presumption, and the Princes of the Blood in no Manner approving of their new Kinsman, he was fined by the Court of *Heralds*, 50,000 Crowns, and Officers sent to break all his Plate, Coaches, &c. where his Coat of Arms could be found quartered with that of *France*; but this, instead of rendering him wiser, served only to increase his Folly; for, as he at first contented himself with the Honour of being related to the Crown, his Genealogist persuaded him, that he had since found, in some old Records, that he was lineally descended from the Kings of *France*, of the second Race, and that what had been done against him by the then reigning Family, was by a Motive of Jealousy, because he was of a more antient and more august House than they; which the Fool believed, likewise, and began from that Time to take the Title of *Highness*, ordering his Servants, &c. to treat him henceforward as a Prince, and which Folly accompanied him to the Grave.

In *England*, there is a College of *Heralds*, where (if I be rightly informed) any Body that has no Coat of Arms may be furnished with one at a very moderate Price; though that College was established with far more noble Views; and the Occupations of the Persons who compose it, were design'd to be of a quite different Nature, and agreeable to the Quality of a *Herald*; who,

antiently was an Officer of Arms of great Repute, and possessed of several considerable Functions, Rights, and Privileges.

Antiently their principal Employment was to make out Coats of Arms for those who truly deserved them, Genealogies, and Titles of Nobility. They were the Superintendants of military Exploits, and the Conservators of the Honours of War. They had a Right to take away the Arms of such as for Cowardice, Treason, &c. deserved to be degraded. They had a Commission to examine, and correct the Vices and Disorders of the Nobles, and to exclude them from Jufts, Tournaments, &c. To them belonged the correcting of all Usurpations, Abuses relating to Crowns, Coronets, Casks, Crests, Supporters, &c. they took Cognizance of all Differences among the Nobles, with Respect to their Bearings, the Antiquity of their Families, Precedencies, &c. They went into the Countries to search into the Grounds and Pretensions of the Nobility; and had a Right to open all Libraries, and to command all the antient Charters and Instruments in the Archives to be shewn them. They had Admission into all foreign Courts, where they were commission'd to proclaim War and Peace; and their Persons were held sacred as those of Ambassadors. To them it belonged to make Publication of Jufts and Tournaments, to call the People to them, to signify the Cartels, to mark the Ground, Lift, or Place of Duel, to see fair Play observed, and to divide the Sun between the two Parties. In the Army they advertised the Cavaliers and Captains of the Day of Battle, and assisted therein before the Standard; retiring after the first Onset, to some Place of Eminence, there to observe who behaved best, and to give a faithful Report thereof to the King. They numbered the Dead, relieved the Ensigns, redemanded Prisoners, summon'd Places to surrender, and in Capitulations, walk'd before the Governor of the Place, to secure and warrant his Person. They were the principal Arbitrators of the Distribution of the Spoils of the Vanquished, and of military Rewards. They published Victories, and gave Notification thereof to foreign Courts. They convened the Estates of the Kingdom, assisted at royal Marriages, and frequently made the first Demand, officiated at solemn Feasts, &c.

The modern *Heralds*, *i. e.* those we properly call *Heralds*, have lost a good deal of the Distinction and Offices of the antient ones. What relates to the making out Arms; the rectifying of Abuses committed therein, &c. is chiefly committed to the *King at Arms*, whose Business besides is to direct the *Heralds*, preside at their Chapter, &c.

There are three *Kings at Arms* in *England*, viz. *Garter*, *Clarencieux*, and *Norroy*.

GARTER is the principal *King at Arms*. — As principal *King at Arms*, he has the Offices above-mention'd. And as *Garter* he is to attend the Service of the Order of the *Garter*; for which he is allowed a Mantle and Badge, a House in *Windfor* Castle, and Pensions both from the Sovereign and Knights, lastly Fees. He also carries the Rod and Scepter at every Feast of *St. George*, when the Sovereign is present; notifies the Election of such as are new chosen; attends the Solemnity of their Installations, and takes Care of placing their Arms over their Seats; carries the *Garter* to foreign Kings and Princes; for which Service it has been usual to join him in Commission with some Peer, or other Person of Distinction.

Garter's Oath relates only to Services to be performed within the Order; and is taken in Chapter before the Sovereign and Knights. — His Oath as *King at Arms*, is taken before the Earl Marshal. — This Office was instituted by *Henry V.*

CLARENCIEUX is the second *King at Arms*, thus called from the Duke of *Clarence*, to whom it first belonged. — His Office is to dispose and marshal the Funerals of all the inferior Nobility, as Baroners, Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen, on the South Side of the *Trent*.

NORROY, the last *King at Arms*, is to do the same on the North Side of the River *Trent*.

These two last are also called *Provincial Heralds*; in regard they divide the Kingdom between them into two Provinces.

These by Charter have Power to visit Noblemen's Families, to set down their Pedigrees, distinguish their Arms, &c.

Antiently the *King at Arms* was created, and solemnly crowned by the Kings of *England* themselves; but of later Days the Earl Marshal has a special Commission at every Creation, to personate the King.

To these may be added *Lyons King at Arms*, for *Scotland*, who is the second *King at Arms* for *Great Britain*; he is invested and crown'd with great Solemnity. To him belongs the publishing the King's Proclamations, marshalling Funerals, reversing Arms, &c.

In *England* they have six Heralds, viz. *Richmond, Lancaster, Chester, Windsor, Somerset, and York*; to which may be added a seventh, or *Brunswick Herald*, instituted by King *George I.*

Antiently none could arrive at the Dignity of Herald, without having been seven Years Pursuivant, who is a

Gentleman whose Business is to attend with the Heralds in marshalling and ordering publick Solemnities.

Of the great Number of Pursuivants antiently on Foot, there are now only four remaining, viz. *Blue-Mantle, Rouge-Croix, Rouge-Dragon, and Portcullice*. Who are the lowest Order of Officers belonging to the College of Arms.

The Heralds, with the Kings at Arms, and the four Pursuivants are a College or Corporation erected into such by a Charter of *Richard III.* who granted them divers Privileges; as to be free from Subsidies, Tolls, and all troublesome Offices.

Note, That the Origin of Heralds is very antient. *Stentor* is represented by *Homer* a Herald of the *Greeks*, who had a Voice louder than fifty Men together. — The *Romans* had a College of Heralds, appointed to decide whether a War were just or unjust; and to prevent its coming to open Hostilities, till all the Means had been attempted to decide the Difference in a pacifick Manner.

HERESIES

HERESIES are Errors in essential Points of the *Christian Faith*, maintained with Obstinacy, either by those who broached them first, for which they are called *Heresiarchs*, i. e. Founders or Inventors of Heresies; or by their Disciples or Followers, called for that Reason, *Hereticks*.

I say, that *Heresies are Errors in essential Points of the Christian Faith*; to distinguish *Heresy* from *Schism*, which in the strict Sense it should be understood, is only an Error in the Discipline of the Church, and from *Opinion*, which either does not attack the essential Points of the *Christian Faith*, or, if it does, is not maintain'd with Obstinacy; for it is properly Obstinacy that constitutes the Character of *Heresy*, not the Error; and a real Heretick is properly he who maintains a false Opinion out of a Spirit of Obstinacy, Faction, or Hypocrisy; for when a Man is humble and ingenuous, ready and desirous to receive further Light and Instruction, gives every Thing urged against him its due Weight, he is not guilty of *Heresy*; *Errare possum*, says *St. Augustin*, *Hereticus esse nolo*; i. e. I can err, but I will not be a Heretick.

In fact, Obstinacy is as much the true Characteristick of *Heresy* and of Hereticks, as Pride and Ambition are the Principles thereof; for we shall see throughout this Treatise, that among that almost infinite Multitude of Heresiarchs, who have disturbed the Peace of the *Christian Church* from its very Infancy, and have lacerated the seamless Gown of *Christ*, there have been none, who have not been entirely govern'd by those two Passions, so contrary to that Humility which our divine Saviour had placed for the Corner Stone of his Church, and which the Pagans themselves had admired in the primitive *Christians*. None who could be persuaded to prefer the Decisions of the universal Church to their own private Sentiments, much less to submit themselves to them. It is true, that to blind the ignorant and too credulous, they have affected at first an Abnegation of themselves, and appeared ready to submit themselves, sometimes to the Decisions of him who was esteemed the Chief of the Church, or to those of the Church itself, but that pretended Humility and Submission, never went farther than publick Protestations; which they judged indispensably necessary, to silence those zealous Assertors of the *Christian Faith*, who first discover'd the hidden Poison, and caution'd the Society of the Faithful against it; for when the Judges, to whom themselves had appeal'd, had condemned their Errors, they threw off the Mask, and appear'd at last such as they were in Reality; the disobedient Children of a tender Mother, who after she had employed all human Means to recall them to their

Duty, was forc'd at last to spurn them from her Bosom, as obstinate and rebellious.

I'll trace Heresies, Heresiarchs, and Hereticks, throughout the different Ages of Christianity; from its very Infancy to this present Time; marking all their different Epochs, Progresses, &c. and beginning by that of *Simon Magus*, who was the first Heresiarch.

SIMON MAGUS, was born at *Samaria*, and as he could not, or dar'd not contradict the Deacon *Philip*, sent thither to preach the Gospel, he suffered himself to be baptized with his Fellow Citizens, in the Year of *Christ* 35, of the Emperor *Tiberius* 20.

The News of the Conversion of the *Samaritans* being brought to the Church of *Jerusalem*, *Peter* and *John* were sent thither by the Apostles, to impose their Hands on the new Converts, and to give them the Holy Ghost; which *Philip*, being but a Deacon, could not do. This Imposition of the Hands, was nothing else but what we call at present *Confirmation*; which Bishops only, as Successors of the Apostles in the Episcopacy, can administer to the Faithful, to render them perfect Christians, in the Language of the antient Fathers.

Simon seeing that by the Imposition of the Hands of the Apostles the Holy Ghost descended on the Faithful; and that immediately after the true Believers spoke several Languages they had never learned, offered Money to the Apostles to purchase the same Power; and being reproved by *St. Peter* for his sacrilegious Presumption, and exhorted to repent, and pray for Forgiveness, pray your selves for me, said he, that none of the Misfortunes you have threaten'd me with, should happen to me. But far from being really penitent, and in a Condition to receive the Fruits of their Prayers; he, on the contrary, continued soon after his Departure to sow his Errors among the *Samaritans*, persuading them that he was the great Virtue of God. He also attempted to deceive the *Jews*, whom he saw prejudiced against the Faithful; telling them that he was the Son of God for them, and the Holy Ghost for the Gentiles.

Simon went to *Rome* in the Year of *Christ* 45, and of the Emperor *Claudius* 3; where by the Secrets of Magick he was Master of, he operated so many surprizing Things, which had the Appearance of Miracles, that the *Romans* newly converted, erected him a Statue, as to a God, with the Title of Saint; which *Justinus the Martyr*, and *Tertullian*, in their Apologeticks, reproach them with, as a ridiculous Impiety. It is true, that several learned Men accuse them of having been mistaken, as well as *St. Irenaeus*, and *Eusebius*, on the same Subject, in taking the Name of *Semo Sangus*, or *Sancus*, which was a Divinity adored among the *Romans*, and which *Titus Livius*,

Livius, and *Denis Halicarnassensis* mention, for that of *Simon Sanctus*, the Change of the Letters being not so great. But however, let it be how it will of the magical Deeds of *Simon Magus*, it happened afterwards, that Truth was easily confounded with Falshood, and that all the Miracles which the Christians operated by the Invocation of the Name of Christ, were mistaken for the Effects of Magick, because something much like it had been seen done by a Man known for a Magician.

The principal Errors of *Simon Magus* were, *That all Sorts of Impurities were lawful, even those condemned by Nature itself; that Women might be in common, that there would be no Resurrection of the Bodies; and that God had not created the World, but that the Powers and Principalities had created it with many Imperfections: That an evil Spirit, and not God, had given the Law of Moses; and that no Body could receive the Old Testament without incurring Death.*

His Impudence went so far that he intended to make *Helena*, his Concubine, pass for the Holy Ghost: He used to say, that for her Sake he descended from Heaven, and had created the Angels; that she was that same *Helena* who had caused the War of *Troy*; and what *Homer* had sung of a great Division among Princes on her Account, was but a poetical Fiction, to disguise the Truth of another War kindled by her Beauty among the Angels who had created the World, and who had killed one another without doing her any Harm. He gave her also the Names of *Notion* and *Minerva*, and of that lost Sheep which the good Shepherd was come to seek after. He invented barbarous Names for the Angels, whom he placed in new celestial Globes. The only Means, according to him, of being saved, was to practise his secret Mysteries, which he had mixed with so many Obscenities, that I beg to be excused from mentioning them in this Place.—From this corrupted Source flowed all the infamous and brutish Volupties of the *Gnosticks*, which will render them odious to the latest Ages.

Simon (according to *St. Irenæus*, lib. 1. c. 20.) condemned likewise Free-Will, Good Works, and admitted the Transmigration of Souls from one Body into another.

MENANDER, *Saturninus*, *Basilides*, and *Carpocras*, Disciples of *Simon Magus*, were the next *Heresiarchs*, who appeared in the Year of Christ 68. of *St. Peter* 24. and of the Emperor *Nero* 12. and invented monstrous Abominations.

The *NICOLAÏTES* appeared next, also in the Year of Christ 68. *They denied the Divinity of Jesus Christ by the hypostatical Union, and said that God had only dwelt within him. They maintained that the most lascivious Volupties were good and holy; and that one could eat of the Flesh sacrificed to Idols.*

Note, That it is questioned whether *Nicholas*, one of the seven Deacons, was the Author of this infamous Sect. Some of the Fathers, as *St. Irenæus*, lib. 1. c. 27. *St. Epiphanius*, *Heres.* 25. affirm it, and say, that having been blamed by the Apostles of having took in again his Wife, from whom he had separated himself to live in Continency, he invented a brutish Error to defend his Conduct on that Occasion, teaching that it was necessary to Salvation, to plunge oneself every Day in the most lascivious Pleasures. Others, as *St. Jerom*, *epist.* 1. & 48. say, that the Apostles having reproached him with being jealous of his Wife, he brought her in the Assembly, and permitted her to marry whom she pleased; and that, as if he had caught by that Action, to abandon oneself to carnal Pleasures, some had formed an *Heresy* to which they gave his Name, though very unjustly, since he had never any other Wife but his first: That his Daughters died Virgins, and his only Son preserved his Purity to his Death. They add, that *Nicholas* himself was made Bishop of *Samaria*.

The *CERINTHIAN*s followed the *Nicolaites*, and took their Name from *Cerintus*, who, together with his Disciple *Ebion*, began to dogmatise in the Year of Christ 99. of Pope *Clement* 7. of *Nerva* 1. he was a zealous De-

fender of the Circumcision. *St. Epiphanius* says, that he was the Head of a Faction, which rose at *Jerusalem* against *St. Peter*, on account of some uncircumcised Persons with whom that Apostle had eat.

Cerintus believed that *Jesus Christ* was a mere Man born of *Joseph* and *Mary*; but that in his Baptism a celestial Virtue descended on him in Form of a Dove; by means whereof he was consecrated by the holy Spirit and made Christ. It was by means of this celestial Virtue therefore that he operated so many Miracles, which, as he had received it from Heaven, quitted him after his Passion, and returned to the Place whence it came; so that *Jesus*, whom he called a pure Man, really died and rose again; but that Christ who was distinguished from *Jesus*, did not suffer at all.

Some Authors ascribe the Book of the *Apocalypse* to *Cerintus*; adding, that he published it under the Name of *St. John*, the better to authorize his Reveries touching Christ's Reign in the Flesh: And it is even certain he published some Works of this Kind, under the Title of *Apocalypse*.

St. Epiphanius observes, that when a *Cerinthian* died without Baptism, another Person was baptized in his stead.

The *Cerinthians* received the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, to countenance their Doctrine of Circumcision, from Christ's being circumcised, but they omitted the Genealogy. They discarded the Epistles of *St. Paul*, because that Apostle held the Circumcision abolished. Which Practice of making free with the Scripture, retaining some Books, and rejecting others as apocryphal, when they condemned their Errors, is yet retain'd by Hereticks; and it is surprising that sensible Men would be such voluntary Blinds, as not to discover the Deceit.

The *CHALIASTES* were Hereticks, who pretended that the Saints were to reign with Christ upon Earth, 1000 Years after the Resurrection. Their Chief was *Papias*, who had been Disciple of *St. John the Evangelist*, and who in all Appearance, had founded that Revery on some of the Passages of his Master's *Apocalypse*. *Eusebius* mentions these Hereticks, c. 39. lib. 3. of his Ecclesiastick History.

The *GNOSTICKS* appeared in the Year 99. of Pope *Clement* 7. of *Nerva* 1. They had for their Chief the Heresiarch *Carpocras*, who had been *Cerintus*'s Master.

The Name *Gnostick*, was adopted by those of this Sect, as if they had been the only Persons who had the true Knowledge of Christianity; accordingly they looked on all other Christians as simple, ignorant, and barbarous Persons who explained and interpreted the sacred Writings in a too low, literal, and unedifying Signification.

At first the *Gnosticks* were only the Philosophers and Wits of those Times, who formed themselves a peculiar System of Theology, agreeable to the Philosophy of *Pythagoras* and *Plato*; to which they accommodated all the Interpretations of Scripture. But *Gnosticks* afterwards became a general Name, comprehending divers Sects and Parties of Hereticks, who rose in the first Centuries; and who, though they differed among themselves as to Circumstances, yet all agreed in some common Principles; such were the *Valentinians*, *Simonians*, *Carpocratians*, *Nicolaites*, &c.

Gnostick was sometimes also more particularly attributed to the Successors of the first *Nicolaites* and *Carpocratians*, in the second Century, upon laying aside the Names of the first Authors.

St. Irenæus relates their Sentiments at large, and confutes them at the same Time; shewing the general Principles whereon their mistaken Opinions were founded, and the Method they followed in explaining the Scripture. He accuses them with introducing into Religion certain vain and ridiculous Genealogies, i. e. a Kind of divine Processions or Emanations, which had no other Foundation but in their own Imagination.

In Effect, the *Gnosticks* confessed that these *Æons* or *Emanations*, were no where expressly delivered in the sacred Writings; but insisted, at the same Time, that *Jesus Christ* has intimated them in Parables, to such as could understand him.

They built their Theology, not only on the Gospel and the Epistles of St. Paul, but also on the Law of Moses and the Prophets. These last Laws were particularly serviceable to them, on Account of the Allegories and Allusions they abound withal; which are capable of different Interpretations.

They set a great Value on the Beginning of the Gospel of St. John, where they fancied they saw a great deal of their *Æons* or Emanations under the Words the *Life*, the *Light*, &c.

They divided all Nature into three Kinds of Beings, viz. *hylic* or *material*; *psychic* or *animal*; and *pneumatic* or *spiritual*.

On the like Principle, they also distinguished three Sorts of Men, *material*, *animal*, and *spiritual*. The first, who were *material* and incapable of Knowledge, inevitably perished both Soul and Body: The third, such as the *Gnosticks* themselves pretended to be, were all certainly saved: The *psychic* or *animal*, who were the Middle between the other two, were capable either of being saved or damned, according to their good or evil Actions.

Note, That the Appellation *Gnostick*, sometimes also occurs in a good Sense in the ecclesiastical Writers, and particularly *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who, in the Person of his *Gnosticks*, describes the Characters and Qualities of a perfect Christian. This Point he labours in his seventh Book of his *Stromata*, where he shews that none but the *Gnostick*, or learned Person, has any true Religion. He affirms, that were it possible for the Knowledge of God to be separated from eternal Salvation, the *Gnostick* would make no Scruple to chuse the Knowledge; and that if God should promise him Impunity in doing of any Thing he has once spoken against, or offer him Heaven on those Terms, he would never alter a Whit of his Measures.

In this Sense, that Father uses *Gnosticks* in Opposition to the Hereticks of the same Name; affirming that the true *Gnostick* is grown old in the Study of the Holy Scripture; and that he preserves the orthodox Doctrine of the Apostles and the Church; whereas the false *Gnostick* abandons all the apostolical Traditions, as imagining himself wiser than the Apostles.

At length the Name *Gnostick*, which originally was the most glorious, became infamous by the idle Opinions and dissolute Lives of the Persons who bore it.

The most infamous of the *Gnosticks* were the *CARPOCRATIANS*, Disciples of *Carpocras*, whom S. *Irenæus* says, was the Inventor of the Errors and Reveries of all the *Gnosticks*; and who taught that the Son of God was but a pure Man, whose Soul had nothing above all other Souls, only that it had received more Virtue and more Strength from the God they imagined when it was with him, and before it was infused into his Body. And that superabundant Communication had been made to him, to conquer and expel the evil Spirits which had created the World. He added other Impieties, which I pass over under Silence, lest they should make any Impression on weak Minds.

The *EBIONITES* appear'd in the Year of Christ 79; of Pope *Linus* 5, of the Emperor *Vespasian* 3; thus denominated from their Chief *Ebion*, who had been *Cerintus's* Disciple.

S. *Epiphanius* gives a long and exact Account of the Origin of the *Ebionites*, making them to have risen after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, when the first Christians, called *Nazarenes*, went out of the same to live at *Pella*.

The *Ebionites* then are little else than a Branch of the *Nazarites*; only that they alter'd and corrupted in many Things, the Purity of the Faith held among those first Adherents to Christianity. For this Reason *Origen* distinguishes two Sorts of *Ebionites*, in his Answer to *Celsus*; the one believed that *Jesus Christ* was born of a Virgin; and the other that he was born after the Manner of other Men.

The first were Orthodox in every Thing, except that to the Christian Doctrine, they joined the Ceremonies of the Jewish Law, with the Jews, *Samaritans*, and *Nazarites*; they differ'd from the *Nazarites* however in several Things, chiefly as to what regards the Authority of

the sacred Writings: For the *Nazarites* received all for Scripture, contain'd in the Jewish Canon; whereas the *Ebionites* rejected all the Prophets, and had the very Name of *David*, *Solomon*, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and *Ezekiel* in Abhorrence.

They received nothing of the Old Testament but the Pentateuch, which should intimate them to have descended rather from the *Samaritans* than the Jews. They agreed with the *Nazarites* in using the Hebrew Gospel of St. *Matthew*, otherwise called the Gospel of the twelve Apostles; but had corrupted their Copy in Abundance of Places; and particularly had left out the Genealogy of our Saviour, which was preserved entire in that of the *Nazarites*, and even in those used by the *Cerinthians*. These last, whose Sentiments as to the Birth of our Saviour, were the same with those of the *Ebionites*, built their Error on this very Genealogy.

Besides the Hebrew Gospel of St. *Matthew*, they adopted several other Books, under the Names of St. *James*, *John*, and the other Apostles.

Ebion their Chief, condemned the State of Virginity, employed but Water in the Sacrament of the Eucharist; abstain'd from the Use of Flesh, as believing it bad, and observed almost all the Ceremonies of the Old Testament. He would have every Body marry, leaving the Number of Wives every one may have, to the Intemperancy of his Disciples. He wrote false Acts of the Apostles, and alter'd so the Travels of St. *Peter*, supposed to have been written by St. *Clement*, that there was scarce any Thing of Truth left in them.

The Heresiarch *Valentin*, appear'd in the Beginning of the second Century, i. e. in the Year of Christ 142; of Pope *Telephorus* 1; of the Emperor *Antoninus* 3. He was a very learn'd and very eloquent Man, but full of Ambition, and as he could not bear that another should be preferred to him in the Episcopacy, he abandon'd the Faith of *Jesus Christ*, and found in the Writings of the Poet *Hesiod*, his thirty Gods whom he called *Æons*; he made of them fifteen Males and fifteen Females; and from their Conjunction said that the Saviour was born, like another *Pandora*. He confessed that *Jesus Christ* had passed through the Virgin *Mary* with a Body he had brought from Heaven; and that all Men should not rise from the Dead; he published a Gospel and Psalms under his Name. *Tertullian* relates several other Dreams of *Valentin*, which he says refute themselves.

About the same Time appear'd another ridiculous Sect, called of the *OPHITES*, one *Euphrates* having been, according to *Origen*, lib. 6. *contr. Cels. Tertullian*, de *Præscript. c.* 47. *Theodoret*, *Heret. Fab. lib.* 10. the Author thereof.

The *OPHITES* were thus called because they honour'd a Serpent, some of them pretending that the Serpent who tempted *Eve* was *Jesus Christ* himself, and the others that he changed himself into that Animal. When their Priests celebrated the Mysteries, they used to make one of those Animals come out of a Hole, and after he had rolled himself on the Elements, they believed that *Jesus Christ* had sanctified them, and therefore presented them to the People to be ador'd.

The *CAINITES* appear'd likewise about the same Time, called *Cainites* from *Cain*, who they said had been form'd by a celestial and omnipotent Virtue, whereas *Abel* had been form'd by a very weak one. They maintain'd, that to be saved, one should try all Things, and commit all Kinds of Debaucheries to gratify one's Luxury. They imagined a great Number of Angels to whom they gave barbarous Names, attributing to each of them a particular Sin; so that when they wanted to commit a Sin, they invoked that Angel whom they had made to preside to that Sin. They had composed a Book under the Title of the Ascension of St. *Paul* into Heaven, which was full of Blasphemies and execrable Obscenities; as if they had been the secret Words which the Apostle had heard in his Ravishment. They honoured with a peculiar Worship, *Cain*, *Corab*, the *Sodomites*, and particularly *Judas* the Traitor, because by his Treason he had occasioned the Death of *Jesus Christ*; and made use of a Gospel written under his Name.

M m

In

In Opposition to the *Cainites*, another Sect of Hereticks was form'd, called by the Name of *SETH*. They used to teach that two Angels having created one *Cain* and the other *Abel*, and this having been killed, the great Virtue which was above all the other Virtues, had determined that *Seth* should be conceiv'd as a pure Seed, in order that those two first Angels should be depriv'd of their Power. That the Angels having copulated together, the great Virtue had sent the Deluge to destroy the wicked Generation, produced by such a Mixture; notwithstanding which, Part thereof had found Means to creep into the Ark, whence the Depravity of Manners had provignated afterwards into the World.

These Hereticks composed several Books under the Names of *Seth*, *Abraham*, *Moses*, and of the other Patriarchs. As for *Jesus Christ*, they said he was *Seth*, or occupied *Seth's* Place.

CERDON would also have a Place in this infamous Catalogue. He admitted two Gods, one good and the other bad. He rejected the Law, the Prophets, the Gospels of *St. Matthew*, *St. Mark*, and of *St. John*, and Part of that of *St. Luke*; the Acts of the Apostles, the Apocalypse, and several of the Epistles of *St. Paul*. As for *Jesus Christ*, he said that he was come with the Appearance, and not the Truth of a human Body, and admitted the Resurrection but for the Soul.

Cerdon was a *Syrian*, who came to *Rome* in the Time of Pope *Hyginus*; and there abjured his Errors; but in Appearance only, for he was afterwards convicted of persisting in them, and accordingly cast out of the Church again. — His Followers were called *Cerdonians*.

MARCION, Disciple of *Cerdon*, was the Son of a holy Bishop. In his first Years he preserved his Purity, but having been convicted of a Sacrilege with a Virgin, his Father expelled him from the Church. Being come to *Rome*, and having been refused the ecclesiastical Communion, at the Desire of his own Father, Spite engag'd him in the Heresy of *Cerdon*, which he followed for some time, and afterwards invented a new one.

Like his Master *Cerdon*, he laid down two Principles, the one good, the other bad; he denied the real Birth, Incarnation and Passion of *Jesus Christ*, and held them to be all apparent only: He taught two *Christs*, one who had been sent by an unknown God for the Salvation of all the World; another whom the Creator would one Day send to re-establish the *Jews*. He denied the Resurrection of the Body, and allowed none to be baptized, but those who preserved their Continence; but these he granted might be baptized three Times.

He rejected the Law and the Prophets; pretended the Gospel had been corrupted by false Prophets, and allowed none of the Evangelists but *St. Luke*, whom he altered in many Places, as well as the Epistles of *St. Paul*, a great many Things in which he threw out. In his own Copy of *St. Luke*, he threw out the two first Chapters entire.

Marcion meeting once, in the Streets of *Rome*, *S. Polycarp*, Disciple of *St. John*, he ask'd him if he knew him, to which *Polycarp* answer'd, *Yes, I know thee for the first-born of the Devil*.

Marcion began to dogmatize in the Year 146. of Pope *Telephorus* 5; of the Emperor *Antoninus* 7. His Disciples were called *Marcionites*.

APELLES, who was one of his principal Disciples, having been expelled from his Communion for some carnal Action, invented another Heresy, or rather learn'd it, from a young Woman, called *Philumenes*, who was possessed by the Devil, and whom he pretended was inspir'd by the Holy Ghost. He admitted but one Principle, whom he composed of an infinite Number of Parts; he rejected the Law and the Prophets, and gave Christ but an æthereal Body, leaving in his Ascension into Heaven, to each Element what he had borrowed from it, and therefore denied the Resurrection of the Bodies.

The *SEVERTIANS*, were a Branch of that bad Trunk, and besides *Apelles's* Errors, which they professed, rejected the Use of Wine, which they said proceeds from the Conjunction of the Serpent with the Earth; and con-

demn'd Women as having been form'd by an evil Virtue.

MONTANUS broached another Heresy, in the Year of *Christ* 173, of Pope *Anicet* 7; of the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius* 11; the more dangerous because disguised under a very great Appearance of Piety; for he was supposed endued with the Gift of Prophecy and Miracles; and to have an Uniformity of Sentiment with the Catholick Dogma's. The Pope *Pius*, had been deceived by those Appearances, and had given *Montanus* pacifick Letters, which shewed that he admitted him to his Communion. But *Praxeas* coming into *Asia*, informed the Pope of the Errors of *Montanus*, so that he revoked his Letters. His Pride render'd him Herefiarch after his Baptism, and instead of making good Use of the Grace of Regeneration, which is a Grace of Humility, he conceived so extravagant an Opinion of himself, that he thought the greatest Dignities of the Church far beneath his Merit; and preferred running to the Precipice, through an extraordinary Road, to walking with Security through that followed by every Body else. The Devil seiz'd him, and he began to give himself for a Prophet.

He first gained by his Impostures two Women of great Quality, viz. *Priscilla* and *Maximilla*, who, from his Pupils, became soon Mistresses in his Heresies. Their large Estates contributed much to corrupt those who preferred a temporal Ease to the Integrity of the Faith, which is but too common among Christians.

Their Errors could not be so secretly sowed, but they were soon discovered by the Bishops of *Asia*. The most learned among those Bishops wrote against them, especially *Apollinaris*, Bishop of *Hieropolis*, *Miltiades*, *Apollonius*, and *Serapio*. The Bishops assembled several Synods, where they were condemn'd; and at last *Montanus* and *Maximilla* being agitated by the evil Spirit, died both of *Judas's* Death, and strangled themselves. *Theodotus*, one of their chief Disciples, being carried by the Devil into the Air, was precipitated to the Earth, where he expired. However, *Apollinaris*, who relates these Deaths, does not give them for certain as to the Manner.

Montanus called himself the *Comforter*, promis'd by the Son of God to his Apostles; not that, in my Opinion, he would be accounted the third Person of the Blessed Trinity; but he wanted that People should believe that no Body had ever so great a Plenitude of the Holy Spirit as he had, to communicate it to the Faithful, without excepting even those on whom it descended on the Day of *Pentecost*; so that according to his Dreams, he had a higher or more sublime Knowledge than the Founders of the Christian Church, and taught greater Truths, and a more perfect Life.

Besides these Impieties, *Montanus* condemned a second Marriage as an Adultery, and permitted the Dissolution of Marriages, taking from their lawful Husbands the Women who follow'd him. He order'd the extraordinary Fast of three *Lents*, and wanted to oblige the whole Church to it by his own private Authority. He would not that any should fly Martyrdom, under any Pretence whatsoever, contrary to the express Words of our Lord, who commands to fly from one City to another if one be persecuted; and against the Example of the Apostles, who on several Occasions, had withdrawn from the Places where they were afraid of being put to Death.

The *Montanists* said, besides, that God the Father wanted to save the World by the Law and the Prophets, but as he could not succeed therein, he had been incarnated in the Bosom of the Virgin *Mary*, had preached in *Jesus Christ*, and suffered Death under his Figure. But this proving not yet sufficient for the Salvation of the World, he dwelt by the Holy Ghost in *Montanus* and their *Cenones*. They placed Bishops the third in Order, i. e. after their Patriarchs and *Cenones*. They were besides so rigid, that for the smallest Faults they expelled their Followers from their Church. From their very beginning they divided themselves into three Families, of *Cataphrigians*, *Proclians*, and *Æchinians*. These used to teach particularly that *Jesus Christ* was the Son and the Father in the Trinity.

These

These gave Birth to several other Monsters, viz. to the *Quintillians*, *Priscillians*, *Artotbyrites*, who made the Eucharist with Bread and Cheese, and the *Pepuzians*. These took their Name from a Borough of *Phrygia*, called *Pepuzium*, which they called *Jerusalem*, where they wanted every Body should resort from all Parts. Women were Bishops and Priests among them. These Plagues infected *Phrygia*, *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, and *Cilicia*, till the Time of St. *Epiphanius*.

As if it had not been enough for these to disturb the Peace of the Church, *Tatian*, born in *Syria*, revolted against it in the Year 174, of Pope *Anicet* 8; of *Marcus Aurelius* 12; and made himself Chief of the Sect of the ENCRATISTES, i. e. Continentals.

TATIAN had appear'd for a considerable Time as a Man of an eminent Piety, and of an extraordinary Learning. He had wrote several excellent Books, among which *Origen* quotes a marvellous Treatise in Defence of the *Christians* against the *Greeks*; where he shews the Impertinence of the Belief of the *Gentiles*, on the Nature and the Crimes their Priests render their Gods guilty, and the Diversity of Opinions of their Philosophers; which shews that it is not in their Books that Truth is to be found. There are several Things in it either false or suspicious, which he mixes with Truths; as, that the Soul, which is mortal of its Nature, becomes immortal: He speaks of the Devils, in the Manner of the *Platonicians*, and of the Word of God, as if he was not co-eternal with his Father. This Work is placed in the fourth Tome of the Bibliotheca of the Fathers behind the Works of *Justinus the Martyr*, who had been *Tatian's* Master.

While *Justinus* lived, *Tatian* remain'd within the Bounds of the true Doctrine; but after his Death he left *Rome*, and return'd into the East, where Pride and Learning swelling up his Mind, made him fall into the Errors of the *Valentinians* and *Marcionites*. He said that *Adam* was damn'd. He condemn'd Matrimony as a detestable Conjunction, under Pretence of teaching his Disciples an angelical Life, by keeping their Virginity. He used nothing but Water in the Celebration of the Eucharist, and forbad his Disciples the Use of Wine and Flesh. He compos'd a Kind of Harmony of the four Evangelists, which was but a mere Confusion, having omitted all that could prove the Truth of the Body of the Son of God, which he denied. Besides this Work, he published another, entitled, *Of the Perfection according to the Lord*, which, in his erroneous Opinion, consisted in abstaining from Matrimony, and from several other Things permitted in the Gospel.

SEVERUS his Disciple, adding new Blasphemies to those of his wicked Master, form'd a Sect of his Name, who rejected the Epistles of St. *Paul*, and the Acts of the Apostles. He taught that the Woman was the Work of the Devil, and consequently all those who married did his Work. He divid'd Man into two Pieces, attributing the Parts from the Head to the Navel, to God, and the rest to the evil Power. *Musanus* and *Apollinaris*, *Clement Alexandrinus* and *Origen*, have wrote against the Errors of *Tatian*.

Eusebius, lib. 5. c. 14. mentions another of his Pupils, called *Rhodo*, whom he had educated while yet orthodox; and who compos'd several excellent Books against the Errors of *Marcian* and *Apelles*, which are lost, with a vast Number of others.

In the Year 175. of Pope *Soterius* 1; of *Marcus Aurelius* 13. BARDESANES, born a *Syrian*, and Disciple of *Valentin*, after he had wrote several Treatises against him, full of Learning and Eloquence, and attacked with the same Force the *Marcionites* and other Sects of his Time, lost all at once the Light of the Truth, and fell into the Errors he had refuted. St. *Epiphanius*, *Har.* 56. compares him in his End to a Ship loaded with rich Merchandizes, which, after it has made a long and good Voyage, comes to be wrecked at the Port. St. *Jerom*, lib. de *Script. eccles.* admires his Treatise of Fate. *Apollonius* of *Chalcedon*, the best Philosopher of his Time among the Stoicks, and who was *Marcus Aurelius's* Master in Philosophy, did all he could to engage *Bardanes* to deny the Christian Religion. Not only he resisted his Sollicitations,

but he likewise compos'd Treatises to defend the Doctrine he was sollicit'd to abandon. But his End did not answer these glorious Beginnings.

Bardanes, besides the Errors of *Valentin*, denied the Resurrection of the Dead. He left some Followers, who were called *Bardesanians*, and who invented new Dreams. He had a Son called *Harmonius*, a very learned Man, and who published several Books, which were very learnedly refuted by S. *Ephrem* of *Edeffa*.

PTOLEMÆE, who had likewise studied in *Valentin's* School, made also about the same Time a Sect a-part. St. *Irenæus* says, lib. 1. c. 5. that he gave two Wives to God, viz. *Intelligence* and *Will*, from whom he said, he generated the other Gods.

HERACLEO would also have the Glory of publishing new Follies, which differed no otherwise from those of *Valentin*, but in the Manner of telling them.

MARCK, was the worst of *Valentin's* Scholars. By magical Illusions he us'd to make Blood appear in the eucharistical Chalice, whence we may learn that the Belief of the Church of his Time was, that in the Eucharist there was something besides Wine. He operated other false Miracles, which seduced the Simple, and established the Impiety of his Dogma's. Women were easier deceiv'd than Men; and he took a particular Care to gain those who were either rich or handsome; for under Pretence of making them Prophetesses, and Partakers of that great and celestial Grace, the Source whereof he pretended was in him, he used to get several considerable Sums of those who were rich, and make the handsome ones believe, that in consenting to his Desires, they did an Act of Piety which filled them with the Holy Ghost.

COLOBARSIVS, another Disciple of *Valentin*, rivalled all his Companions by Dogma's still more detestable. The *Archonticks* rejected all the Sacraments; placed the perfect Redemption in a chimerical Knowledge, and denied the Resurrection of the Dead. They said besides, that the *Sabbaoth* God used to exercise a cruel Tyranny in the seventh Heaven, and that he had generated the Devil, from whom *Abel* and *Cain* were born by *Eve*.

THEODOTUS, in the Year 196. of Pope *Victor* 3; of the Emperor *Severus* 2; a Currier by Trade, after he had denied *Jesus Christ* in the first Persecution, added a new Crime to his Apostacy, teaching that our Lord had been conceived by the Operation of the Holy Ghost, but that he was but a pure Man, who only excelled all others in Justice and Holiness. He came to *Rome* to teach his Heresy, and remained hid for a considerable Time; but he was discover'd at last, and Pope *Victor* excommunicated him.

ARTÆMON soon after follow'd him in the same Blasphemy, and gave to the Son of God but some small Advantages over the Prophets. Another *Theodotus*, on the contrary, made him inferior to *Melchisedech*, who was, said they, eternal, without Father or Mother, and the Advocate of the Angels; whereas *Jesus Christ*, it is true, was born of the Holy Ghost and of the Virgin *Mary*, but was only a Man, and had exercis'd the Office of Mediator but for Men only.

The MONARCHICKS, who confessed but one single Person in the Trinity, and said, that the Father had been crucified, appear'd likewise under this Pontificate, and were Off-springs of *Praxeas*, *Montanus's* Disciple, whom he abandon'd, and even discover'd to Pope *Pius*, who was not yet very well persuaded of the Impieties of that Heresiarch. *Tertullian* being turn'd *Montanist*, wrote against this *Praxeas* with much Vehemency.

In the Year 1216. of Pope *Zephyrinus* 14; of the Emperor *Antoninus* 4. TERTULLIAN, who had been so strenuous an Asserter of the true Faith, abandon'd it: His natural Austerity, and his Pride proceeding from his profound Learning, could not bear that Pope *Zephyrinus* should use so much Meekness, as to receive Adulterers to publick Penance; and this was the first Occasion of his Fall. It is not very well known what *Tertullian* did, or what became of him afterwards. He left several Disciples behind him, who called themselves *Tertullianists*. St. *Augustin*, in his Book of the Heresies says, that in his Time they were entirely extinct.

One of their principal Errors was relating to the Nature of the Soul, which they pretended came from Parents; and of the Conversion of those of the Wicked into Devils. The Church had admir'd his Writings against the *Marcionites*, the *Valentinians*, the *Jews*, and other like Hereticks. *Vincent of Lerins*, speaking of his Works, says, that they contain as many Sentences as Words, and that the Sense of every one of them is a Victory. Never Beginning gave so great Hopes, and had an End so different; so that the Errors of his last Books invalidated the Authority of the first; and he was, to use *St. Hilary's* Expression, a great Temptation in God's Church. Notwithstanding which *St. Cyprian* used to read them assiduously, and when he asked for them, us'd to say, *Give me the Master*. *St. Jerom*, who loved to read them, answer'd to those who found it strange, that he admir'd the Genius of the Author, but condemned his Heresies.

As *Tertullian* had a natural Severity, he found that *Proclus*, Disciple of *Montanus*, taught a Manner of Life more modest and less unreasonable, which was conformable to his Humour. For on one Side he said nothing against the Trinity and the Incarnation; and 'on the other, he exhorted his Followers to frequent Fasts, to a rigorous Continence, and to a great Desire of Martyrdom, which he maintain'd it was not permitted to fly. These outward Appearances of Piety, deceived *Tertullian*, and increased the Distaste he had taken for the Church; either because his Countryman *Victor* had been raised to the Pontificate to his Prejudice; or because he had been refused the Bishoprick of *Carthage*; or for the Persecution the Priests of *Rome* made him suffer. He lost by Degrees the Light of the Faith, and at last revolted openly against that Church he had so well defended. He abandon'd himself to believe ridiculous Revelations, and the false Prophecies of a new Paraclet, and of certain Women, as if he had been a Child. But the more a Mind is exalted, the greater is its Fall, as soon as God's Grace, which it has despised, forsakes it, and leaves it to his own Conduct.

The Sect of the *HELICÆSAITES*, appear'd in the Year 250. of Pope *Fabian* 13; of the Emperor *Philip* 5; they rejected all the Epistles of *St. Paul*, and were of Opinion, that one might renounce the Faith by Mouth, provided he kept it in his Heart. *S. Epiphanius*, *Hæres.* 16 & 13. calls them *Sampsæans*; and says, that in his Time, there were two Women of the Race of the Authors of that Heresy, whom their Followers ador'd.

In the Year 254. of Pope *Cornelius* 1; of the Emperor *Decius* 2; began the Schism and Heresy of the *Novatians*.

NOVATIAN, their Chief, was a Priest who associated himself with *Novatus*, who was Bishop of a Church in *Africa*; the Name thereof is unknown. Though he shewed himself entirely unworthy of that Quality, and *St. Cyprian*, who never speaks ill of any Body, speaks of him as of a Man who loved Novelties, of a fordid Avarice, haughty to Excess, perfidious without Shame, and Adulator without Discretion. As a fatal Torch, carried Fire every where. His Discourses excited nothing but Tempests. He was a pacifick Enemy of the Peace. The Pupils committed to his Care, used to find in him an unpitiable Thief; Widows an Enemy of their Purity; and the Poor a sacrilegious Despiser of their Misery. He had left his Father to die of Hunger, and after his Death took no Care of his Burial.

Novatian, with the Assistance of his Colleague *Novatus*, caused himself to be elected Bishop of *Rome*, to supplant Pope *Cornelius*, already canonically elected, under Pretence that *Cornelius's* Meekness in receiving too easily Sinners to Repentance, render'd him unworthy of the Pontificate. For *Novatian* refused absolutely to receive Sinners to Repentance. To this Error his Followers added others, viz. that the Church had no Power to remit Sins committed after Baptism; and that the second Nuptials were unlawful.

SABELLIUS appear'd in the Year 263. of Pope *Denis* 3; of the Emperor *Galienus* 9. He was Disciple of *Noëtus*, who confounding the Nature and the Persons of the Trinity, taught that there was no Dis-

tinction between them, but that they were one, like the divine Essence, and the same as the Body, the Soul, and the Mind make but one Man; whence it followed that the Father and the Holy Ghost had suffered Death. *Tertullian* attributes this Error to *Praxeas*, and *St. Ignatius of Antioch* writes that this Blasphemy had been advanced in his Time. *St. Epiphanius* says, that *Sabellius* had took his Error in some apocryphal Books, and particularly in that called the Gospel of the *Egyptians*, where our Lord was introduced teaching his Apostles, as a great Mystery, that the Father and the Son were but one Person.

A Bishop of *Egypt*, called *Nepos*, maintain'd with so much Obstinacy, and defended with so much Eloquence the Error of the *Millenarians*, in the Year 264. of Pope *Denis* 4; of the Emperor *Galienus* 10; that several embraced it; because it flatter'd much the carnal Sensuality, for it persuaded them that after the universal Judgment, the Predestinates were to remain on Earth to enjoy all Sorts of Pleasures, those of the Body, as well as those of the Mind. *Nepos* founded this Dream on a Passage of the Apocalypse misunderstood. He was famous for his Learning, and for several Hymns he had composed for the Church. But *Denis* of *Alexandria*, who mentions this, adds, that though he honoured his Merit, and loved his Person, he notwithstanding loved the Truth still better.

Antioch had a much more dangerous Enemy in *Paul* of *Samosate* its Bishop, who denied, with *Sabellius*, the Distinction of the divine Persons, and taught with *Artemon*, that the Word was descended into *Christ*, had alone operated by him, and afterwards was returned to his Father. He established likewise two distinct Persons in *Christ*, viz. the Word Son of God, and *Christ*, who, he maintained had not been before *Mary*, but had received the Name of the Son of God as a Reward for his Good Works. From these impious Principles he concluded, that in the Eucharist the Blood of our Lord was corruptible.

The *MANICHEANS* appear'd in the Year 275. of Pope *Eutichian* 1; of the Emperor *Aurelian* 5; their Sect began as follows:

A Man called *Tarebinthus*, Disciple of *Syrlbanus*, who was both a great Philosopher and a Magician, found in *Persia*, where he had been obliged to fly from *Palestina*, the Priests and the Learned of the Country so extremely averse to his Errors, that he was forc'd to take Sanctuary in the House of a Widow to save his Life; but being pursued thither, he began to invoke the Devil, who could not hinder him from being killed. The Landlady, by that Means, being left Heiress of his Books and of his Money, having no Relations, bought a Slave called *Curbius*, whom she adopted afterwards, and had him instructed in the Sciences at that Time studied in *Persia*. Thus he became a Kind of Philosopher, and after the Decease of his Benefactress, he quitted the Name of *Curbius*, lest some Time or other he should be reproach'd with his former Condition, and took that of *Manes*, which in the *Persian* Tongue signifies a Disputer. He not only qualified himself Apostle of *Christ*, but likewise called himself the Holy Ghost he had promis'd. He taught two Principles, one good and the other bad; that from the first proceeded the good Soul, and from the latter the bad Soul and the Body, and all corporeal Creatures. By a necessary Consequence of this Dream, he denied the Resurrection, and condemn'd Matrimony; but as neither himself nor his Disciples were very chaste, he permitted them to plunge themselves into all Sorts of carnal Pleasures, and renewed all the Impurities of the *Gnosticks*, under Pretence to shame the Flesh, and to injure it. He would not allow that the Poor who were not of his Sect should be relieved. He attributed the Motions of the carnal Concupiscence to the bad Soul. In his Opinion the Corruption was not cured by Grace, but the bad Substance was separated from the Good, and subsisted eternally in the Globe of Darkness, whereinto it returned, and where it was detained as in an eternal Prison. He admitted the Transmigration of *Pythagoras*, and made the Souls of those of his Sect to pass through the Elements, whence they ascend.

ascended into the Globe of the Moon, and from thence into that of the Sun, where they are purified, and lastly arrive to God, to whom they are re-united. As for those of other Men, he placed them in Hell, from whence they were released after they had been tormented by the Devil, to return into other Bodies; and if they did not grow better, they were sent back into a great Fire. He denied the Free Will by the fatal Necessity he introduced, which, according to his Principle, forc'd the Will in Spite of itself, to love or hate, without being able to resist, no more than that of the Brutes does to their natural Instinct. He maintain'd that *Jesus Christ* had no real Body, that he was neither dead, nor risen from the Dead, that he had no Unity of Essence with his Father, but a Part only. He said besides, that he was the Serpent which tempted *Eve*, and gave her the Knowledge of Good and Evil. He placed him in the Sun, as he did the Holy Ghost in the Air; the Wisdom in the Moon, and the Father in an Abyss of Light: Therefore he ador'd these two Planets, and believed them made of the pure Substance of God. He rejected the Prophets, and the Old Law as bad, and established by one of the Princes of Darknes; and retain'd of the sacred Scriptures but what pleased him most. He gave a Soul to Plants and Herbs, and abhorred those who pluck'd them out to cultivate the Ground; he believed that there were Portions of the Divinity united to them, and that when eaten by his Followers, those Portions were set at Liberty, and return'd to their Whole; whereas, on the contrary, when the Catholicks used them, these Portions remain'd Prisoners, which they consider'd as a great Crime. They condemn'd the Use of Eggs, of Milk, and of Cheese, and that of Wine, as Creatures of the bad Principle. He abhor'd a political Government, teaching Disobedience to legitimate Sovereigns and Magistrates; condemn'd the most just Wars, and Agriculture. But however, as for this he used to say that God would forgive it, because it contributed towards the Subsistence of the Elect. He baptized, but with a Form different from that of the Church.

The Sect of the *Manicheans* was divided into two Classes, viz. of *Auditors* and of *Elects*, to imitate the Church divided into Clerks and Laicks. Of these *Elects*, twelve were called Masters, supposed to represent the twelve Apostles. There was a third, who was like their Pope; those created their Bishops, who were seventy-two in Number, and the Bishops made Priests, and had Deacons.

It is almost impossible to relate all the Dreams and Impieties of this Heresiarch; of whom the Pope St. *Leo* speaking, says, that the Devil who reigns in all the Heresies, has built as a Fortress, and as it were established his Throne in that of the *Manicheans*, where he reigned, not by a single Species of Error, but by all the Impieties, and all the Follies the human Mind is capable of. For all that the *Pagans* have the most profane; the *Jews* the most blind and carnal; the Secrets of Magick the most forbidden; and the Heresies the most sacrilegious, has ran into that Sect as into a Common Sewer.

HEIRAX, born in *Egypt*, who was Master of all the Sciences of the *Greeks*, and very well versed in Astrology, began the Sect of the *ABSTINENTS*, in the Year of *Christ* 287. of Pope *Cajus* 4; of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, Emperors, 4. He had been a *Christian*, but he did not remain long faithful, and his Pride proceeding from his rare Genius, proved his Fall. For instead of reading the Scripture with a *Christian* Humility, and of following the Interpretations received in the Church, he walked through new Roads which led him into the Precipice. He denied the Resurrection of the Bodies, but not of the Souls; and said, that none but those who lived in Celibacy should be saved; that Children dead before the Age of Discretion, should not see God: That Paradise was not sensible, and that *Melchisedeck* was the Holy Ghost: He distinguished the Substance of the Word from that of the Father, and compared it to a Lamp with two lighted Cottons, as if there had been a Nature common between both, from which the one and the other borrow'd their Light.

They were called *Abstinentes*, because they abstained

VOL. II.

from Wine, and several Sorts of Foods, in which they symbolized with the *Manicheans*.

Their Master compos'd a Treatise of the Work of the six Days, which he fill'd with puerile Fables, and fastuous Allegories. He was the more proper to seduce the Simple, because he profess'd in Appearance a very great Piety, receiving to his Communion but continent Persons and Solitaries.

The Sect of the *DONATISTS*, began in the Year 311; thus denominated from their Leader *Donatus*; when in the Room of *Mensurius*, who died in the preceding Year in his Return to *Rome*, *Cecilian* was elected Bishop of *Carthage*; whom the People refused to acknowledge, and to whom they oppos'd *Majorinus*, who accordingly was ordain'd by *Donatus*, Bishop of *Casæ Nigræ*. They were condemn'd in a Council held at *Rome*, two Years after their Separation from the Catholick Church; and afterwards in another at *Arles* the Year following.

The Errors of the *Donatists*, besides their Schism, were, that Baptism confer'd out of the Church, that is, out of their Sect, was null. That there was no Church but in *Africa*: All the rest of the Churches they held as prostitute and fallen, which has always been the Language of the Hereticks in all Ages.

Donatus seems likewise to have given into the Doctrine of the *Arians*, with whom he was closely allied; and accordingly St. *Epiphanius*, *Theodoret*, and some other accuse the *Donatists* of *Arianism*. But St. *Augustin*, Epist. 185. to Count *Boniface*, affirms, that the *Donatists*, in this Point, kept clear of the Errors of their Leader.

In the Year 344, under the Empire of *Theodosius the Great*, there arose a Schism among the *Donatists* themselves, by which they were divided into two Parties. For *Parminian* their Bishop being dead, some elected *Primian*, and were called *Primianists*; and others *Maximian*, called *Maximianists*. The *Donatists* had likewise other Appellations, as *Circumcelliones*, *Montenses*, or *Mountainers*, *Capites*, *Rupites*, &c.

They held three Councils or Counciliabules; that of *Cirta* in *Numidia*, and two at *Carthage*. *Constantine* decreed Exile and even Death against the *Donatists*. *Constantinus* and *Honorius* made Laws for their Banishment; and *Theodosius* and *Honorius* condemn'd them to grievous Punishments.

ARIUS, Priest of *Alexandria*, published his Errors in the Beginning of the fourth Century; which Errors I have described at large in my Treatise of *Arianism*, under the Letter *A*.

About the same Time *ÆCIUS*, called the *Atheist*, invented a new Heresy at *Antioch*, where he was born, and where he had been ordain'd Deacon by *Leontius*; trusting to a superficial and imperfect Knowledge he had of the Catagories of *Aristotle*, he made use of it to draw very bad Consequences therefrom; and ignorant of the End *Aristotle* had propos'd to himself from them, they only served to deceive *Æcius*. For *Aristotle* had wrote that Book only to exercise young Men, and to learn them to propose captious Arguments to the Sophists, who despised Philosophy. The Academicians who have explain'd the Books of *Plato* and *Plotinus*, have found Fault with the Subtilties of *Aristotle*.

As *Æcius* had not an Academician for his Master, he minded more those vain Subtilties, and could not conceive an eternal Generation, nor how he who has been generated, can be co-eternal to him by whom he is generated. Besides, he had but an indifferent Capacity, no Knowledge of the sacred Scripture, and had only exercis'd himself in the Art of Disputation. He had never read the ecclesiastical Authors, and despised *Clemens Africanus*, *Origen*, and all the others, who had distinguished themselves by their profound Erudition. He wrote Letters to the Emperor *Constantinus*, and to others, full of captious Arguments, which procur'd him the scandalous Name of *Atheist*. Though he profess'd the Belief of the *Arians*, they notwithstanding consider'd him as an Heretick, because they could not understand him. When they had separated him from their Communion, he pretended to have renounced it first. He had some Followers called *ÆCIANS*.

In the same Century, *EUSTATIUS*, Bishop of *Sebastæ*,

N n

in

in *Armenia*, broached a new *Heresy*, teaching that it was not lawful to marry, nor to use certain Food. He had separated several married Persons from his Communion, and advised those who appeared to have some Reluctancy against coming to Church, to take the Eucharist in their own Houses. He used to debauch, under Pretence of Piety, Servants from the Service of their Masters: He went clothed in the Manner of the Philosophers: He advised his Female Profelytes to cut their Hair, and excused them from observing the Feasts appointed by the Church; but he would have them fast on *Sunday*. Lastly, he had forbid praying in the Houses of married People, and maintained that the Benediction of a Priest who had been lawfully married, was to be avoided as a Prophanation and a Sacrilege. He was deposed by the Council of *Gangres* in *Paphlagonia*, and his Errors condemned.

MACEDONIUS Bishop of *Constantinople*, confessed that the Son was not Consubstantial with the Father, but only semblable to him in all Things. He excluded the Holy Ghost from the blessed Trinity, pretending that he was but a *Creature*.

The APOLLINARISTS, were thus called from *Apollinaris* of *Laodicea*, their Leader, who invested Christ with I know not what fanciful Kind of Flesh, which he supposed to have existed with the Son from all Eternity. He also distinguished between the Soul of Christ, and what the *Greeks* call *νους*, Mind or Understanding; and from this Distinction took Occasion to assert, that Christ assumed a Soul without its Understanding, and that this Defect was supplied by the Word; though some of his Followers held that Christ had no human Soul at all.

Apollinaris taught farther, that the Souls of Men were propagated by other Souls, as well as their Bodies. *Theodoret* charges him with confounding the Persons of the Godhead, and with giving into the Errors of *Sabelius*: And *Basil* accuses him of abandoning the literal Sense of the Scripture, and taking up wholly with the allegorical Sense.

This Heresy was very subtle, and overspread most of the Churches of the East; it was condemned in a Synod of *Alexandria*, under St. *Atanasius*, in the Year 362. It was subdivided into several different Heresies, the Chief whereof were the *Dimerites*.

AUDÆUS, born in *Syria*, not understanding well these Words of the Scripture, *faciamus hominem ad imaginem; & similitudinem nostram*, concluded hence, that God had a human Form, and a Body composed of Parts. His Followers were called *Audeans*.

The MESSALIANs appeared about the same Time, says *Theodoret*, *Eccles. Hist.* c. 1. and had for Chiefs *Dadoes*, *Sabas*, *Adelphus*, *Hermas*, *Simeon*, and others. They were also called *Antousiasts*, because agitated by the Devil; which Agitations they pretended to be an Effect of the Presence of the Holy Ghost. Those who were entirely infected with this Error, used to fly all Sorts of Handicraft as a Vice, and to abandon themselves to Sleeping, taking their Dreams for Prophecies: They believed that Baptism was of no Service to those who received it, and that nothing but an assiduous Prayer expels the Devil which inhabits within us; because, said they, all those that come into the World are born Slaves of the Devil, as well as Children of *Adam*: When the Devil is expelled from us, by the Assiduity of Prayer, the Holy Ghost comes in his Place, who gives sensible Proofs of his Presence, by delivering the Body from its Passions, and the Soul from its violent Inclinations to Evil; so that afterwards the one has no need of Fasts to moderate its Motions, nor the other of Instructions for its Conduct: Whosoever has received him, is delivered from the Revolt of his Passions, knows Futurity, and sees the blessed Trinity with his Eyes.

The ANTHROPOMORPHITES, appeared in 393. and had for Chief one *Vadius*, who taught, that God had a human Form.

In the Year 398, *Helvinus* published, that the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, after the Birth of our Saviour, had other Children by *Joseph*.

In the Year 406. of Pope *Innocent* 3; of the Empe-

ror *Arcadius*, and *Honorius* 12; appeared *VIGILANTIUS*, ranked by the Catholicks among the Herefiarchs of those Times.

Vigilantius was born in *Spain*, and had governed a Church in *Catalonia*. *S. Paulin* who had ordained him Priest, and believed him an honest Man, kept him sick in his own House; and as he wanted to go to visit the holy Places at *Jerusalem*, *Paulin* wrote in his Favour to *St. Jerom*, who had retired thither, and recommended him as a Man of an eminent Piety, who was his Friend.

Vigilantius published, that no Respect ought to be shewn to the Relicks of the holy Martyrs; and called Rake-Ashes and Idolaters those who respected them: That all the Miracles, which were reported to be operated at their Tombs, were Illusions of the Devil: That the Catholicks who frequented the Basilisks dedicated in their Honour, were to be considered as Idolaters: That the Prayers for the Dead were of no Service to them; and that it was a Folly to light Lamps and Tapers in Churches in the Day-time: He condemned all the Vigils celebrated there according to antient Custom: He renewed all the Errors of *Jovinian* against Celibacy and Virginity: He added another Opinion to these, called by the Catholicks Impiety, and which was, that the Mountain mentioned by *Daniel*, from which a Stone had unloosened itself, without any Help, was the Devil, and the Stone Christ.

Riparius and *Desiderius*, two Priests of *Gaul*, informed *St. Jerom* of these — Opinions of *Vigilantius*. The holy Doctor composed, in one Night, a Writing against him, where he refutes what *St. Jerom* believed Errors, and the Catholicks call so; pitying the Unhappiness of the *Gauls*, who till then having fed no Monsters, had at last produced this against the Church. This Work refuted so well the Opinions of that new Sect, that it was soon extinct.

The PRISCILLIANISTS arose in *Spain*, or rather were driven thither from *Egypt*, towards the End of the fourth Century.

The Origin of this Heresy is not well known; but it appears to have been brought into *Spain* by one *Marcus* of *Memphis*, who had for his Disciple the Rhetor *Helpidius*, under whom *Priscillian* was educated.

What their particular Tenets were, is not easy to discover; but they were charged with indulging all Kinds of secret Filthiness, and nocturnal Mixtures, under a religious Notion.—Among their Dogmata, this is said to have been one: *Jura, perjura, secretum prodere noli*.

They held that Souls are of the same Nature and Substance with God: They admitted all the Books of Scripture, but allegorized them into their own Sense.

Priscillian, their Leader, was a Man of great Birth, Fortune, Parts, and Learning: He was condemned with some Bishops his Adherents, in a Council at *Saragossa*, and in another at *Bordeaux*; but he appealed to the Emperor *Maximus*, and had a Hearing at *Treves*; where being convicted of broaching Novelties, he was condemned to Death, with several of his Followers.

The PELAGIANS, began to appear in the Year 412. of Pope *Innocent* 11; of *Honorius*, 18; of *Theodosius*, 5. At first it was but a Spark of Fire, which soon spread into a very great Flame.

Pelagius, their Chief, was born in *Scotland* or *Ireland*; and *St. Prosper* calls him, *Carmines de ingrato*, the British Serpent. While yet young, he entered into a Monastery, where he lived very piously, and religiously, for some Years, if we believe *St. Augustin*, who speaks very advantageously of his Piety, in several Places of his Books. *St. Chrysostom* speaks of him in the same Manner in a Letter he wrote to the Widow *Olympia*. On the contrary, *Isidorus* of *Peluse* taxes him of Gluttony, and accuses him, that to gratify his Appetite, he changed often Monastery.

Certainly if Heresy is the Chastisement of an extravagant Pride, and of other secret Sins, there is a very great Appearance that the Invention of a capital one like the *Pelagian*, which mines the very Foundation of the Christian Religion, had not been formed in an humble Mind, nor in a pure Heart: But as this is only known

of God, it is better to adore his Judgments, by a religious Silence, than to account for it by Reasonings, which might be presumptuous.

Pelagius's Genius was quick, subtle, strong, and violent, says *St. Augustin*, *Epist. ad Paulin. Lib. 2. ad Bonif. c. 3.* he preached with so much Vehemency and Zeal, that he persuaded all his Auditors; and the Elegance of the Style in his Writings, joined to the Spirit they are adorned with, caused that they were read with Pleasure. It is true that *St. Jerom* appears to be of a quite contrary Sentiment, and that he treats him of Barbarism in his Elocution, of being an ignorant Calumniator, and a bad Logician. But, without offending that great Doctor, it seems to me, that in this Contrariety, one must have Regard to the Writings themselves in Question. We have a whole Epistle of him, written to the Virgin *Demetriade*, which is so eloquent for the Time, that during several Centuries it was attributed to *St. Ambrose*, *St. Augustin*, and to *St. Jerom* himself, among whose Works it is still printed. The Difference of the Sentiments has discovered the Supposition, but the Resemblance of the Style must have given room to it; which is not an Argument of Barbarity. We have yet some Fragments of his Books of the Free-Will, which *St. Augustin* quotes, and which shew that he was eloquent, and subtle to disguise his Sentiments, and to puzzle those who had some Learning. The Writings of *Origen* were the Source of his Heresy; and whoever reads the *Book of Principles* of the one, will find the Seeds of the Opinions of the other, on Impeccability, Grace, and Free-Will: Therefore *St. Jerom* calls *Origen* the *Minion of the Pelagian*; *their Doctrine one of its Branches*; and the *Author of the Book of Principles, their Master*. He joins, besides, *Rufin*, *Evagrius of Pontus*, and *Jovinian*, in this unhappy Production. The last maintained, that those who had been truly baptized, cannot fall again into Sin; an Error which had been condemned by *Pope Siricius*. However, the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, and of *Zeno*, contributed in a particular Manner to this Heresy: And if *Tertullian* has called the Philosophers Patriarchs of the Hereticks, it may be said that the *Pelagians* were descended from them in a direct Line. For the first Error of *Pelagius*, was on the Impeccability, to which, he pretended, that Men could arrive in this Life, and several had in fact arrived. It is the same Thing as the *Apathy*, or Exemption of Passions which the Stoicks attributed to Men of Wisdom. *Aristotle*, and the new *Academicians* maintained on the contrary, that Wisdom was susceptible of Passions, and that Virtue consisted in keeping them in Subjection: But the one and the other agreed in this pernicious Maxim, that Virtue proceeded from Man himself, and not from God. The Reason they give for it is, that Men boast, and were commended for their Acts of Virtue, which could not be if they received that Virtue from a divine Munificence. Who has ever returned Thanks to the Gods, says *Cicero*, *lib. de natur. deor.* for his being an honest Man? We thank *Jupiter* for the Riches we receive from him, for the Honour and Health he is pleased to give us, not for his making us just, wise, and temperate. *Seneca* in fewer Words teaches the same Impiety. *There is but one Good*, says he, *which is the Cause and Support of a happy Life, viz. to confide in oneself.* This is the Abridgment of *Pelagius's* Doctrine, for the Power of human Will, whereby he maintained that a Man could govern his natural Motions; let them be ever so irregular and violent. As Vanity is the Character of human Philosophy, it has been that of the *Pelagianism*; and it is its specifick Difference from the other *Heresies*: For, if one examines all his Propositions, he'll find in them the Spirit of Pride at the most insolent Degree it can rise in Men, ever since their first Father lost his original Justice, for wanting to be semblable to God. Therefore it may be said that this *Heresy* is the *Heresy of Nature*, and that we have the Principles thereof in our Understanding and Will, which though they be in Ignorance and weak, persuade themselves notwithstanding, that they have all the Force, and all the Light necessary to govern themselves, and act well.

Pelagius came to *Rome* to corrupt, if he could, the Truth, as far as in its proper Source. There he disco-

vered himself, without any premeditated Design: For finding himself in a Company where a Bishop, Friend of *St. Augustin*, related these beautiful Words found in his Confessions, *Lord, thou commandest me to love thee; give me what thou commandest me, and command me what thou wilt*; he exclaimed against them as if he had heard a Blasphemy, and disputed with him against the Sense they contained, though it be not only very orthodox, but likewise very pious, and as the Abridgment of the Doctrine of Grace. While he staid at *Rome* he contracted a strict Familiarity with *Rufin*, who gave him the principal Foundation of his *Heresy*, which is to deny the original Sin. He also inspired him with a Hatred against *St. Jerom*, who for that Reason calls *Rufin Pelagius's* Precursor. He favoured the last as much as he could; and after his Death, *Pelagius* and his Disciples continued to calumniate in the most scandalous manner, that great *Anachoret*, who exposes their Persecutions in several of his Works.

The *Goths* having plundered *Rome*, *Pelagius* quitted it with his Disciple *Celestius* and came into *Africa*. He landed at *Hippone*, where *St. Augustin* was not at that Time. He remained concealed while he staid there, which was but a very short Time. But passing into *Palestina* he began soon to make himself known for a dangerous Enemy of the Church. *St. Jerom* was the first who wrote against that Sect, without however discovering yet its Author. The Occasion was on the Question which *Ctesiphon* sent him, on the *Apathy*, or Impeccability taught by those new Doctors, and whereby they began an open War against the Truth. They were distinguished from the rest of the Faithful by the Name of their Master, and called *Pelagians*.

Celestius remained in *Carthage*, where he dispersed his Sentiments publicly. He was *Pelagius's* Countryman, and like him had a quick and subtle Genius. *St. Augustin* in the Book intitled *of the Perfection of Justice*, relates his Arguments against the Catholick Doctrine, and answers them with Accuracy. He addresses this Work to two Bishops, called *Eutropius* and *Paul*, who had sent him a small Book with this Title, *Definitions attributed to Celestius*. They were in fact of him, and very much conform to what he had wrote in a Book himself acknowledged to be his own, and which the Bishop of *Hippone* said he had read. One of the principal Questions treated in it is that of the Impeccability maintained by the *Pelagians*: He teaches that 'it is the voluntary Sin of the first Man, which rendred him criminal by the bad Use of his Free-Will: But that at present a Malice and a penal Corruption having succeeded to that first Offence, has made of the Liberty a Necessity. That it is what obliged *David* to say to God, *Deliver me from my Necessities*, under which being reduced, or we cannot understand what we want; or wanting to do what we understand, we cannot succeed therein: For Liberty is promised to Believers through the Liberator, who says in *St. John*, *If the Son delivers you, you will be delivered*: Therefore as those who enjoy a perfect Health want no Physician, but the Sick; likewise those who are free do not want a Liberator, but those who are Slaves, that the Gratitude of the Liberty may tell him *Thou hast saved my Soul from its Necessities*. But this Health is nothing else but the Liberty which had not perished, if the Will had remained sound: But because the Will has sinned freely, a hard Necessity of having the Sin, has followed the Sinner, till the human Infirmary be entirely cured, and one receives too great a Liberty, that as it will constantly accompany a constant Will of living righteously, there will be likewise a voluntary and a happy Necessity of living well, and of never committing Sin.'

I have quoted this Passage at length, and without Ornament, to clear up one of the principal Errors of the *Pelagians*, which gave to the human Will the same Strength after its Corruption by *Adam's* Sin, it had in the State of his Innocence. It must only be observed, that when *St. Augustin* says in this Passage, and in several others, that the Liberty has perished, he does not understand that Loss, but with Regard to the first Liberty *Adam* had received, and to the good Works, which the

she is as much incapable to operate without Grace, as she can alone commit Sin, towards which she will incline always freely. Neither are we to take the Word *Necessity*, *ad literam*, for Constraint, and an antecedent Violence, which deprives Man of his Liberty.

As Priesthood could have very much authorized the Heresy of *Celestius*, he desir'd to be promoted to it. A Deacon, called *Pau'in*, who had been sent into *Africa* by *Venerius*, Successor of *Simplician*, in the See of *Milan*, to supply the Want of ecclesiastical Ministers in that Province, persuaded how dangerous it would be for the Church, if that Wolf was placed among his Pastors, accused him before *Aurelius*, Bishop of *Carthage*, of publishing Heresies. To examine this Accusation, *Aurelius*, held a Synod, with some of the Prelates who were then at *Carthage*. It was objected to him, that he taught, *that the Original Sin had wounded no Body but the first Man*. He answer'd, that he had question'd the Transmission of that Sin, but in such a Manner, that he was of the Opinion of those to whom God had given more Knowledge, and that he had on that Subject, found different Opinions among the holy Priests. *Paulinus* asked him their Names, he said, that it was the holy Priest *Rufin*, who lived with the holy Priest *Pammachius*, at *Rome*; and who told him that there was no Transmission of the Original Sin.

The Synod passed to the second Proposition, in which he maintain'd, *that Infants newly born were in the same Condition Adam was before his Sin*. He explained himself in very ambiguous Terms, which discover'd that he was really of that Opinion, though he confessed that Children wanted Baptism; not, in his Sentiment, to be purified of any Original Spot, but to obtain the Kingdom of Heaven. These are the Words he used, to deceive, if it had been possible, the Bishops in the Profession of Faith he presented to them. It was objected to him, besides, that he dogmatiz'd, *that Adam had died, whether he had sinned or not sinned; that the Law gave Entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven, as well as the Gospel; that the whole human Race does not die by Adam's Sin, and therefore do not rise from the Dead, by Christ's Resurrection; that before his Incarnation Men have been without Sin*.

The Result of the episcopal Judgment, where those Propositions were examined, was the Condemnation of *Celestius*, against whom the Sentence of a just Excommunication was pronounced; though he had digested his Errors in such a Manner, that he seem'd rather to propose Questions than to teach any Thing affirmatively, the better to disown them if he ever was question'd about them.

This Thunder-bolt frighten'd him out of *Carthage*, but instead of engaging him to acknowledge his Fault, it only served to harden him in it. So that in *Sicily*, where he took Sanctuary, he continued to dogmatize with more Obstinacy than ever. The Church enjoy'd then a profound Peace in that Island, and all on a Sudden this Wretch changed it into an horrible Confusion. *Hilary*, who was there at that Time, wrote to St. *Augustin* for his Opinion on five Questions, which he answer'd by an excellent Epistle. A little before, *Marcellinus* finding himself puzzled by several Difficulties proposed to him by the *Pelagians* on the Baptism of Children, and on the Original Sin, had had Recourse to him, to answer those tedious Sophisms. This obliged him to compose his three Books, entitled, *Of the Remission of Sins*.

This first Work against the Hereticks, was received by the Orthodox with the Applauses it really deserv'd for the profound Doctrine it contains. He treats there of the Childrens Baptism; which he maintains to be necessary for them, to blot out the Original Sin, the Propagation whereof was not admitted by the *Pelagians* from *Adam* to his Posterity, but only the Imitation. This he destroys by invincible Proofs, drawn from the Comparison the Apostle makes of two Men, *Adam* and *Jesus Christ*, as Chiefs of two different Generations, one of Corruption and Death, and the other of Holiness and Life. He says positively in the first Chapter of the first Book, and in several other Places, that Children that die without Baptism, are in Damnation, the mildest of all the Re-

probates. The modern Schools could not suffer this Doctrine, which they accuse of too much Severity. Most Doctors place them in a third Place, where they not only do not feel any Pain in the Body, but where they enjoy a natural Felicity, though they be deprived of the Vision of God. Cardinal *Bellarmin* calls this Sentiment false and heretical, though he does not believe that they suffer the Pain of the Fire. Father *Petau*, a Jesuit, is entirely of the Sentiment of St. *Augustin*, and quotes some of his Passages, which he confirms by the Decree of the Council of *Florence*, which seems to him formal on that Point.

The *Pelagians* assigned to those Children a Place out of the Kingdom of Heaven, where they dared not to introduce them against the Authority of the Words of the Gospel, which exclude from that Kingdom, him who has not been regenerated of the Water and of the Holy Ghost: But when St. *Augustin* pressed them to shew in what Place of the Scripture they found the eternal Life, they granted to Children dead without Baptism; they could not give him a pertinent Answer. For him, as he knew that God had fixed in the Mysteries of his Election, particular Limits to the human Curiosity; when he was asked, why of two Children of Christian Parents, equally spotted with the Original Sin, one dying without Baptism, was damned; and the other receiving it, was saved; he answer'd nothing else, but said with the Apostle, *O the Depth of God's Wisdom, how incomprehensible are his Judgments!*

In the second Book he treats of the Question in Dispute between the Catholicks and the *Pelagians*, on the Innocence of Men. For these said, that not only one could pass his Life without Sin, but that several Persons in the written Law, and in the State of the Gospel, had never committed any Offence, not even a venial Sin. They alledged for Examples, *Abel*, *Abraham*, *Zacharias*, *Elizabeth*, and some others, whose Innocence is witnessed by the Scripture itself. St. *Augustin* attacks powerfully this Error, and shews that *Jesus Christ* excepted (in another Place he excepts the Blessed Virgin) no Body has lived in this World without being guilty of Sin. He establishes this Doctrine on the general Infection of the Concupiscence. For it is one of his Principles that whosoever has contracted the Original Sin, is subject to the actual Sin. In his Sentiment all Men have contracted the first, therefore they are guilty of the other. But as the *Pelagians* rejected this Principle, he lays a great Stress on the Lord's Prayer, which he says was given in the Apostles who were the Chiefs of the Flock, to all Christians to serve them as a Formula of a general Prayer. But in the Demands of that Prayer, Mention is made of the Remission of Sins, of Temptation, of the Deliverance from Evil, which is the Concupiscence and Sin: Therefore all Men commit Sins which they desire to be forgiven them; and may fall into a Precipice, since they wish to be preserv'd from that Fall. But however, he allows that through God's Grace, strengthening the Weakness of the human Will, a Man can live without Sin, but he denies formally such Innocence having ever been found; because the Voice of St. *John* is that of all the Saints, *If we say that we have no Sin, we deceive ourselves, and the Truth is not in us*, 1 Epist. Chap. 1. It was objected to him the Renovation of Man, made in Baptism; and he answer'd excellently, that that Renovation is only begun in Baptism, and that the perfect Adoption of the Children of God, will not happen till after the Resurrection of the Bodies. That at present we have the Premices of the Spirit, according to which we are Children of God, but that the rest of our Blessings are still in Hope. That we advance daily in the spiritual Innovation; and that according to what is within us of the new Creature, we do not sin, nor can sin; but that according to what remains within us of the old *Adam*, we sin continually in several Manners: That we are God's Children, and that what we are to be, does not appear yet; being semblable to God by the Premices of the Spirit, and dissemblable by the Remains of old Age.

In the third Book, he speaks of *Pelagius* as of a Man whom common Report made a Saint; and who had not made

made a small Progress in the Christian Virtues: But in treating his Person with Honour, he does not spare his bad Doctrine against the Propagation of *Adam's Sin*, which he had denied in his Commentaries on the fifth Chapter of the Epistle to the *Romans*, where the Apostle affirms, *that by Man, Sin had entered the World, and by Sin, Death*. He relates faithfully the Arguments of his Adversaries, and refutes them without Reply. Towards the End he employs the Authority of the ecclesiastical Authors, who had preceded him, and names *St. Chrysostom* with much Praise, as a Man who had the Reputation to excel all others in the Interpretation of the sacred Scriptures.

The Condemnation of *Celestius* could not silence the Disciples he had left at *Carthage*. They continued always to attack the Grace of the Son of God, and they deceived the Ignorant who could not discover their Impiety hid under Words full of Equivocations. *St. Augustin* coming to *Carthage*, *Aurelius*, according to the Canons, and the Custom inviolably observed among Bishops, which was, that the Diocesan desir'd him who came to visit him, to speak to the People, and to administer the Eucharist; intreated him to display on this Occasion all the Force of his Genius, against that Error newly broached, and which disturb'd him much. He did it with a marvellous Eloquence, and confirm'd his Discourse by a Passage of *St. Cyprian*, who had been Bishop of the same City, where that glorious Martyr says, *that nothing is ours, and that we have no Reason to glory of any Thing*. This Sermon is the fourteenth of those he compos'd on the Words of the Apostle. He attacks in it the Hereticks on their Distinction between the eternal Life, and the Kingdom of Heaven, giving that to Children dead without Baptism, and granting this to those who had been baptized. 'You condemn, says he, those you exclude from the Kingdom of Heaven; you condemn them, not in tormenting them, but in sending them into Exile. For the exiled suffer no other Pain, but that they are not in their Country. If they love their Country it is a great Torment, and if they do not love it, that Depravation of Heart, supplies the Place of that Torment. Is it then a small Evil in Man's Heart, not to seek the Society of the Saints, or not desire the Kingdom of Heaven? If he don't desire it, that bad Disposition is in him a great Pain; if he desires it, his Charity, which finds itself frustrated of the Good it wishes for, causes him another Evil much more considerable. But let that Pain be small if you will, it is always very great with Regard to him who having committed no Sin, may be subject to a Pain, even small.'

The *Pelagians* could not have a more formidable Enemy than *St. Augustin*. Therefore *Pelagius* used all his best Endeavours to gain him on his Side; and as Flattery was one of the Secrets of his Heresy, he employ'd it entirely in a Letter he wrote to him, to try if he could deceive him, and gain his Favour. He answer'd him, with his usual Humility, declaring that he was oblig'd to him for his Civility, and the Marks of his Affection; desiring him to pray to God for him, that he might become, through his Grace, such as he represented him; rather than continue to represent him other than he was.

The Heresiarch would not yet declare himself openly, and he was accounted Orthodox among those who had not Knowledge enough to discover his Equivocations, and his Manner of proposing his Errors by Questions. Thus in his Commentaries on the Epistles of *St. Paul*, he had attacked the Belief of the Church on the Propagation of the Original Sin. For he seem'd to speak rather in the Person of others, than in his own; and *St. Augustin* taking Notice of it, says, *Lib. 1. de peccat. Merit. & Remiss. c. 3. That knowing very well that his Explication was a Novelty, he was both asham'd and afraid of confessing it*; and for this Reason calls him a circumspect Man. But the divine Providence revealed the Mystery of Iniquity, canvass'd in the Dark, by a very remarkable Occasion.

Demetriade, of the illustrious House of the *Anicians*, having retired into *Africa* to avoid the Fury of the *Goths*, who had invaded *Italy*, was so efficaciously moved at

what she had heard *St. Augustin* say in *Carthage*, of the State of Virginity, that she resolv'd to embrace it, and to quit the Spouse to whom she had been promised. *St. Jerom* writes very well this History, and shews what Value he had for an Action which he represents with all the Ornaments of Eloquence. He sent her a long Epistle much elaborated. *Pope Innocent*, and the most eminent Personages of that Time, wrote on the same Subject. *Pelagius's* Piety had acquired him a great Reputation; which was the Cause that *Juliana*, *Demetriade's* Mother, desired him to write to her Daughter, to strengthen her in her Resolution, at least himself speaks of it in that Manner. He did it with a great deal of Art; but among the Flowers of his Elocution, he mix'd the Venom of his Heresy, to endeavour to debauch by Flatteries full of Impieties the Mind of a Person whom he pretended to exhort to Virtue. For in it he gives so much Power to the human Will: He speaks so little of its Corruption, and of the Necessity of the Grace of Christ, to keep the Continence, which is a special Gift from God, that Errors which were so visible could not be excus'd: But as it was by this Epistle the Heresiarch discover'd himself, I judge it necessary to relate here some Echantillons thereof, that the Readers may the better see the Genius of the Author, and what Method he us'd to gain Persons of the first Rank, and debauch their Principles.

'At the Beginning of his Letter he confesses, That if he was Master of as much Wit, as of Science to write well, he should notwithstanding fear much, having to instruct *Demetriade*, a noble Virgin, a rich Maid, and what's more than all that, a Virgin, whose great Zeal for her Faith had made her despise the Nobility of her Birth, and the Riches of her Family. He protests, that he is actuated in this Enterprize neither by Temerity nor Ambition; but only by the Desire of obeying the irresistible Commands of her Mother *Juliana*, and by whose Prayers he expected to be assist-ed, as well as by the Merit of the Virgin, for whom he calculated this Instruction.'—After this flattering Exordium, he enters into the Matter in the following Manner. As often as I have to treat of the Instruction of Manners, and of the Establishment of a holy Life, I always begin by shewing the Strength and Condition of human Nature, and what it can do, the better to excite thereby my Hearer to the Practice of good Works, of which I speak to him, lest it be needless to excite him to the Practice of Things he imagines impossible. In effect, we cannot enter the Road of Virtues, unless we have Hope for a Companion; because all our Efforts for their Possession perish, when we despair of being ever capable to enter it. I have already follow'd this same Method in my other Works, but I believe it so much more necessary on this Occasion, that I am oblig'd to extoll more the Advantages of Nature, when it is a Question to form a more perfect Life, lest the Mind should be slower, and less courageous in the Practice of Virtue, if it was to be believed that it can do less than it can, in fact, and not imagining to have what notwithstanding, is in him, because he is ignorant of what he possesses. The Things of which we design to make use, are always to be put in Evidence, and all the Good Nature can do, ought always to be explained, when all the Good which is proved to be in its Power, is to be accomplished: Therefore let's lay down for Foundations of a holy and spiritual Life, that the Virgin must know perfectly the Forces she can make use of, after she has discover'd that she is possess'd of them. For the best Manner to incite the Mind of a Person to do a Thing is, to shew him that he can do what he desires. In War the most persuasive Exhortations for Soldiers is, to speak to them of their Strength and Courage.'

This proud, prophane, and entirely impious Proposition was sufficient to shew *Pelagius's* Hatred against the Grace of Christ, by the Name whereof *St. Paul* beginning and ending all his Epistles teaches us a Method very opposite to that of the Heresiarch, who makes mention of it, neither in his Exordium, nor in the Body of his Letter. After he has said that God is the Author

of that Good of Nature he has mentioned, which is nothing else but the Righteousness in which he has created Man, giving a Reason to discover the Truth, and an omnipotent Will to incline him to Virtue; and a Free-Will perfectly indifferent, either to embrace it, or to abandon himself to Evil. He confounds this first State of *Adam* with that of his Children; and represents Man after his Sin induced with the same Strength and the same Liberty he had before. He adds, that the Power of doing Evil is a Good, because it renders the Part of Good better; that's to say, that it renders the Will Mistress of itself, and free by its Judgment, and not tied by any Necessity. He afterwards taxes the Catholics, indirectly accusing them to believe that God has created Man in the State of Corruption, and reproaching them, that instead of thinking to correct their Vices, they chuse rather to correct Nature. 'How many, says he, have we seen of Philosophers, who were chaste, patient, modest, liberal, abstinent, meek, despising the Honours and Pleasures of this World, and no less passionate Lovers of Justice than of Science? Whence came, I ask you, that those Things which are pleasing to God were found in Men separated from him? Whence came those Goods but from the natural Good? Therefore the Things I have mentioned, meeting either altogether in a Man, or some of them in particular, in some particular Persons; the Nature of all being sensible, they shew by their Example, that all can be found in all, or in particular Persons: That if Men without God, shew that they have been formed by the Hands of God, what can Christians do, whose Nature has received a better Instruction through *Jesus Christ*, and who are besides assisted by Grace?'

This Word seems contrary to what I have said, that *Pelagius* had not mentioned Grace in his Letter to *Demetriade*. But though he used the Name of Grace, he was very far from meaning the Grace in Question; for he admitted at that Time but the Grace of Illumination. And to shew it, he does not say, that human Nature has been repaired by *Jesus Christ*, which was the Language of the Church, but that it has been instructed better, which goes no further than to an Illumination of the Understanding, and not to a Reformation of the Will. But here follows a clearer Explication of his Sentiment: 'There is as it were, a natural Holiness in our Minds, which presiding there in the most sublime Manner, exercises a Judgment on the Good and on the Evil; and as it favours the good Actions, likewise it condemns the bad, and judges on the Testimony of the Conscience, the adverse Parties by a domestick Law. All those from *Adam* to *Moses*, who have led a holy Life, and been agreeable to God, have made use of this Law. *Abel* having been the first to follow this Guide, gained so well the Lord's Favour, that the sensible Mark he gave, that he took Pleasure in his Sacrifice, excited the Jealousy of his Brother.' After *Abel*, *Pelagius* speaks of *Enoch*, *Melchisedech*, *Noah*, *Joseph*, and dwells particularly on *Job*, whom he calls, 'apostolical Man, before the Precepts of the Apostles; and evangelical, before the Gospel.' He says of him, that 'having discovered the Riches hidden to Nature, and rendering them publick, he shewed by himself, what we were all capable of; and taught how great is that Treasure of the Soul we possess without using it, which we will not display publickly, and which we will not believe to have in our Possession.'

This Manner of speaking shews clearly that *Pelagius* did not admit the Necessity of an inferior Grace in the human Will for the most difficult Actions, as were those he relates of the Patriarchs; and that he understood nothing by the Word Grace, but the Light of the Understanding, and the Free-Will, God hath given to Man gratuitly, or to use his own Terms, the human Nature which alone sufficed to exercise Justice to those that lived before the Law. He calls this a File, with which God used to take off the Rust, which Nature had contracted by a long Usage of Sin, and by an old Custom of doing Evil, which was become as a Kind of Nature in Men. But he says nothing at all of the Corruption of the human Race,

nor of the Domination of Concupiscence in our Hearts; of which, on the contrary, he uses all his best Endeavours to exalt the Force and Integrity, with all the Eloquence he is Master of; wanting to make *Demetriade* believe, that her Nobility, Riches, and other temporal Advantages, are not her own, but that for the spiritual Riches she herself gave them to herself; and that she is wholly indebted for them to her own Industry and Labour.

The Letter, I mention, except the suspect Passages, is very fine, and contains very holy and judicious Instructions for the Virgins of *Jesus Christ*, that they may live in a Manner agreeable to the Dignity of their Name. *St. Augustin* having read that Piece, and penetrating the Design thereof, judged judiciously, that it ought to be answered, lest the Poison hidden in it, under a florid and pompous Language, should corrupt the Mind of *Demetriade*, and of the other Persons who should chance to read it: Therefore he wrote to *Juliana*, her Mother. It is true, that his Letter is not so florid as was that of the Heresiarch, but it is irradiated quite throughout with a divine Light, and full of a salutary Antidote against the Venom of the false Praises given to Nature, which were so artfully display'd in that of *Pelagius*. 'The Virgin of *Jesus Christ*, says he, ought not to listen to that Doctor who writes to her, when he says, that no Body but yourself can enrich you with spiritual Treasures, and that they are in you by you. Let her hear him that says, that we carry our Treasure in Earthen Vessels, to shew thereby that all our Strength is from God, and not from us. All Good, and all perfect Gifts come from above, says the Apostle *St. James*, and descend from the Father of Light: Therefore from that Source flows that Virginity, whereby your Daughter surpasses you, but in a Manner that pleases you, in that she who is behind you in Order of Birth, precedes you by so excellent an Action: That she who draws her Origin from you, surpasses you in Honour; and she, in a Word, in whom an Excellence has began to be yours, which could not be found in you. These are God's Gifts, and are likewise yours, but they do not proceed from you; and be not surprized if I say, that they are yours, but are not from you: For we say in the Lord's Prayer, *our daily Bread*, but we add, *give it us*, in speaking to God, lest we should imagine that it comes from us. Certainly we have so good an Opinion of the Christian Humility of *Demetriade*, that we do not question but when she has read the Letter sent to her, where she is told that the spiritual Riches her Soul is enriched with, were in her by herself, she has sighed, stroked her Breast, and pray'd to God, that as those are not his Words, it may never be her Faith to believe that she has some Virtues, of which she might glory within herself, and not in the Lord.' Thus *St. Augustin* pulled off the Mask of the Heresiarch, and undeceived the World, which *Pelagius* abused in using the Word Grace, which he reduced to the sole Doctrine, to the Examples of *Jesus Christ* and of the Saints, and to the Remission of Sins; whereas it appeared to those who could not discover his Malice, that he admitted an inferior Grace, and the Infusion of the Charity in our Hearts by the Holy Ghost, which was the Sentiment of the Church.

Notwithstanding this Discovery, *Pelagius* continued to write Books in Defence of his Errors. He surprized the too great Credulity of two young Men, one called *James*, and the other *Timasius*, who, at his Persuasion, quitted the World, and embraced the monastick Life. But soon after they were so powerfully moved by the Discourses of *St. Augustin*, in some Conferences they had with him, and conceived such an Horror for the Opinions they had been infatuated with, that they gave him a Book *Pelagius* had composed, where, under Pretence of defending Nature as the Work of God, he ruined the Grace of *Jesus Christ* whereby the Impious is justified.

Though all those who have advanced some Errors against the orthodox Faith, have always endeavoured to dissemble their Impiety, with Terms which seemed orthodox; *Pelagius* has excelled them all in that untortunate Dexterity; and unless one reads it with a great deal of

of Attention, weighs his Words, and mistrusts him, even when it seems that there is less Reason to suspect his Integrity, he'll be infallibly surprized, and will take for a salutary Herb, what is a very black and dangerous Poison. But in the Book I mention, through all the Veils he endeavour'd to steal from the most piercing Eye, his Blasphemies against the Grace of *Jesus Christ*, the quick ones of *St. Augustin* discovered them, and judged that it was absolutely necessary to answer them. Therefore he wrote a Book entitled, *Of the Nature and of the Grace*, which he address'd to the two young Men above-mentioned. He treats in it of the Corruption of human Nature by the Sin of the first Man, which is the Cause of its wanting a medicinal Grace to cure it; because if it had a perfect Health, as *Pelagius* maintained, and could by its own Strength accomplish the Law of God, it would follow hence, that *Jesus Christ* died in vain, which is a great Blasphemy. He teaches afterwards, that the Grace is gratuite, as the Name implies it, and not given to any Body for his Merits, all Men being wrapt in a Mass of Condemnation, and none have any Reason to complain, if he should leave them in that Misfortune. He proves that Children, though born of Catholick Parents, want notwithstanding the Baptism, to be wash'd of the original Sin. He says, that 'those who pretend to maintain the Cause of God, in endeavouring to prove that human Nature is without Corruption, reject the Mercy of its Physician, who is no other than its Creator himself, and that the Author ought not to be praised in a Manner, whence it should follow, that the Necessity of a Saviour is excluded. Lastly, that it is very just to be grateful to a God who has created us; but that we must not be ungrateful to the same God who has cured us.—Towards the End of his Book he treats again, the Question I have already mentioned, viz. if under the three Laws any Body can be found who has lived without Sin, and concludes in the Negative, excepting the blessed Virgin, of whom he says, 'that for the Honour of our Lord, he will not have it disputed, when it is Question of Sins.'

Though *Pelagius* did not deserve to be spared; *St. Augustin* notwithstanding would not name him in the Book I mention, for Fear of offending him, and of rendering his Distemper incurable, if he had violated the Laws of their antient Friendship, by exposing his Person, though he attacked his Doctrine. The Event made him repent of his too great Complaisance for him; which served only to increase *Pelagius's* Vanity, who imagined, that what *St. Augustin* did by a Principle of Charity, was an Effect of his Fear. He found all his Errors so well refuted, that, reduced to the Impossibility of answering, he said, that *of the Books in which he was accused to advance heretical Maxims, the one were not his, and the other had been taken from him before he had corrected them.* But it was very easy to see by those frivolous Answers, that he believed what he did not dare, and could not defend.

While *St. Augustin* attacked *Pelagius* in the West, *St. Jerom* in the East, who was solicited by all Sorts of Persons, to oppose himself to his Errors, published three Dialogues, in which, under the Names of *Atticus* and *Critobulus*, he refutes his Impieties with an Energy becoming his Genius and Erudition. *Pelagius* was so sensibly offended at it, though his Name was concealed, that he published every where, that Jealousy and Envy had engaged that great Man to write against him.

Things did not remain in that Condition, for on the Accusation of *Heros* and *Lazarus*, Bishops of *Arles* and *Aix*, *Pelagius* was deferred to the Prelates of the *Palestina Cesarientis*, who assembled at *Diospolis* to the Number of fourteen. Those who deferred him were not of that Number; their Absence contributed much towards the Absolution of *Pelagius*; besides, that the Fathers of that Synod could not understand very well the Propositions extracted from his Books, because they were ignorant of the Latin Tongue in which they were written. The bad Success of the Synod was the Cause of its being called by *St. Jerom*, an unfortunate Assembly, in the Epistle he wrote on that Subject to *St. Augustin*, wherein he desires him to answer to one *Ananias*, which was the fictitious

Name of some of *Pelagius's* Upholders, if it was not that of *Pelagius* himself, lest, says he, I should be oblig'd to praise my own Works, which are attacked in it. *St. Prosper*, in his Poem of the Ungrateful, says, that though the wild Beast (meaning *Pelagius*) retain'd his Sentiments, he was, notwithstanding, obliged to smother his own Germ, and to condemn with his own Mouth, the bad Race he had produced by the same Mouth.

Pelagius was introduced in the Synod, and the first bad Proposition he was accused to have published, was this, *That he who had the Knowledge of the Law, could be without Sin.* He answered, that he did not understand, that he who had Knowledge of the Law could not sin, but that the Knowledge of the Law helps him towards keeping his Innocence.

The second Proposition was, *that all were govern'd by their own proper Will.* He answer'd, that he had spoke thus because of the Free Will, which by God's Assistance, chuses Good, Man being culpable when he sins by his Free Will.

The sixth was, *that Man could be without Sin if he would.* It was added, that Writing to a Widow he had used this Language: 'Let Piety find within you an Habitation, it can find no where else: Let Justice, which is a Stranger every where, find in you a Place of Rest: Let Truth, which no Body knows at present, become familiar to you, and your Friend: And let the Law of God, which is despised by almost all Men, be honour'd by you alone.' He was reproached, that in another Book, instructing the same Person in the Manner of praying to God, he had given her this impious Formula of Prayer. 'Thou knowest, O Lord, how much the Hands I raise up to thee are holy, innocent, and free from Malice, Iniquity, and Rapine: How just, pure, and free from all Fallhoods are the Lips I use to offer to thee my Prayer, whereby I ask that thou may'st have Compassion of me.' *Pelagius* explaining this, said, *That Man, if he would, could be without Sin, and keep God's Commandments, because he had given him that Possibility; that he was not of Opinion, that a Man had ever been found, who had kept himself from his Birth to his Death free from Sin, but that a Man being converted from his Snares, could, by his own Industry, and by the Grace of God, be without Sin, and not thereby become impeccable.* As for what he had wrote to the Widow, he denied it formally, and anathematiz'd it, by the Bishop's Commands.

The Propositions of his Disciple *Celestius*, condemned in the Council of *Carthage*, were also alledged to him; to which were added these. 1. *That the Grace of God, and his Assistance are not given to us for every Action; that Grace consists only in the Law, and in the Doctrine.* 2. *That Grace is given us according to our Merits, because if God was to give it to Sinners he would be unjust.* Whence he concluded; *therefore Grace depends of my Will, whether I render myself worthy or unworthy of it.* 'For if we act by Grace, when Sin conquers us, it is not we who are vanquished, but it is Grace itself, which wanted to assist us, but could not. If it is by it we surmount Sin, it is then its Fault, when we are vanquished, either because it would not entirely preserve us, or could not.'

Pelagius answer'd, that it was *Celestius's* Affair to defend himself on these Propositions, which he had never maintain'd, and which he condemn'd as impious. He made the same Declaration against the other Errors of his Disciple. 1. *That if Men are not entirely without Sin, they cannot be called God's Children.* 2. *That the Faults committed through Forgetfulness and Ignorance, cannot be Sins; because they do not happen voluntarily, but necessarily.* 3. *That there is no Free-Will, if it wants God's Assistance, because every one has in his Will the Power of acting or not acting.* 4. *That the Victory proceeds from our Free-Will, and not from God's Assistance.* 5. *That Grace is not given to Penitents according to the Measure of their Satisfaction.* Some other Propositions of less Consequence were objected to him, which I do not relate, thinking that it suffices to touch the most important.

The Bishops hearing *Pelagius's* Answers, whereby he appear'd to have orthodox Sentiments; and seeing that he protested that he would follow the Doctrine of the Church in all Things, absolv'd him; without perceiving, that by the Subtily and Equivocations of his Answers, he deceived them, and made a Jest of God's Judgments, in eluding that of his Ministers, in a Cause so important to his Glory, and to the Catholick Truth. He triumphed of their Simplicity among his Followers, and had the Impudence to write immediately to a Priest of his Friend, that his Opinion, *that Man could live without Sin, and keep easily God's Commandments, if he would*, had been approv'd by fourteen Bishops. He disguised what had happen'd with an insupportable Vanity; for he had not spoke to the Synod of that Facility of observing the Precepts, and had confessed the Assistance of Grace, which he dissimulated in that Letter. He had boasted to the Synod, of that which *St. Augustin* had wrote to him, as a Proof of the Sincerity of his Sentiments on the Points in Question. That Bishop finding that he abused his Charity in this Encounter, explain'd himself, and said, that in fact he had admonish'd him, in his Letter, to follow the orthodox Opinions, on the Matter of the Grace of God, in Terms free from Heat, believing them more proper to recall him from his Errors; but that he had avoided, likewise, praising him; that he had stiled him a Gentleman, according to the common Manner of Writing, even to those who are not *Christians*. 'That he had call'd him dearest, and held him yet in that Quality; because he would injure himself much, if he was not to preserve for him a perfect Charity, was he even to put himself in a Passion, and hate him. Lastly, he concludes, that if he had been willing to do what the Letter he had so much boasted of in the Synod advis'd him, he had made no Difficulty to appear before the Bishops he had abused.'

Pelagius, not contented with endeavouring to deceive the East, attempted likewise, to persuade the western Churches of his Innocence, and sent to *St. Augustin* himself, by a Deacon of his Confidants, he had at *Hippone*, a small Book, written in his Defence against the Accusations of the Bishops of *Gauls*, which was an Abridgment of the Synod of *Diospolis*. The same Spirit of Finesse he had employed to disguise his Errors to the Bishops, was seen in the Discourse I mention, with which he expected to blind a Person whom he considered as his most formidable Enemy; for in the Manner he conceived the Propositions he was accused to maintain, he insinuated, that it had not been pronounced, that they were his, and it did not appear that they had been condemned; there were, besides, other Articles, of which he reserved the Defence to himself, as in the Synod, he had only promised to profess, not what the Church had already decided, but what it should decide for the future. This was also answer'd by *St. Augustin*.

Seeing himself restor'd to the Communion of the Orthodox, by an episcopal Sentence, he began to think of dispersing his Errors, with more Zeal than he had done before, since he could do it with more Security. He published to that Effect, four Books of the Free Will, where, on one Side he endeavour'd to persuade, that he had orthodox Sentiments on the Point of Grace, though he reduced it to the Law, and to the Doctrine; and on the other, he denied openly the Original Sin, though he boasted of the Synod, where he had confessed it. His Insolence went even to that Extremity, that the following Year, writing to Pope *Innocent*, he dared to boast of that Work as of an Apology of the Purity of his Belief on Grace and Free Will. He attempted, likewise, to be revenged on those who had wrote against him. *St. Jerom*, as the first who had discover'd his Errors in his Epistle to *Ctesiphon*, and in his Dialogues, was the principal Object of his Hatred. Several devout Ladies, who lived under his Conduct, received a cruel Death by the Hands of lawless Russians, of *Pelagius's* Party. A Deacon fell a Victim to their Rage, and *St. Jerom* was saved by a Miracle; so that *Pelagius*, animated by the Spirit of Heresy, which is always very cruel, forgot nothing to gratify his Vengeance. *John*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who loved him as much as he hated

St. Jerom; and it was certainly through his Dissimulation, and under the Hopes of his Favour, that these Cruelties were committed. For ever since the Synod of *Diospolis*, he had shewed openly, that he favoured him against his Accusers.

Pope *Innocent*, to whom *Paula* and her Daughter *Eustochia* complain'd, and sent a Relation of what had happen'd, wrote to that Bishop in a Manner which shewed well enough that he suspected him of having connived to those Cruelties. 'Is not your Piety, says he to him, moved at the bloody Effects of Power, which the Devil has exercis'd against you, and yours? Against you, says I, because it is a Condemnation and an Injury offer'd to your sacerdotal Dignity, that such Wickedness should be committed in the Church of God. Where was your Foresight to hinder it? Where are your Consolation and Succours, after the Disorder has happened? considering, particularly, that the Persons who have inform'd me of that Excess, say, that they fear still greater Evils than those they have already suffer'd.'

St. Augustin, on his Side, wrote to the same Bishop, to inform him that *Pelagius* was an Impostor, who entertained very bad Sentiments of the Grace of *Jesus Christ*, whereby we are made *Christians*. He sent him the Book of the Heresiarch, entitled, *Of the Nature*, and the Answer he had made to it. The Acts of the Synod of *Diospolis*, which were not yet in *Africa*, he desired him in the Name of his Brother Bishops, to send them to him, to know certainly how Things had passed. He received them sometime afterwards, and composed a Book of it, entitled, *The Acts of the Synod of Palestina*, and not the Acts of *Pelagius*. It is from that Book I have extracted the Things above related.

The Bishops of *Africa* being at *Carthage*, to the Number of sixty-eight, *Orosius*, who was returned lately from *Palestina*, presented them with the Letters of *Heros* and *Lazarus*, whereby they discover'd that *Pelagius*, and *Celestius* his Disciple, were Authors of a damnable Heresy, which ought to be condemned. Therefore having caused to be read what had happened in the same Place some Years before; they resolved, that if he and his Master refused to anathematize the Errors they had invented, they should be retrenched from the Church by Excommunication, in order to cure them.

The Bishops of *Numidia* on their Side, to oppose that growing Evil which threatened the universal Church, assembled at *Milævium*, to the Number of sixty-one, and condemned the two principal Propositions of *Pelagius* and *Celestius* relating to Grace, the Necessity whereof they denied, and to the Baptism of Children, which they did not consider as necessary to wash them of the original Sin. The Authors of these Impieties deserved to be excommunicated; and notwithstanding the Fathers defer doing it, yet chusing rather to attempt their Cure by Lenitives, than retrench them from the Church, till forced to it by an unavoidable Necessity, they left the Disposition thereof to Pope *Innocent*; to whom *St. Augustin* in their Names, wrote two synodal Epistles, to inform him of what had happened, 'that (these are his Terms) the Authority of the apostolical See, being joined to the Decisions of our Mediocrity, may serve to preserve the Faith in several, and even to correct the Depravation of some.' Besides these two Epistles, he wrote another for the same Pope, signed by *Aurelius*, *Alipius*, and *Possidonius*, where he treats divinely the Matter of Grace against the Heresiarch, whose Finesse he discovered. But as his Zeal was always governed by his Charity and Prudence, he proposes Means to bring *Pelagius* back to the Church, without having Recourse to Excommunication, which was either to disown his Book *Of the Nature*, or to say that Things had been inserted in it which were not his; or to give a good Sense to the Propositions explained by his Disciples in one contrary to the orthodox Doctrine.

A Bishop called *Julius*, carried all these Epistles to the Pope, who the Year following answered them; in that he addresses to the Prelates of the Synod of *Carthage*, he commends them 'for having observed the Tradition and Discipline of the Church, in referring to the

the Judgment of the Apostolick See, the Resolution they had taken in their Assembly; that Custom having been always observed, that when it is a Question to make general Decisions for the Dogmata of Faith, which are to be put in Force in distant Provinces, the Intervention of the Authority of the Roman Chair is necessary; that the other Churches may draw from it, as from a Source, the Doctrine they are to follow; and that under a very pure Chief, the Members may remain incorruptible.

The Fathers of the Council of *Numidia* desired, likewise, *Innocent* to use his Pastoral Diligence, to remedy the Dangers the Members of *Jesus Christ* did run, of being lost by the new Heresy. He commends them, as he had done those of the Council of *Carthage*, for having consulted him, and says, 'that in that they had observed the Canons, that at all Times the Bishops (whom he calls Brothers and Co-Bishops) in the Difficulties of Doctrine, had always Recourse to St. *Peter*, the Author of the Name of Bishop, and of the episcopal Dignity.' He declares, towards the End, *Pelagius* and *Celestius* excommunicate, by the apostolical Rigour, or Vigour (for these two different Lectures are found in the Manuscripts) The Pope adds, that this Separation from the Church is, till they come out of the Snares of the Devil, by a Recantation, and without pretending to hinder the Bishops from treating them as Penitents, if they were to repent.

St. *Augustin* was appointed by these two Synods to write against the *Pelagians*, in Defence of the Church, and the Event proved, that that Choice had been made by the Conduct of the Holy Ghost; who communicated his Grace in such a Plenitude, to this Defender of Grace, that as he was a Miracle of it by his Conversion, he should be likewise its invincible Advocate against its Enemies.

Pelagius and *Celestius* finding themselves thus so solemnly condemned, did not become more humble; on the contrary, they grew more furious; and resolved to employ all Sorts of Artifices to blot out that Infamy, and to reverse it on their Judges. To succeed in it, *Celestius*, who by Surprise had been made a Priest in *Asia*, came to *Rome*, where *Zozimus* had succeeded Pope *Innocent*. He appealed from the Condemnation fulminated against him in the first Synod of *Carthage*, and complain'd in particular, that in the second, Things had been transacted without the least Formality of Justice; that he had been excommunicated on the Letters of *Lazarus* and *Heros*, Bishops in *Gaul*, brought by *Orosius*; that those Questions had never been agitated between them; that he had not even seen them before they wrote against him; and that *Heros*, in particular, had discovered that he had been misinformed. Therefore asked that his Accusers should be confronted to him.

Zozimus left all other Affairs to apply himself entirely to this, which was of a very great Importance. He assembled a Synod in the Basilick of St. *Clement*, where he caused the Book of *Celestius*, where he denied the Original Sin, to be read. But as from the Beginning he had sheltered himself by a Submission to the Pope, in Case he should advance some Error, *Zozimus* intreated him in an amicable Manner, to condemn the Propositions objected to him by the Deacon *Paulinus*, in the first Council of *Carthage*, and to subscribe to the Epistles of *Innocent* his Predecessor. He refused to comply with the first Request, but he did not dare to do so to the second, so that he promised to condemn all that should be condemned by the Apostolick See. This Promise engaged *Zozimus* to receive his Book as Catholick, and him as Orthodox; notwithstanding which, he did not judge proper to absolve him of the Excommunication, till he had received News from *Africa*, where his Affair had been treated, and where it was perfectly known. He wrote to *Aurelius*, and to the other Bishops to inform them of what had happen'd, and blamed them for having been too easily imposed upon by the Letters of *Lazarus* and *Heros*, two wicked Bishops, formerly retrenched from the ecclesiastical Communion for their Crimes. He added, that *Celestius* challenged his Accusers to appear; and therefore ordered that those who had something to object

against him, should come within two Months, to maintain their Accusations in his Presence, in Default whereof, their Holinesses must know that there was no longer any Doubt in that Affair. In Consequence of this Epistle, the Deacon *Paulinus* was cited to *Rome* by the Deacon *Basiliscus*.

The Bishops of *Africa* were very much surpriz'd at the Terms of *Zozimus*'s Letter; seeing that the Heretick had surpriz'd him with so much Dexterity, they immediately assembled a Council in *Carthage*, which was the second in the Affair of the *Pelagians*, and wrote to the Pope to desire him to leave the Affair in *Statu quo*, till they had inform'd him better of the Character and Finesses of the Person he imagined so good a Catholick. They did it soon after by very ample Letters they sent to him by the Deacon *Marcellinus*, and told him, 'that it was not sufficient that *Celestius* had subscrib'd to those of Pope *Innocent*, but that he should abjure the Doctrine of his Book, lest the Ignorant and Simple should believe, that the bad Doctrine it contain'd, had been approv'd by the Apostolick See.' *Zozimus* finding this Advice very reasonable, order'd *Celestius* to appear, the better to discover his Artifices, or his real Amendment, and to take off all Subject of Suspicion; but as he knew himself guilty, he hid himself; and by his Flight gave Room to his just Condemnation, and to that of *Pelagius*, of whom I must speak at present.

The Censure of his Errors, made in the two first Synods of *Carthage*, and in that of *Milevium*, had not been less sensible to him than to *Celestius*, and he endeavour'd with the same Artifice to blot out that Spot; therefore he sent to Pope *Innocent*, whom he taught yet living a Profession of Faith, which was put in the Hands of *Zozimus* his Successor. It was conceived in Terms so equivocal, that unless one knew the Artifices, and Evasions of the Heresiarch, it had been judg'd orthodox. It is printed among the Works of St. *Jerom*, in the Edition of *Marianus*, under the Title of *Explication of the Symbol of Damascus*. Since *Charlemagne*'s Time, several have attributed it to him, without considering the invincible Reasons which oppose that Opinion. Others have given it to St. *Augustin* himself, and in fact is found among his Sermons to the Number of the 191. The Impostor has only made a Head and a Tail to it, that it may have a greater Appearance of an Homily; and instead of these Words, *Most blessed Pope, Pelagius* had put, are read these, *Beloved Brothers*. The End of this Profession of Faith, shelter'd the Author from all Accusations, and all Censures. For he speaks thus to the Pope; 'this is, most blessed Father, the Faith we have learn'd in the Church, and which we profess. If in that Writing we have said something with less Sufficiency, or Circumspection than needs be, we desire that it may be corrected by you, who keeps the Faith and the See of St. *Peter*. But if our Confession is approved by your Apostolate, whoever attempts to blacken me, will shew that he is ignorant or wicked, or even a bad Catholick.'

Thus Heresy had the Impudence to search a Refuge in the very Place where it should have found its Condemnation; and to take its Judge for its Protector.

Zozimus having received *Pelagius*'s Letters and Profession of Faith, and not penetrating the bad Sense thereof, a Thing very difficult, sent a Copy of both to the Bishops of *Africa*, telling them, among other Things, 'that he wished some of them had been at the Reading of those two Pieces, to be Witnesses of the Joy it had caused to those who had heard it; and that every one of them had said, Is it possible that a Man of a Faith so entire, could be blacken'd? Is there a Place where he does not mention God's Assistance, and his Grace? Towards the End of his Letter, he accuses again *Heros* and *Lazarus*, and reproach them that while they run over Sea and Land to procure the Deposition of *Bricius*, Bishop of *Tours*, they remain still, and were afraid to come to *Rome*, to maintain against *Pelagius* and *Celestius*, the Errors they had falsely accused them of; and, notwithstanding disturbed the Peace of the Church of *Africa*, and of the whole Christian World.' It was accusing tacitly the *African* Bishops of having been imposed upon

upon by their Letters. But his Mistake must be excused in a Matter of Fact; and it must be consider'd that his Zeal for the Peace of the Church, prompted him to receive a Man who submitted himself to his Judgment, with so great an Appearance of Candour and Integrity. He shewed his Prudence in deferring to receive *Pelagius* to the ecclesiastical Communion, till he had received an Answer from *Africa*. Some suspect these Epistles of *Zozimus*, which Cardinal *Baronius* has found in the Bibliotheca of the *Vatican*, of Falshood; but the Objections made against them, are not, in my Opinion, very considerable. For it is certain, that *Zozimus* had used a great deal of Clemency towards *Pelagius*, even so much, that his Disciples boasted that the *Roman* Clergy had approv'd their Doctrine, and had recanted afterwards without Reason. Besides, it is very certain, that the Deacon *Paulinus* was cited to *Rome*; since he says it himself in an Epistle of Congratulation he sent to *Zozimus* after the Condemnation of the *Pelagians*. We ought not to be surpriz'd to see *Zozimus* treat so ill *Heros* and *Lazarus*, since he speaks of the last in the same Manner, in another Letter, sent to the Bishops of *Africa*, of the *Gauls*, and of *Spain*. For he observes to them, that he had been condemn'd as a Calumniator of *Bricius*, Bishop of *Tours*, and that *Proculus* of *Arles*, one of his Judges, had, notwithstanding that Sentence, made him a Bishop; 'and that, sensible of his own Unworthiness, he had voluntarily deposed himself.' By the Term of two Months prefixed to the Citation of those who would accuse *Celestius*, he is justified by *St. Augustin*. He says, besides, that *Pelagius* could not deceive the *Roman* Church to the End, though he had endeavoured to do it. *Zozimus*'s Letter shews, that in Effect he had been deceived.

The Bishops being assembled at *Carthage*, to the Number of 214, in the Vestry of the Basilick of *Fauftus*, wrote to Pope *Zozimus*, informing him that they had ordered that the Sentence pronounced by *Innocent* his Predecessor, against *Pelagius* and *Celestius*, should remain in Force, till they had both confessed clearly, and without Equivocation, that the Faithful are assisted in every Action, by the Grace of *Jesus Christ* our Lord, not only for the Knowledge of Justice, but, likewise, to do the Acts of Justice. They inform'd him, besides, of the Equivocations the Hereticks used to disguise their Errors with. The Pope having examined the Judgment of the *Africans*, and being not capable to make *Celestius* appear, condemned him solemnly, and *Pelagius* with him; informing all the Bishops of the Christian Church of it, by a circulatory Letter he wrote to them. Those of *Africa*, who were not perhaps separated yet, received that Condemnation confirmative of that they had already made, and caused it to be published every where. Thus Heresy was anathematiz'd with an unanimous Consent; and Truth triumphed over Blasphemies and Impostures.

The *Pelagians* had endeavour'd to make *Sixtus*, Priest of the *Roman* Church, pass for a Patron of their Impiety, and this Falshood was very advantageous to them, to deceive the Simple and Ignorant, by the Reputation of the Doctrine of *Sixtus*. But he undeceived the World by the Anathema he pronounced solemnly against the Hereticks, who had been condemned by the Pope, and the whole Church. Not contented with this publick Declaration, to preserve his Reputation, he wrote to *Aurelius*, Bishop of *Carthage*, a Letter, which tho' very short, is notwithstanding full of Vigour, and shews clearly his Zeal for the orthodox Truth against *Pelagianism*. It was received with a great deal of Joy by *Aurelius*, and by the other Bishops of *Africa*, who caused Copies thereof to be dispersed every where, to undeceive the Catholics, and strengthen their Faith by the Authority of so eminent a Man, that after Pope *Celestinus*'s Death he was chosen for his Successor. *St. Augustin* wrote two Letters to him, one very short, which he sent by *Albinus Acolyte*, wherein he informs him, 'that the Bishops of *Africa* had read his Letter with a Satisfaction he could not express.' Towards the latter End he desires him 'to take Care that those who defended still the Errors condemned by the Apostolick See, should not only be chastised with a salutary Severity, but likewise to be cautious of

those, who not daring, thro' Fear, to maintain their Impiety, retain it, notwithstanding, in their Heart. He says, that one is not to believe that they have truly abjured their bad Opinions, if they do not defend the Catholick Truth, with as much Zeal as they have shewn in Defence of their Heresy. He adds, that they are not to be frightened, since their Silence shews that they are daunted enough already: But that they are not to be treated neither as if they were entirely healthy, their Wounds wanting the more the Diligence of a Physician, because hidden.' This Epistle is the 104, among those of *St. Augustin*; in the 105 he expresses to *Sixtus* the Displeasure the Bishops of the Province had felt, when it was reported by the *Pelagians*, that he had contracted a strict Union with them, and their Joy, when they saw, that far from being their Defender, he had so publickly declared himself their Enemy. He says, that those first Clouds of Sorrow which had darkened the Serenity of their Hearts, seemed to have risen but to render their Satisfaction greater. He afterwards treats the Matter of Grace, and answers to all the Arguments of the *Pelagians* with so much Energy, that this single Epistle could suffice to destroy their Error. The 106, written to *St. Paulinus*, Bishop of *Nole*, who loved and esteemed *Pelagius* for his great Virtue, deserves very well to be read; he teaches clearly in it, 'that the Predetermination and Reprobation of Men, supposes the Corruption of the whole human Race by *Adam*'s Sin. If that Mass, says he, from which God can draw Vases of Honour, or of Ignominy, was in an indifferent State, and not more inclinable to Evil than to Good, it would not be objected in vain, that there is some Injustice in God forming Vases of a different Condition; but the Sin of the first Man makes that Difference, by the bad Use of his Free Will, having rendered the whole Mass subject to Condemnation: And if he makes of it Vases of Honour, it must not be attributed to any Merit, which could not have preceded that Grace, but only to God's Mercy; as when he makes of it Vases of Ignominy, God must not be accused of Injustice, which cannot be in him, but we must submit ourselves to his Judgment.

The Emperor *Honorius* lent the Strength of his Arm to the Church, to support the Condemnation of the *Pelagians*, by the Councils of *Africa*. It is a solemn Edict given at *Ravenna*, the second of *May*, and addressed to *Palladius*, Prefect of the Pretory. He banishes *Pelagius* and *Celestius* from *Rome*, ordering all Sorts of Persons to inform against their Followers, who being convicted, he commanded they should be sent into Exile. The *Pelagians* were so insolent, and so blind, as to turn this Ordinance to their Advantage, as if by some Words inserted therein the Emperor design'd to favour their Heresy. But as *St. Augustin* said to *Julian*, who had published that Interpretation, 'why don't you appear then and maintain publicly to the secular Powers, that you are those whose Faith is approv'd by the Christian Emperor? Certainly one ought not to be surpris'd, if interpreting, according to your Fancy, the Law of God, you do the same of the Law of the Emperor.'

After these solemn Edicts, every Body rose against those publick Plagues. They were expelled from *Ephesus* and *Sicily*; but at *Rome*, *Constantine*, who was Vicar there for the Emperor, suffered so much from their Faction, that *St. Prosper* ranks him among the Confessors. *Possidius* observes, likewise, that several fearing the Rigour of the Pains inflicted by the Edict of the Emperor, return'd to the Church. *Celestius* was forced to leave *Rome*; and believing that he could easier sow his pernicious Doctrine in *Constantinople*, he found there, on the contrary, his Condemnation, thro' the Cares and Courage of *Atticus*, Bishop of that See.

Pelagius complained, that he had been condemn'd absent, he who had been cleared by the Bishops of *Palestina*, in the Synod of *Diospolis*. He always endeavoured to continue his Deceit, and to pass for Orthodox. He even began to declare, *that Grace was necessary, not only at all Times, but likewise for every Action*. But he understood a Grace very different from that *St. Augustin* wanted he should confess. To discover his Imposture,

the same Doctor published two Treatises, one *Of the Grace of Jesus Christ*, and the other, *Of the Original Sin*; and addressed them both to those who had inform'd him of the captious Declaration of the Heresiarch. For *Pelagius* did not understand by the Word *Grace*, that which entering into the Will, cures it of its Corruption and Weakness, applies it to the Action, and makes it do it, which is the true Grace of *Jesus Christ*, proper for Man's Condition after the Original Sin; but he understood either the Remission of Sins, or the Instruction by Means of the Doctrine of the Gospel, and by the Examples of *Jesus Christ*, and his Saints. In effect, he distinguished clearly the Power, the Will, and the Operation; and said, that Man had received the Power from God, but that the Will, and the Operation, were in his Free Will. It is what *St. Augustin* refutes in his Book of the Grace of *Jesus Christ*, where he teaches, 'that it does not consist in a simple Possibility of doing Good, under the Command of the Will; but in the Infusion of a new Love which cures that Will, and of a marvellous Sweetness which makes it do, what it made it will; and which is necessary not only to act with a great Facility, but without which it is impossible it should act at all; giving it Action without depriving it of its Liberty.' *Pelagius* had confessed in the Synod of *Diospolis*, that *Adam's* Sin had affected his Posterity, as well as him; and the Synod had imagined, that he confessed that the Original Sin passed from the Father to his Children, which was the Sentiment of the Catholick Church. But in the Books he published afterwards, he explain'd that Term of affecting, of the Example given by *Adam* to all Men, and not of a true Transmission, which he denied absolutely.

Sometime after the Publication of his Book of the Original Sin, having been informed that the Hereticks had addressed some Writing to Count *Valerius*, in which they accused the Catholicks of teaching, that Marriage was bad, because they said that Children born from it, brought along with them into the World the Original Sin; he composed the first Book, *Of Marriage, and of Concupiscence*, wherein he shews, 'that we must distinguish those two Things, and that the Original Sin does not proceed from Marriage, which is good, but from Concupiscence, which is bad; as a fatal Consequence of Man's Sin, and not as his Nature, which could not suffer so great a Disorder, and so injurious to the Goodness of the Creator.' *Julian*, one of the principal Defenders of *Pelagianism*, having read this Book, wrote four to refute it.

This *Julian* was the Son of a Bishop, called *Memorius*, an intimate Friend of *St. Augustin*, as it appears by a Letter he writes to him, in sending him his sixth Book of Musick for his Son, of whom he speaks at the End of his Letter in these Terms: 'I dare not say that I love him better than I love you, because it would not be speaking sincerely; but I may venture to say that I desire more to see him, than to see you; and he must find it surprising, that I desire with more Passion to see a Person whom I do not love most. But this proceeds from that I entertain more Hope to see him, than to see you.' *Julian* had been married, and we read the Epithalamium of his Marriage, among the Poems of *St. Paulin*. His Wife being dead, he was ordain'd Deacon, and afterwards promoted to the Bishoprick of *Celenna*, a small City in *Campania di Roma*. He had been educated with Care, in what we call the liberal Arts, had a quick and agreeable Genius, and a great Strength of Reasoning. The Fragments of his Works we have left among those of *St. Augustin*, witness an Eloquence which was not common in that Age, where the *Latin* Tongue had suffered a strange Alteration.

This young Man, still more presumptuous than learned, thought he was capable alone to raise *Pelagianism*, and that if he could conquer *St. Augustin*, the War was ended, and Victory secure on his Side. He used to call him *Goliath*, and himself *David*, who was, in cutting off his Head, to make the Good Cause triumph over the Artifices and Blasphemies of the *Manicheans*, as he used to call the Catholicks. *St. Augustin* answered with his usual Modesty, that he was very far from attributing to himself, among the Orthodox, the Glory he boasted of among

the *Pelagians*, of being capable to terminate a Difference of that Consequence by his Victory, or his Defeat; and that he was only one among several Combatants, who refuted their profane Novelties. *Julian's* Conduct was different from this, for it seemed as if he had dipped his Pen in Gall, and in Venom, so fiery and so injurious was his Style; not only against *St. Augustin*, whose Book he attacked, but against the whole Church, which he accused of Precipitation, Error, and Injustice, in the Condemnation of the Chiefs of his Sect, and of their Dogmata. He complained, that they had been censur'd without assembling an universal Council. The Vanity of the Hereticks wished to have that solemn Satisfaction, that the whole Church should stir for them; and as they could not debauch the Christian World, they would disturb it by the Convocation of all the Bishops, whose Absence could favour the Introduction of their bad Doctrine.

Julian, who grew every Day more inveterate against the Church, wrote, at the same Time, two Epistles; one he sent to *Rome*, to endeavour to strengthen his Followers in his Doctrine, or to make new ones; the other, which he addressed to the Bishop of *Theffalonica*, with the Subscription of eighteen Bishops of his Party; to endeavour to gain that Prelate, who was very much respected in the East. They bore the Character of the Genius of the Author, viz. of Impudence in his Calumnies, and of Impiety in his Propositions against the Catholick Church. For he accused it of teaching, 'that God was not the Author of Marriage: That the Generation of Children came from the Devil: That the Patriarchs and the Fathers of the Old Testament had never been purified of their Sins: That the Apostles had been guilty of several Crimes: That the Son of God had not been entirely free from Sin: That Baptism did not give the Remission of Sins committed before: And that there was no Free Will, but that it was under the Command of an unavoidable Fatality.'

St. Augustin answered the Epistles *Julian* had sent to *Rome*, by four Books, entitled, *Against the Two Epistles of the Pelagians*. In the Beginning of the first Book he refutes the Calumnies of *Julian*, who reproached the Catholicks with denying the Free Will, with the *Manicheans*. He says, 'that it is true that the Liberty has been lost by the Sin of the first Man, but that Liberty was that he enjoyed in the terrestrial Paradise, whereby he could, if he would, have an entire and perfect Justice, with Immortality; and that it is for that, human Nature wants the divine Grace, our Lord saying, *John* viii. *If the Son shall make you free, then ye shall be free indeed*, i. e. free to live righteously. For far from the Free Will being perished in the Sinner, that it is by it, that those sin, who sin by the Motion of the Pleasure they find in sinning; the Love of Sin, making in them, that what they will please them; so that they are not free with Regard to Justice; the Law whereof they follow but by their Free Will, as they cannot be free with Regard to Sin, not to commit it, but by the Grace of God.' Afterwards he answers to the other Calumnies of *Julian*, who accused the Catholicks with condemning Marriage. He blamed, in particular, *St. Augustin*, for having said that *Jesus Christ* himself had sinned thro' the Necessity of a corrupted Nature; but that Imposture was so black and so ridiculous, that the Doctor does not amuse himself to answer, or refute it; its Absurdity refuting enough itself. He explains, likewise, divinely well the Origin and Nature of the Concupiscence, separating in Man, what is of God, and what is of *Adam's* Disobedience, and especially in the Motions of the Flesh, against the Will of the Spirit; which he maintains could not, and had never been in the Body of the first Man after his Offence.

In the second Book he examines the Epistle sent to the Bishop of *Theffalonica*, and he compares the *Pelagians* with the *Manicheans*, shewing what the Church condemned in the one and in the other; and concluding that they attacked the Truth with a Will which seems different, but through a semblable Vanity; and that if they were separated in their Opinions, they were intimately united by the Malignity of their Intentions against Christ's

Christ's Spouse. One of the principal Objections of *Julian* against him, was, that he introduced a Fatality which destroyed Man's Freedom, under the Name of Grace, corrupting his Words, and the Sense thereof, as if God had violated by it the human Will, so that he had imposed on him an absolute Necessity, like that Judiciary Astrologers attributed to the Planets, and like that the *Manicheans* had once taught him.

St. *Augustin* refutes this Calumny, and shews by *Julian's* Objection, that he thought that Grace was given according to Man's Merit; which *Pelagius* had disowned in the Synod of *Diospolis*; and what himself pretended likewise to condemn. He founds, particularly, the Proof of a gratuite Grace on what happens every Day to the Children of Christians, one of whom is baptized, and the other is not; though it cannot be said that there is any Merit in that, which is not in this. He adds, that the Apostle, *Rom. ix.* has untied the Knot of that great Difficulty, in not untying it, when he has sent Men to the Will of God, who has more Right to do what he pleases with the Mass of corrupted Nature, than the Potter to form of his Clay what Vessels he thinks proper; to whom, notwithstanding, those Vessels cannot say, by Manner of Complaint, Why hast thou made me thus?

In the third Book, St. *Augustin* continues to answer to the other Objections of the Hereticks; and begins by that relating to the Old Law, which they pretend, the Orthodox condemn'd as bad. He protests with the whole Church, That it is holy, though it does not give Justice, which belongs to the Gospel alone. In few Words, explaining the whole Question, he says; 'That by Faith one learns what God wants to be done, and that by Grace one obeys the Law; that *that* makes Hearers of Justice, and this Observers: That what is impossible to the Law, because of its carnal Infirmary, is render'd easy by the Grace of him, who has took Flesh, appearing in the Similitude of Sin, to destroy Sin by himself; that the Justice of the Law may be accomplished in those who do not walk according to the Flesh, but according to the Spirit; *i. e.* in those who do not flatter themselves with a vain Presumption of their Strength, as if they could accomplish the Precepts of the Law by their Free-Will, without the Assistance of Grace.'

Lastly, in the fourth Book, St. *Augustin* discovers all the Finesses, and Subterfuges, the *Pelagians* used to palliate their Impieties, and reduces them to five Heads: 1. To the Commendation of the Creature. 2. Of Marriages. 3. Of the Law. 4. Of Free-Will. 5. Of Saints. For as all those Things are good in themselves, under Pretence of defending the Goodness thereof, they denied the Corruption which has happen'd by Sin, and consequently the Necessity of Grace to cure it. He quotes all the Passages he uses to support their bad Opinions, and answers them with as much Candour as Solidity: Towards the End, he establishes the Belief of the Church, by Passages extracted from the Books of the Fathers who had wrote before the Birth of *Pelagianism*; of St. *Cyprian*, of St. *Ambrose*, whom *Pelagius* himself mentioned with Honour.

About the same Time *Alipius* came to *Ravenna*, to implore the Protection of the Emperor *Honorius* against the *Pelagians*, who continued to excite Troubles in *Africa*: We learn that this was the Occasion of his Journey, by the Rescript dated the 9th of *June*, under the Consulate of *Monaxius* and *Plinta*. The first Condemnation is confirmed in it, and the same Punishments decreed against the Hereticks, and against the Bishops who should favour them, or refuse to subscribe to their Condemnation. The Emperor order'd that *Aurelius*, Bishop of *Carthage*, should inform them, that if they continued to dogmatise, they would be deposed, banished from their Cities, and deprived of the ecclesiastical Communion. *Aurelius* received this Ordinance, and caused it to be published throughout all *Africa*; it proved very agreeable to the orthodox Prelates, who had asked for it; but the *Pelagians* drew from it a lame Proof of the bad Cause of the Church, which had Recourse, say they, to the Secular Power, instead of employing Reason to con-

vince them. *Alipius*, who had been the Solicitor of it, sent to St. *Augustin* Extracts of the four Books of *Julian*, against that he had published under the Title of *De Nuptiis & Concupiscentiâ*, which Count *Valerius* had addressed to him. He answered them by a second Book, under the same Title of the first; but having found the whole Work of *Julian*, which he judged very pernicious in its Form and Matter, he published soon six Books, which refute his Errors with such Efficacy, that it is easily perceived that the Grace of *Jesus Christ* inspired the Mind, and conducted the Pen of its Defender.

In the two first Books, he shews by the Authority of the antient Fathers, that the Church cannot be condemned for teaching the Propagation of the Original Sin, of being *Manichean*, without condemning its greatest Doctors of having been guilty of the same Error, and without accusing it, consequently, of having not been from its Infancy *Jesus Christ's* Spouse, and the Column of Truth, but an Adulteress, and a Synagogue of impious Men. In the four other Books he answers to the four of *Julian*; and as he had received them from the Bishop *Claudius*, he addresses to him his Answer, which himself calls a great and elaborated Work; and submits himself to his Judgment. In the Epistle Dedicatory, he acknowledges that he who had sent to Count *Valerius* the Extracts of the Books of *Julian*, to which he opposed the second Book *De Nuptiis & Concupiscentiâ*, had not been faithful; and that he had faithfully answered those altered Objections. So that those who were to read his Answer, should consider, that it was made rather to the Author of the Extracts, than to *Julian*, whose Work he had not seen. This Declaration proved his Candour, and should have shut the Mouth of the Heretic, who loaded him with Injuries and Invectives, calling him a bold *Numidian*, whose Impudence was scarce to be paralleled; who had falsified his Writings, and had engaged in a Fight against him blindfolded, and in the Manner of the *Andabatians*. This was the beautiful Style of the eight Books he published against the second *De Nuptiis & Concupiscentiâ*, of St. *Augustin*. *Alipius*, who was then at *Rome*, sent five of these Books to his Friend *Augustin*, with a Promise to send him soon the three others; intreating him, at the same Time, with Zeal to answer them immediately, for the Honour of the Truth, attacked by *Julian* with so much Impudence and Calumny. St. *Augustin* complied with his Request, and formed the Design to refute Book by Book, the eight of his Adversary. But Death interrupted the Course of this great Work, when he was already advanced as far as to the sixth Book.

The first Edict of *Honorius*, had banished *Pelagius* and *Celestius* from *Rome*. But this last shewed as little Obedience to his Sovereign, as he had done to the Church. He return'd soon into the City, where by the Favour of his Friends, and of those of his Sect, he kept himself concealed, and continued to sow his Heresy. At last he was discover'd and expelled a-new, by the Edict of *Constantius*, who had been declar'd *Augustus* by the Emperor. This new Banishment, proved to be a great Subject of Humiliation for the *Pelagians*, and, notwithstanding, it could not stop the Course of their Calumnies against St. *Augustin*, whom they accused of denying the Free Will, because in the Books he had wrote against them, he proved in very strong Terms, the Necessity of the Grace of *Jesus Christ*, and the Weakness of the human Will.

The SEMI-PELAGIANISM, succeeded the *Pelagianism*, in the Year of *Christ* 428 or 429; of Pope *Celestinus* 6; of the Emperor *Theodosius* 22; of *Valentinian* 5; or rather raised from its Athes, if we may be allowed to speak thus of an Heresy, as a bad Egg from a bad Raven; which in the Bottom was no less injurious to the Grace of God, than *Pelagianism*, tho' it spoke with more Moderation.

Cassian, a *Scythian* born, had passed the first Years of his Youth in the Monasteries of *Egypt* and *Palestina*, where he made very great Progresses in all the Christian Virtues. As he had visited them all, and in that Journey conversed with the most excellent Solitaries found in them,

them, he took Occasion hence, to compose a Book, which he entitled, *Of the Collations, or Conferences*, in which he relates what he had learned from them. He was made Deacon of St. *Chrysostom*, who loved him for his Virtue; seeing that eminent Prelate banished by the Faction of his Adversaries, he return'd into the Monasteries where he had been educated; and where having exercised himself a-new in the Practice of Virtue, he came to *Marseille*, where he was ordained Priest, and where he built two Monasteries, one for Women, and the other for Men, which is that called at present St. *Victor*. He gave there all the Examples of Piety, which could be expected from a Man, who had spent almost his whole Life in the Exercises of Penitence. But his Reputation is remained blackened by his bad Doctrine, which appeared chiefly in his thirteenth Collation, where under the Name of the Abbot *Cheremon*, he speaks like a *Semi-Pelagian*, though he had began like a Catholic. This obliged St. *Prosper* to write against him, the Books entitled, *Against the Author of the Collations, or Conferences*; and made Pope *Gelasius* condemn his Works as apocryphal. He, notwithstanding, cannot be called Heretick, because he did not defend his bad Opinions with Obstinacy, and the Church had not yet distinctly condemned them.

His Errors on the Doctrine of Grace, do not deprive that Part of his Works where they are not contained, of the Praises it deserves. Much less do I pretend to lessen the Reputation of his Piety, which is acknowledged by *Prosper* himself, though he attacks his Errors. The Books of St. *Augustin* against the *Pelagians*, being fallen into his Hands, and he not understanding them very well, he began, among his Disciples, to condemn Grace and the absolute Predetermination of a certain Number of Persons, taken from the Mass of Corruption. Several Priests, and some Bishops of an eminent Piety, followed his Sentiment, and, to avoid imaginary Errors, which they pretended to have found in that Doctrine, they fell into real Errors, which sometime afterwards formed the Heresy, called *Semi-Pelagianism*.

Prosper, who was a great Admirer of St. *Augustin*'s Books, maintain'd them against the *Semi-Pelagians*, with all his Might; but at last he was obliged to write him an Epistle, in which he relates all the Objections, and all the Calumnies of his Adversaries.

Several Servants of *Jesus Christ*, says he, who are in the City of *Marseille*, think, that what you teach of the Vocation of the Elect, according to the absolute Decree of God's Will, in the Books composed by your Holiness against the *Pelagians*, is contrary to the Sentiments of the antient Fathers, and to that of the Church, for sometimes they have rather chose to accuse their own Stupidity, than to find Fault with what they could not understand; and several wanted to ask your Beatitude, a clearer Explanation of the Things which kept their Mind in Suspense. In the Interim, some Doubts having been started in *Africa*, you have published the Book *Of Correction and of Grace*. A favourable Occasion having procured us that Book, we thought that all the Complaints of those who opposed your Doctrine would be smothered, because in that Work your Holiness answers so plainly to all the Difficulties on which we design'd to consult you, that it seemed you had taken Care to appease the Differences excited between us. But the Publication of that Book of your Beatitude, has produced Effects contrary to our Hopes. For, as those who followed the Holiness and apostolical Authority of your Doctrine, were better instructed by that Reading: Likewise, those whose Mind was darkened by their own Pre-occupation, conceived a greater Hatred against your Sentiments. This Division is dangerous, first for the Authors; and it would be a deplorable Thing if the Venom of the *Pelagianism* was, by Surprise, to corrupt those Men, so eminent in all Sorts of Virtues. There is Room to fear, besides, that the Simple, who have conceived a great Respect for them, on the Reputation of their Probity, should receive for a sound and orthodox Doctrine, the Sentiments of those whose

VOL. II.

Authority they follow, by a blind Deference, and not by Judgment.

They believe that all Men have sinned in *Adam*, and that none is saved by his Works; but only by the Grace of God in the Regeneration. That, notwithstanding, the Propitiation which is in the Sacrament of the Blood of *Jesus Christ*, is, without Exception, proposed to all Men, in order that all those who will profess the Faith, and be baptized, may be saved. That those who are to believe and persevere in the Faith, which afterwards must be assisted by Grace, have been foreseen of God, before the Creation of the World, and he has predestinated to his Kingdom, those who being gratuitly called, he has foreseen to be worthy of his Election, and were to end their Life in Holiness. Therefore all Men are admonished, by the divine Instructions, to believe and operate, that no Body may lose the Hope of an eternal Life, seeing the Reward prepar'd to a voluntary Devotion. As to that Decree of the Vocation of God, whereby you say, that before the Beginning of the World, or in the Creation of the human Race (its future Corruption supposed) according to the Creator's Will, the one are created to be Vases of Honour, and the other to be Vases of Ignominy or Contempt; they maintain that this Separation, takes from all those that fall, the Care of rising again, and renders the Just luke-warm; because on either Side, Works are superfluous, if the Elect cannot fall through his Negligence, and if he who is rejected cannot enter, let his Industry be ever so great. For let him do what ever he can, and will, nothing can happen but what God has decreed. The Course cannot be constant under an uncertain Hope, and in vain a Man uses all his best Endeavours, if the Election of God, which predestinates him, be other than his Intention. Therefore all his Industry is taken off, and all Practices of Virtue abolished, if the Ordinance of God prevents the human Will; it is introducing a fatal Necessity under the Name of Predetermination, and give Cause to make one believe, that God is the Author of divers Natures, if no Body can be no other than he has been made. But to inform you in a clearer, and more concise Manner of their Sentiments; all that your Holiness objects to himself, in the Book *Of Correction and of Grace*; all that you have so powerfully refuted in the Treatises against *Julian*, composed on this Subject, is published, and embraced with Zeal by these holy Personages. And when we allege against them the Writings of your Beatitude, strengthened with a vast Number of Passages of the Scripture, and we take from your Discourses and Books, some Arguments to convince them, they have Recourse to Antiquity to defend their Obstinacy, and affirm, that the Passages of St. *Paul*, in the Epistle to the *Romans*, quoted to prove that the divine Grace prevents the Merits of the Elect, have never been understood by any ecclesiastical Author, as they are explained at present. When we desire them to explain those Passages, according to the Sentiment of whom they please; they answer that they have found nothing that pleases them; and that they will not speak of those Things, the Depth whereof no Body has ever been capable to penetrate. Their Obstinacy goes as far as to say, that our Belief is contrary to the Edification of the Hearers, and that if it was ever so true, it should not be declared, since there is no Danger to be silent on Things which one cannot make to be understood, and there is a great deal to publish Things which cannot be well received. These are the Sentiments of several.

But there are others who deviate so very little from the Roads of *Pelagius*, that being obliged to confess the Grace of *Jesus Christ*, which preceeds all human Merits; lest if it was given to Merits, it would be called Grace in vain; they refer that to the Creation of every Man, in that the Grace of the Creator makes him reasonable, and gives him a Free-Will without his deserving it. They say, that Man is put in that Condition, that by making a just Difference between Good and

and Evil, he may carry his Will to the Knowledge of God, and to the Obedience of his Commandments, and acquire by a natural Power, that Grace which regenerates us in Christ, praying, searching, and knocking at the Door by a natural Power; so that he may receive, find, and enter, because, by making a good Use of the Goods of Nature, he has merited that Grace which saves us, and which they pretend to be at the Bottom of Nature, by the Creation. As for the Decree of the Will of God, they place in it that God has decreed to receive no Body in his Kingdom, but thro' the Sacrament of Regeneration; and to that Gift of Salvation, all Men, without Distinction, say they, are called, either by the natural or written Law, or by the Predication of the Gospel; that those who will, may be made Children of God, and that those who will not be of the Number of the Faithful, may have no Excuse. God's Justice requires, say they, that those who will not believe, should perish; and his Goodness appears in that he repulses no Body from the Road of Salvation; but on the contrary, desires that all indifferently may be saved, and come to the Knowledge of Truth. It is on this they alledge the Passages of the holy Scripture, which exhort Men to obey God, leaving to their Free-Will to do or not do what is commanded to them. Whence they conclude, that the same Reason which makes us say of the Sinner, that he has not obey'd God, because he would not, must also, by a necessary Consequence, make us say of the Faithful, that he has been devout and obedient, because he would be so. Therefore, in their Opinion, every Body has as much Power to do Good as to do Evil; and the Mind inclines itself to Virtues and to Vices, with an equal Indifference; so that notwithstanding, the Grace of God assists him when he inclines to Good, whereas he is very justly punished when he abandons himself to Evil. When we object to them that innumerable Multitude of Children, who (excepting the Original Sin, the Condemnation whereof includes all Men) have yet neither Will nor Action proper to them; notwithstanding which, a Choice is seen among them by God's Judgment, which does that by the Discernment of Good or Evil, the one going out of this World after they have received Baptism, are received among those who have inherited the Kingdom of Heaven; and the other dying without Baptism, are sent among those who are engaged in eternal Death. When, says I, this is objected to them, they answer, that those are saved or lost, according to what the divine Prescience has known of their Manner of living, if they had arrived at the Age of Action, without considering that they submit the Grace of God to those Wills, and make God's Election so entirely depend on the imaginary Merits of Man, that finding none real, they establish future ones, which are never to be: So that in their Opinion, by a new Absurdity, Actions which will never be are foreseen, and Actions foreseen will never be done. Certainly they imagine much more reasonably to establish God's Prescience, with Regard to human Merits, according to which the Grace of him who calls operates, when we consider the Nations, which in past Ages have been left in their Ways, or which even at present perish in the Impiety of their old Ignorance, and which no Light, either of the Faith or of the Gospel, has lightened; and though by Predications the Gate of the Gospel has been opened, and the Road of Truth made practicable, the Gentiles who were in Darkness have seen the Light, and that People who was not antiently the People, be at present the People of God; it notwithstanding is true and unvariable, that God wills that all Men should be saved, and come to the Knowledge of Truth, seeing that they are inexcusable, because they could have been instructed in the Belief and Worship of the true God, by the natural Intelligence; and that they have heard nothing of the Gospel, because they were not to receive it. They maintain afterwards, that our Lord *Jesus Christ* is dead for the whole human Race, and that no Body is exempted from the Redemption of his Blood, though he

spends his whole Life in a Spirit entirely distant from him, because the Sacrament of the divine Mercy belongs to all, and that if several are not renewed by him, it is because God has foreseen that they would not be renewed: So that on God's Side, and as to what concerns him, the eternal Life is prepared for all; and as to Free-Will Salvation is required of those who have believed of a Good Will, and have received the Succours of Grace by the Merit of their Belief.

Therefore those who have these Opinions, and contradict us, have embraced these Sentiments of Grace, having had better before, for a principal Reason, which is, that if they were to grant, that all Merits are preceded by Grace, which gives them, and makes them to be, they would be likewise, obliged to grant necessarily, that God according to his Will, by an occult Judgment, and by a manifest Operation, among several Vases, forms the one to be Vases of Honour, and the others Vases of Ignominy; no Body being justified but by Grace, and every Body being born in Prevarication. But they cannot grant this, nor attribute the Merits of the Saints to the divine Liberality, nor confess that the Number of Predestinates can neither be increased nor diminished; for fewer Exhortations should become needless for Infidels, and for idle Christians; and that it would be superfluous to recommend Labour and Industry, which cannot produce the Fruits expected from them, if the Election be not found joined to it; for every Body may be usefully invited to Correction, and to the Progress of Virtue, as they imagine, if he knows that by his Diligence he may be good, and that his Liberty will be helped by God's Succours, if he chooses what God commands. Therefore two Things being found in those who have Time, and the Use of their Will free to operate their Salvation, *viz.* God's Grace, and Man's Obedience; they will that such Obedience should precede Grace; that one should believe that the Beginning comes from him who is saved, and that human Will gives to itself the Succours of the divine Grace, and not that the Grace submits the human Will to itself.

As we know, through God's Mercy, and by the Instructions of your Beatitude, that those Things are very false, and very pernicious; we can, it is true, be content not to believe them, but we cannot resist the Authority of those who advance them, because they surpass us in Piety; and some of them having been lately risen to the sovereign Honour of the sacerdotal Office, are much above us.

Thus *Prosper* informed St. *Augustin* of the Opinions of his Adversaries; certainly no Body knew them better than he did; so that his Authority cannot be suspected. Towards the End of his Letter, he asks him the Explication of the Questions proposed by those, who, renouncing in Appearance *Pelagius's* Impieties, preserved some dangerous Remains thereof, that thereby he may be capable to undeceive them. He concludes, that the Hopes of every one for the Defence of Truth, and of the Grace of *Jesus Christ*, reposed entirely on the Vigour of his Doctrine and Charity.

When St. *Augustin* received this Letter he was employ'd in revising his Works, and answering the eight Books of *Julian*, heretofore mentioned. But he interrupted these Occupations to prevent, if possible, the Disorders St. *Prosper* had informed him, were likely to happen among the *Gauls*; and in a very short Time he composed two very excellent Treatises, one of the *Predestination of the Saints*, and the other of the *Gift of Perseverance*. In the third Chapter of the first Treatise, he confesses, that in the Works he had composed before his Episcopacy, and the Birth of *Pelagianism*, he had believed like the Priests of *Gaul*, that Faith was not preceded by Grace, to give Men the Means of asking in vain, and that its Prevention consisted in the Predication of the Gospel, which the Hearer could believe by the Strength of his Free-Will; but that ever since *Pelagius's* Heresy, he had made some Progress in the Knowledge of the Truth of Grace, and that God had made him know that Faith, either perfect or imperfect, is a Gift of God; and that it is certain that God gives it to some,

and not to others. In the rest of the Work he establishes on the Authority of the Scripture, and particularly on divers Passages of *St. Paul*, the Predestination of the Elect, before the Prævision of their good Works, and according to God's Will; but in my Opinion one of the strongest Arguments he employs, is the Predestination of *Jesus Christ*, Chief of all the Predestinates, which he shews clearly to have preceded all Sorts of Merits, and to be entirely gratuite; which is an unquestionable Proof that the Predestination of the Members cannot be made in another Manner.

In the Book of *the Gift of Perseverance*, which he had joined to this above-mentioned, he proves, and by the Authority of the Scripture, and by that of *St. Cyprian*, in his Treatise of the Lord's Prayer, that Perseverance comes from God, and not from Man. He concludes that the Prayer our Lord has given to the Faithful, suffices alone to prove the Necessity of the efficacious Grace to begin the Good, to make Progress in it, and for the Perseverance. Afterwards he says plainly, that this actual Grace is not given to all Men, because God is just, and that all being equally unworthy of it, he cannot be accused of Injustice if he refuses it to some, and in them shews what all have deserved.

In the same Year, 429. *Nestorius* began to teach his detestable and impious Doctrine: But before he would maintain it openly himself, he caused to be preached by the Priest *Anastasius*, he had brought from *Antioch*, and who was his Confident, that *the blessed Virgin was not to be called Mother of God, because God could not be born of a Woman; but Mother of Jesus Christ only, who after his Birth had merited, for his Good Works, to be united to the Word, not of an hypostatical Union, but of an Union of Habitation of the Word in Humanity, as in a Temple, by Communication, by Relation, and by a moral Society.*

This Explanation leaves two Persons in *Jesus Christ*, one divine and the other human, and destroys the Mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God, which consists in the Union of the two Natures, divine and human in the Person of the Word, whence results a Man-God, called *Jesus Christ*, whose Actions by this Means are theandrical, *i. e.* divinely human, and humanly divine, and consequently of an infinite Merit, such as they ought to be, to satisfy the infinite Justice of God, and to operate the Redemption of the human Race.

The People of *Constantinople* were seized with Horror when they heard this new Impiety; but *Nestorius*, who as Bishop was obliged to condemn it; far from taking the Part of those who were scandalized at it, he on the contrary, maintained that bad Doctrine, and refused absolutely to the Virgin *Mary* the Title of Mother of God. *Socrates* says, that his Manner of speaking made several believe that he wanted to renew the Heresy of *Paul of Samosates*, and of *Photinus*, who had published that *Jesus Christ* was a pure Man; but as for him, who had no Antipathy against his Person, having read his Books with Attention, he had found him very far from that Error; and if he had refused to the Virgin *Mary* the Title of Mother of God, that proceeded from his Ignorance in explaining himself; that in fact he was very ignorant in the Science of the holy Writs: That he had never read the Writings of the Fathers who had preceded him, and that he was possessed of an insupportable Pride. But all the ecclesiastical Writers who have spoke of him, among whom Pope *Celestinus*, and *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, are the most remarkable, have been of another Sentiment; and the last shews, that in fifteen Articles *Nestorius* agrees with *Paul of Samosates*. The Difference between them consists in that *Paul* took off the Distinction of the divine Persons in the Trinity, and consequently the Subsistence of the Word; denied that *Jesus Christ* had ever been the Son of God; and that *Nestorius* deprived him of that Quality, but while he had been in the Womb of the blessed Virgin; but though he gave it him afterwards, it was in such a Manner, that in fact, and by a necessary Consequence, he took it from him. He differs besides from *Paul*, in that he confessed the Consubstantiality of the Word established in the Council of *Nice*. *Cassian* writes, *lib. 1. de incarn. verb.* that he had learned his Heresy in the Writings of *Ebion*; and that

muddy Brook having passed through the Canals of those who denied the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*, was fallen into the Common-Sewer of the *Pelagians*, and after that Course had appeared by itself.

In fact *Nestorius* had always favoured the *Pelagians*, and several Bishops who maintained that Heresy followed him to the Council of *Ephesus*. If one will even consider the Bottom of the Doctrine of *Pelagius*, who, in denying Man's Corruption by the Original Sin, took off consequently the Necessity of a Redemptor God and Man together; the Report which is between the *Pelagianism* and the *Nestorianism*, will be easily discover'd. It is certain that *Nestorius* had been Disciple of *Theodore of Mopsueste*, and that he learned from him the Heresy known under his Name. It is what we learn from the fifth œcumenical Council, from *St. Gregory the Great*, and from the Abridgment of *Liberatus*. This *Theodore* had led an infamous Life while he was Deacon, and Cardinal *Baronius* believes that it is to him *St. Chrysostom* addressed that fine Remonstrance found among his Works, intitled, *To Theodore fallen*. It is true, that *Theodoret* speaks of him in a quite different Manner, and represents him as a holy Bishop, Enemy of Hereticks, and Defender of *St. Chrysostom's* Innocence. But to reconcile these two different Relations, Cardinal *Baronius* says, that his Errors were discovered in his Writings after his Death, and that he had always dissimulated while he lived. *Diodorus*, Bishop of *Tharbis*, had also been one of *Nestorius's* Masters, if we believe *St. Cyril*, who accuses him in the Epistle to *Successus*, of having distinguished the Word born of God, from the Son of *Mary*, and who calls him in that he wrote to *John of Antioch*, and to *Acacius of Militene*, Enemy of the Glory of Christ.

Nestorius, not contented with having his Heresy published by *Anastasius* employ'd in it, one *Dorotheus*, a deposed Bishop of *Marcianopolis*, who, preaching in the Church of *Constantinople* in his Presence, was so insolent, as to pronounce Anathema against those who should call the Virgin *Mary* Mother of God. All the People abhorred that Blasphemy; but *Nestorius*, when he had ended his Sermon, communicated with him in the holy Mysteries. He published the Books he had wrote in Defence of his Impiety, and was careful to have them dispersed, particularly in the Monasteries of *Egypt*, in order to debauch those good Solitaries. *St. Cyril of Alexandria* being informed of it, composed a Writing to serve for Antidote against that Venom, and which he sent them. He wrote besides two other Treatises, which he addressed to *Theodosius*, to *Eudoxia*, and to *Pulcheria*, to preserve their Faith from that new Poison, where he does not name yet *Nestorius*. He wrote likewise to *Nestorius*, but this first Letter proved needless, as well as the second he sent him in the Month of *February* of the following Year. He answered him with the Pride of an obstinate Heresiarch, and conceived an implacable Hatred against him who endeavoured to cure him, calumniating him every where, and searching all Occasions of being revenged on him. At last his impious Writings having been sent to Pope *Celestinus*, at first he could not believe that they were of *Nestorius*, of whose Piety he had received so lately several very favourable Testimonies. To be sure of it, and do nothing indiscreetly, he wrote to *Cyril*, and desired him to inform himself with Care, if *Nestorius* was Author of the Books published under his Name. This wicked Man hoping to deceive the Pope, sent him a very respectful Letter, where at first he speaks to him of the *Pelagian* Bishops he had received at *Constantinople*, and who complained, that though they were Orthodox, they had been condemned as Hereticks. He desires him, that he may be informed how the Thing had happened. Afterwards he declares his Heresy, and calls the Virgin *Mary* Mother of Christ, instead of Mother of God. *Possidonius*, sent by *Cyril* to *Celestinus*, arrived at *Rome* at the same Time the Pope received *Nestorius's* Letter, and he learned the Truth he wanted to know by that of *Cyril* which *Possidonius* brought him.

Cyril informs *Celestin*, ' that he had been ready to write to *Nestorius* to tell him that he had separated himself

himself from his Communion, but that having considered that we are obliged to lend a helping Hand to our Brothers when they fall, to raise them up; he had suspended that Declaration, and had contented himself to advise him as his Friend, that he would desist from teaching his Errors; but that these private Remonstrances had produced no Effect; that, on the contrary, far from renouncing his Dreams, which do not deserve being called Dogmata, he had conceived a mortal Hatred against him, and searched all Occasions of offending him: That the greatest Part of the Senate, of the People, and of the Monks of *Constantinople*, absented themselves from the Sinaxes, for fear of hearing him preach his Impieties. He adds, that all the Bishops of the East, and particularly those of *Macedon*, were very much offended at his Doctrine; but that he despised every Body, believing himself the only one capable of understanding the sacred Scripture, and of penetrating into the Mystery of the Incarnation. But, however, that that Plague ought to be remedied soon, and that he informs his Holiness of it, obliged to it by the long Custom of the Church. That the People of *Constantinople* is debauched daily; that it is not a Question of small Importance, but of a capital Point, since the Honour of *Jesus Christ* is attacked, and that in such an Occasion, Silence is criminal.

Celestinus having received those Letters of *Nestorius*, and of *Cyril*, assembled a Synod at *Rome*, where the Impieties of *Nestorius* were condemned, and himself deposed, if in ten Days after the Signification of that Judgment, he would not abjure his Errors. The Pope, who wished passionately to bring him back to the true Faith from which he had departed, sent him an Answer, where he tells him first, 'that the *Pelagianism*, defended by those of whom he would be informed, had been pierced through by the Darts of the just Censures of the Eastern and Western Church; that *Atticus*, worthy Successor in that of the great *Chrysostom*, and Master of the Catholick Faith, had justly persecuted *Pelagius* and *Celestinus*, and that under his Pontificate, they had not dared to stop at *Constantinople*. That for those he wanted to be informed of, as if he knew nothing of what had happen'd in their Affair, they had been condemn'd and deposed by just Sentences: That he was not at all surpriz'd they had found a Refuge in a Place where a new Error began to pullulate, in Comparison of which, they could esteem themselves innocent: That he knew, that as for him, he believed, as he ought, the Corruption of Nature by the Original Sin; what could those do with him, who had been condemn'd for denying it? That when two contrary Parties unite themselves, they give him a just Suspicion of a pernicious Intelligence: That if those he protected, taught Maxims displeasing to him, he should expel them from his City; that he had no Need to enquire at *Rome*, what had pass'd between them; that it was from the Place where he resided, that *Atticus* had sent him the Acts of their Condemnation by his Church: That *Sisinnius* of blessed Memory, had not desir'd such Information, because he knew very well they had been condemn'd under his Predecessor. Besides, that he should rather think of defending his own Cause by a quick and catholick Resolution, than of maintaining the Party of others. Lastly, that he would let him know, that after he had not minded the two Letters *Cyril* had written to him, was to treat his in the same Manner, and refused to disown his Impieties, and to believe of *Jesus Christ* what the *Roman* Church, that of *Alexandria*, and lastly, the whole Catholick Church, believed of him, he was separated from the Body of Bishops, and from the Society of *Christians*.

The Pope sent this Letter to *Cyril*, by the Deacon *Possidonius*, and wrote him where he inform'd him of the Judgment of the Synod of *Rome*, and charged him to cause it to be signified to *Nestorius*, giving him the Authority of his See, and putting him in his Place for that Effect. He marks, besides, that he has wrote on that Subject to *John* of *Antioch*, to *Rufinus* of *Thessalonica*, to *Innocent* of *Jerusalem*, and to *Flavian* of *Philippes* his Brothers. He wrote another long Letter to the

Clergy, and to the People of *Constantinople*, where he says, that they being his Bowels, he fears, with Reason, lest their Faith, which is famous throughout the whole World, be corrupted by the bad Doctrine *Nestorius* teaches them; that though he be at a great Distance from them, when he hears that his Members are tore by a perverse Instruction, he burns with a paternal Zeal; and that there is no Distance between the Churches of God, which all make but one nuptial Bed of *Jesus Christ*; that new Discourses, such as those of *Nestorius*, proceed from a Vain-glory, which can make Impression on no Body, unless he denies, at the same Time, his being the Disciple of him who says, that he is not of this World: That having the Enemy within their Walls who makes no Truce with them, they must be always on their Guard, lest they should be surprized by his bad Doctrine. Towards the End, he exhorts the Clerks and Priests, with Words full of Zeal, to fight courageously for the Truth, to strengthen the Laicks by their Example; and to cure those whom their bad Bishop could corrupt.' He proposes to them the Example of *St. Stephen*, and of *St. Athanasius*, whose Suffrages must be their Consolation, and their Courage in their Persecutions; and his glorious Return into his Diocese, the Subject of the Hopes of all those who suffer.

Cyril sent those Letters of the Pope, to the Bishops to whom they were addressed; and himself wrote others to *John* of *Antioch*, where he says to him, 'that the holy Synod of *Rome* having pronounced a Sentence of Condemnation against *Nestorius*, that Sentence must be obey'd, unless one would separate himself from the Communion of the whole western Church: That for his Part he is determin'd to follow the Determination of those great Men, who have not conceived an Indignation for a Thing of a little Importance; but for the Defence of the Faith, for the Conservation of the Churches of the whole Earth, and for the common Edification of the People.'

The Bishop of *Antioch* having received this Letter, and that of *Celestinus*, sent them to *Nestorius*, advising him, at the same Time, to give Peace to the Church, by retracting the Doctrine he had taught. He tells him, 'That he ought not to believe that Affair insignificant, and as such, entirely despicable; that the Devil renders the Evils, which had been neglected at first, so great, and so dangerous, that at last they become incurable. That he should read the Letters he had sent him with a pacifick Mind, and take the Advice of some wise Persons, giving them leave to speak to him freely. That tho' the Term of ten Days, fixed by *Celestinus*, for his Retraction, was very short, the Affair was of such a Nature, that it could be terminated in one Day; since nothing else was requir'd of him, but that he should only, speaking of the Virgin *Mary*, use the same Name the holy Fathers have used, and which is very proper to express the Birth *Jesus Christ* has received from her: That as that was neither troublesome, nor dangerous, his Holiness could not refuse it: That he should not be disturb'd at the Contradiction found in his Words, nor at using a Term which was to express the Piety of his Sentiment, if, as himself believed, it was conformable to that of the antient Fathers: That if one refused to believe what the Name of the Mother of God signified, he would either fall into very dangerous Errors on the Point of the unexplicable Economy, *i. e.* the Incarnation of the Son of God. Lastly, he intreats him as a Brother, and by the Advice of the Bishops *Archelaus*, *Springius*, *Theodoret*, *Heliadus*, *Meletius*, and *Macarius*, who had Part in the Composition of his Letter, to resolve himself to follow their Advice, and to let them know, very soon, what he designs to do.'

Cyril, at the Return of *Possidonius*, assembled his Synod in *Alexandria*, where he caused the Letters, and the Judgment of *Celestinus* to be read. Four Deputies were chosen, *viz.* *Theopente* of *Cabasis*, *Daniel* of *Darmes*, *Potamon*, and *Macarius* Clerics, to be sent to signify that Condemnation to *Nestorius*, at *Constantinople*. They were likewise intrusted with a synodal Epistle for him, where the

the Bishops say, that Preaching and Believing the Death and Resurrection, and Ascension of the only Son of God, that's to say, of *Jesus Christ*, they render to God, in the Church, an unbloody Worship, they celebrate the mystical Benedictions, and by that Means are sanctified, being made Partakers of the sacred Flesh, and precious Blood of Christ our Lord; that far from their Thoughts, that they should receive that Flesh as a common Flesh, or as the Flesh of some sanctified Man, and associated to the Word in Equality of Dignity; or having acquir'd the divine Habitation; but that they take it as the true vivifying and proper Flesh of the Word.' Afterwards the Fathers of the Synod of *Alexandria*, join'd twelve Anathema's or Articles, to which they will that *Nestorius* should subscribe sincerely. Which Anathema's are inserted in my Treatise of *Councils*.

Besides the Epistle which contain'd these Anathema's, the Synod of *Alexandria* wrote to the Clergy, and to the People of *Constantinople*, to inform them of the Condemnation of their Bishop, if he was not to retract his impious Doctrine, which, till then, he had defended.

The Bishops being arrived at *Constantinople*, deliver'd to *Nestorius*, on a Sunday, in the Cathedral Church, the Letters they had been intrusted with, in Presence of the Clergy, and of all the People, and of several Persons of Condition. He made no other Answer to it, but that they should come to him the next Day, which they did; but he caused his Door to be shut against them, and minded so little the Letters they had delivered to him, that he continued always to preach his Heresy. Having read the Anathema's of *Cyril*, he sent a Copy thereof to *John* of *Antioch*, who was scandalized at it, as if they had renewed the Errors of *Apollinaris*. *Cyril* being informed of that bad Interpretation, explained clearly the Doctrine of his twelve Articles. *Theodoret*, Bishop of *Cyr*, who was entirely in the Interests of *John*, published twelve others, entirely contrary to the orthodox Doctrine, and where he gives to some of *Cyril*'s Expressions, a very malicious Explication, as if he had confounded the divine and human Nature, and had wanted that the Honour due only to the Person of God, should be done to the single Humanity of *Jesus Christ*. *Nestorius*, not contented with despising the Letter and Condemnation of *Cyril*, persecuted him unjustly, and accused him near *Theodosius*, so that that Prince being deceived by the Heresiarch, wrote him a very bitter Letter, where he accuses him of exciting Scandals, and of calumniating his Brothers. Therefore the Condemnation of Pope *Celestinus*, which had been signified by the Bishops of *Alexandria*, remained without Effect; *Cyril* being accused himself of having advanced Heresies.

There was then no other Means left to terminate that great Controversy, but the Convocation of an universal Council. The Deacon *Basil*, the Reader *Thalassius*, the *Archimandrites*, and the other Catholick Monks, presented a Request to *Theodosius*, in which, exposing to him *Nestorius*'s Impieties, the bad Treatments, the Imprisonment, and the Torments he had made the Laicks, and particularly the Monks who opposed them, suffer, they intreated his Majesty to convoke an œcumenical Council, to hinder the Venom of that Heresy spreading farther; and if he refuses to comply with their Request, they protest of their Innocence, and cite him before the immortal King of Kings, who has descended from Heaven for our Salvation, who has conversed among Men, and who is to come to judge the Quick and the Dead.

Theodosius, judging in Effect that the Question which disturbed the Church, could not be defin'd but by a general Council, convoked one in *Ephesus*, for the following Year, on the Day of *Pentecost*. In that Council the Heresy of *Nestorius* was anathematized, as we have seen in my Treatise of *Councils*, himself deposed, and banished by the Emperor's Orders.

None of the ecclesiastical Authors speak of the Banishment of *Nestorius*, nor of what became of him afterwards, nor of his Death, of the Manner his Impiety was punished, except *Evagrius*, who, c. 7. *Eccles. Hist.* says, that

he had found a Book, where himself makes a Recital of his Calamities.

Nestorius, says he, that Author of a Doctrine full of Impieties and Blasphemies, who, instead of building on a Foundation himself had laid, built on the Sand, and raised an Edifice, which, according to the Parable of our Saviour, is soon fallen into Ruin, wanting to answer to those who accused him of having introduced Novelties; and of having asked imprudently the Convocation of the Council of *Ephesus*, says, that he had been reduced to the indispensable Necessity to take the Party he had took; because the Church being divided, and the one maintaining on one Side, that *Mary* ought to be called Mother of a Man, and the others, that she should be called Mother of God, he invented the Term of Mother of Christ; not to unite the mortal to the immortal, and not to offend either Party. He adds, that the Emperor *Theodosius* disapprov'd at first his Deposition, because of the Affection he had for him; but that after the Bishops of both Parties had been deputed from *Ephesus*, to that Prince, and himself had asked to return to his Monastery near *Antioch*, it was granted him. He does not tell the Name of that Monastery; but some say, that it is called at present the Monastery of *Euprepreæ*; and I know, that it is in fact two Stadia distant from *Antioch*. *Nestorius* says, that he staid there four Years, during which he received all Sorts of Honours and Respects; and that afterwards he was banished to *Dasis*, by Order of the Emperor *Theodosius*. But he dissembles what is the more important, which is, that having continued in that Monastery to teach his Errors; and *John*, Bishop of *Antioch*, having informed the Emperor of it, he was banished. He addressed another Book to an *Egyptian*, composed in Form of Dialogues on his Exile, where he speaks of it in an ample Manner. The Letter he wrote to the Governor of *Thebaides*, is a manifest Proof of the Chastisements the divine Justice employ'd to punish his Impiety, in permitting, that he should be led into Captivity, which is one of the most deplorable of all Miseries. But because he deserved to be punished with a still greater Severity, he was set at Liberty by the *Blennyans*, and becoming thereby a Vagrant, he fell from his Horse, in some Parts of the Coast of *Thebaides*, and being extremely bruised by that Fall he died, as miserably as he deserved. Others pretend, that he had his Tongue devour'd by Worms, and that he passed from a temporal Torment into an eternal one.

In the Year of *Christ* 448; of Pope *Leo* 9; of the Emperor *Theodosius* 41; of *Valentinian* 34; *Eutyches* invented his Heresy, which I have described at large in my Treatise of *Eutychians*, under the Letter *E*.

In the Year 483, *Peter the Fowler*, Bishop of *Antioch*, invented a new Heresy, in adding to the Hymn, called *Trisagion*, these Words, *Who has been crucified for us*, which attributed the Passion to the three Persons of the Trinity, and discovered him *Valentinian*, *Eutychian*, *Apollinarian*, and *Sabellian*. The Eastern Bishops having learn'd the Introduction of this Blasphemy in the Office of the Church, made loud Complaints of it, and wrote to him to persuade him to retract himself. *Acacius*, tho' his Friend, and had much contributed to his Re-establishment, assembled a Synod at *Constantinople*, where that Error was condemned with the unanimous Consent of all the Bishops of that Synod. He even sent him a very sharp Letter, to bring him back to the Truth he had abandon'd. The News of his Impiety were carried to *Rome*, and Pope *Felix*, in a Council of the Bishops of *Italy*, he had assembled at the Request of the Bishop of *Alexandria*, expelled from his See by *Peter Mongus*, deposed him from the Episcopacy. The first synodal Epistle, which carried the Monition, was full of Compassion for his Person, of Horror for his Heresy, and of Exhortations to Repentance. *Peter* little minded it, no more than a second Writing on the same Subject; so that *Felix* addressed him in a third, which contained his Condemnation. He inform'd the Emperor *Zeno* of it; and advised him to separate himself from the Communion of *Peter the Fowler*, whom he calls the first-born of the Devil. But the Heretick made a Jest of the Sentence, remained in his See, and continued under the

Emperor's Protection, his Persecution against the Catholics.

Not satisfied with corrupting those of his Province, he attempted to extend his Jurisdiction in *Cyprus*, to spread his Errors, under Pretence that in the Church's Infancy, the Apostles coming out of *Antioch*, had carried the Light of the Gospel into that Island. He had so well pre-occupied the Mind of the Emperor by those who approached him, and whom he had engaged by Presents to espouse his Interests, that the Bishop of *Salamina*, called *Anthemius*, was called to *Constantinople*, to answer to his Pretensions before *Acacius*. As he had more Piety than Doctrine or Eloquence, he was in Pain what he should do, and if he should obey the Order he had received: But at last he took the Resolution to depart for *Constantinople*, where he was conducted to the House of the Patriarch. *Zeno* being informed of his Arrival, commanded the Patriarch to assemble his Synod, in order to terminate all the Differences subsisting between the Bishops. In that Assembly *Peter the Fowler* maintained that his See was apostolical, as having been founded by *St. Peter*, patriarchal, and consequently that the Province of *Cyprus* ought to be under its Jurisdiction. *Anthemius* answered, that his Church had also been founded by an Apostle, viz. *St. Barnabas*, whose Body had been discovered uncorrupted, a few Days before his Departure for *Constantinople*. At which the *Antiochians* remained so confounded that they replied nothing.

Peter the Fowler remained always in his Heresy, and to have it dispersed among the People, he created one of his Tools, called *Xenaias*, Bishop of *Hierapolis*, who was every way unworthy of it: For besides that he was born a Slave, he had never been baptized. When *Peter* was reproached with this Irregularity, he answered, that the Episcopal Consecration supplied the Want of the Sacrament of Christian Regeneration. *Nicephorus* says, lib. 16. c. 17. that it was this *Xenaias* who first pretended that the Images of Christ and of the Saints were not to be honoured: But at last the unhappy *Peter the Fowler*, who had excited so much Trouble in the Church, went to receive the just Judgment of his Violences and Blasphemies, at the Tribunal of him whose Incarnation he had attacked with so much Fury.

In the Year 533, *Julius of Halicarnasse* published, that Christ's Body had been impassible from the very Instant of his Conception, and had never suffered any Change in his Proprieties, either natural or voluntary, not even after his Resurrection.

The AGNOITES appeared in the Year 560, and had for Chief *Temistius* Deacon of *Timothy*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, and who added to the Errors of *Eutyches*, that *Jesus Christ* was ignorant of the Day of Judgment, founded on the Passage of the Scripture, where it is said that *the Son of Man does not know the Day of Judgment*; which must be understood that he does not know it as Man.

In the Year 590, *James the Syrian*, pretended that the Forehead of those who were baptized should be burnt with a red-hot Iron.

The TRITHEITES appeared in the Year 606, and had for their Chief *Philopanus*, who introduced three Gods, whence his Disciples were called *Tritheites*. He composed besides a Treatise against the Resurrection of the Dead, which he turned into Ridicule, and against the Council of *Chalcedon*. Not that he pretended that the Souls at the Day of Judgment, were not to re-assume Bodies; but he would not confess, that they were to be the same they had informed before; and said that God created new ones to which he joined them. As for ours, he maintained that they were corrupted, according to the Matter and Form. This Error which came from *Origen* did spread, and had among its Followers *Eutychius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, *Iconcius* Monk, *Iphrem* Bishop of *Theopolis*, and *George Pisides* wrote excellent Treatises against him.

The MONOTHELITES, appeared for the first Time in the Year of Christ 630, of Pope *Honorius* 5. of the Emperor *Heraclius* 25. they had for Chief *Athanasius* Patriarch of the *Jacobites*. He was a Man of a great Genius, and had a great deal of Subtlety and Dexterity.

The Emperor *Heraclius* promised him, that if he would receive the Council of *Chalcedon*, he would make him Patriarch of *Antioch*. *Athanasius*, seeing a Door open to him to so great a Dignity, to which he could never had aspired otherwise, made no Difficulty of receiving the Council of *Chalcedon*, and of affecting to be Catholic for some Time, in order to gain the Emperor's Favour; and promised himself that being Patriarch of the East, it would be more easy for him to sow the new Heresy he was infected withal; viz. *That in Jesus Christ there was but one Operation, and one Will*. Afterwards *Athanasius* speaking one Day with *Heraclius*, asked him, what was to be said of the Operations of *Jesus Christ*, and if they were simple or double. The Emperor, surprized at that Question, says Cardinal *Baronius*, consulted, by his Advice, *Sergius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, in whom he had a very great Confidence, and *Cyrus* Bishop of *Phases*, and found them both in the same Sentiment, viz. *That there was but one Operation and one Will in Jesus Christ*. Till then *Sergius* had always appeared Catholic; but he had dissembled, and hid his Heresy, till he could find so favourable an Opportunity as this to discover it. He was born in *Syria*, and of *Jacobite* Parents, who had educated him in that Error. *Heraclius* finding these two Bishops of the Sentiment that there was but one single Will in *Jesus Christ*, embraced it, founded on the great Esteem he had for their Piety and Doctrine, particularly for that of *Sergius* his Patriarch. Therefore this Emperor, formerly so very religious, abandoned the Faith of the Church; and this was the Beginning of the Heresy of the *Monothelites*, which caused so much Disorders in the Church. Unless we rather chuse to refer the Origin of it to the Conference the Emperor had some Years before with one *Paul*, Bishop of the Party of the *Severians*. This confounded the Natures in Christ, and consequently the Operation and Will. Father *Cambyfis*, who has wrote on the Heresy of the *Monothelites*, questions the Truth of the Conference of *Heraclius* with *Athanasius*, and believes that it is the same he had had with *Paul* of the Sect of *Severus*, in which he had already shewed his Heresy of a single Will in *Jesus Christ*.

This Heresy made soon very great Progress in the Church; for *Cyrus* who had been elected Patriarch of *Alexandria*, assembled a Synod of the Bishops his Suffragants, immediately after his Election, in which, under Pretence of uniting the *Theodosians* to the Catholic Church, he published that there was but one Will and one Operation in *Jesus Christ*, because it suffices, said he, to confess one Will and one Operation *Dei virilis*, to shew that one confesses two Natures in *Jesus Christ*, and that it is no Matter if the Name is suppressed, provided the Things remain. He wrote afterwards to the Patriarch *Sergius*, what had been concluded in his Synod; to which this sent an Answer, in which he praises extremely his Decision, and concludes for a single Will, and a single Operation in *Jesus Christ*, making no Mention, either of the Authority of *St. Denis*, or of the Word *Dei virilis*, *Cyrus* himself had employ'd, in which he made a more open Profession of the Heresy of *Eutyches* than *Cyrus* had done.

Sophronius, who was not yet Bishop of *Jerusalem*, but a simple Monk, having been inform'd of the Decrees of *Cyrus's* Synod, which *Cyrus* himself communicated to him; and finding that the Heresy was strongly established in it, declared himself against it, shed an Abundance of Tears, and throwing himself at *Cyrus's* Feet, intreated him not to publish in the Church, Decisions so contrary to the true Faith; but it was not in his Power to gain any Thing on his Mind. Which perceiving, he had Recourse to *Sergius*, as to a Bishop of a greater Authority, hoping to stop by that Means this growing Evil. To succeed in it he wrote him a long Letter, and exhorted him to procure the Suppression of the last Chapter published by *Cyrus*; for he did not know that he was infected with the same Error, and wanted even to persuade him, that two Wills and two Operations should be distinctly confessed in the Church. But not contented with writing, he came himself to *Constantinople*, to spur on the Patriarch to do what he asked him by his Letters, the

the first thereof are lost, and we have but those he addressed to the same *Sergius*, after he was created Bishop of *Jerusalem*.

Sergius having received *Sophronius's* first Letter, wrote one to Pope *Honorius*, where he gave him an Account of all that had been done till then on that Question, as well by the Emperor, as by the Prelates. He added, likewise, that it seemed proper, in order to bring back the *Eutychians* to the Bosom of the Church, to abstain from those Words of *the two Operations*, and *two Wills in Jesus Christ*; they being two Manners of Speaking. *Honorius* received this Letter, and made an Answer to it, which was afterwards condemned as heretical in the sixth Council. For he approved, for the Good of the Peace, said he, that Mention should not be made, neither of one, nor of two Operations in *Jesus Christ*. But he did not discover *Sergius's* Malice, who speaking in Appearance like a Catholick, disguised his Heresy under ambiguous Terms. It could also be inferred from *Honorius's* Words, that he believed but one Operation, and one Will in *Jesus Christ*.

Cyrus did not remain within the Limits of the Suppression of the Manners of Speaking, prescribed by the Pope; but he maintain'd publicly, that there was but one Will in *Jesus Christ*. He even wrote to Pope *Honorius*, by the Bishop *Stephen*, which the Pope answering, he silenced him. It is true, that we have not those Letters, but they are mention'd in others he wrote to *Sergius*, and which were read in the third Session of the sixth Council. Those who want to excuse him say, that he understood that in *Jesus Christ* there was not two Wills opposed to one another, that of the Flesh to that of the Spirit, as they are within us, ever since *Adam's* Sin; but that, in some Manner, there was but one, because the Flesh desired nothing against the Spirit; and therefore, two Operations should not be mention'd, but only one operating; nor two Wills, but one willing, in two Natures join'd indivisibly, inconvertibly, and without Confusion.

The Emperor *Heraclius* to support the *Monothelism* with his Authority, caused an Edict to be published under his Name (but compos'd by his Patriarch *Sergius*) which he called the *Ecthesis*, i. e. Explication, and which contained manifestly that Heresy. That Edict was sent to the Exarch *Isaac*, that it should be signed by the Pope: But *Severinus*, who had succeeded *Honorius* in the Pontificate, but not in his Sentiments, condemned it. The Patriarch *Sergius*, on the contrary, confirm'd it, in a Consiliabulum of Bishops, he assembled at *Constantinople*, and deposed all the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, who should teach, that there are two Operations, and two Wills in *Jesus Christ*; and deprived of his Communion, all the Monks and Laicks who should be of that Sentiment. The Abbot *Maximus*, in his Dispute with *Pyrrhus*, speaking of that Synod, says, that he is surpriz'd how he dares give the Name of Synod to an Assembly held against all the usual Formalities of the Church; for the Convocation thereof no circulatory Letter had been sent; to which neither Day nor Place had been assigned; where no Accuser, nor Defender had appear'd; where those who had been assembled had brought no Letters of Recommendation, i. e. nor the Bishops from their Metropolitans, nor the Metropolitans from their Patriarchs: And where these had sent no Deputies according to the antient Custom of the Church.

Cyrus, Bishop of *Alexandria*, wrote a Letter to *Sergius* full of Flatteries; whereby he assures him that he has read his *Ecthesis* several Times with Pleasure and Attention. That he is pleas'd to see in it the true Faith interpreted in a Manner as clear the Sun; that he thanks God for giving to the World an Emperor, who takes so much Care to preserve the Peace of the Church.

Sergius, who swallowed those Flatteries with Pleasure, was in Hopes that his Heresy would triumph at last over the Truth; but God, whose Judgments are hidden, and who permits the Disorders of Men for his Glory, called him out of the World, after he had held the See of *Constantinople* more than thirty Years. *Heraclius* gave him for Successor the Monk *Pyrrhus*, who had already given several Marks of his Impiety.

The Pope *Severinus* died likewise, and was succeeded by *John*, the fourth of that Name, born in *Dalmatia*, and Son of the Scholastick *Venantius*. Soon after his Election, he assembled a Synod of Bishops; where the *Ecthesis* of *Heraclius* was solemnly condemned. The Acts of that Synod are lost, therefore I can say nothing of it in particular. This Pope, not contented with what he had done at *Rome*, exhorted so powerfully the Bishops of *Africa*, that several of them assembled Synods, likewise, where the Heresy of the *Monothelites* was treated in the same Manner it had been in that held at *Rome*.

Heraclius was sensibly offended at these Censures; but not seeing how he could resist their Authority, and supporting with Pain the Infamy they load'd him with, he published a Declaration, where he declares, that the *Ecthesis*, published under his Name, was not his, but had been compos'd by the Patriarch *Sergius*, who had made Use of his Name, to give it more Authority.

As one Heretick had succeeded another in the Patriarchal See of *Constantinople*, the same happen'd in the See of *Alexandria*. For *Cyrus* being dead, one *Peter* was put in his Place. *Heraclius* procur'd his Promotion, to have in that great City a Protector of the Heresy he profess'd; but at last God deliver'd his Church from that bad Emperor, who died after thirty-one Years Reign, loaded with Sorrow and Infirmities. That Prince had certainly several very excellent Qualities, and had been comparable to the greatest Emperors who have reign'd, as well for his Courage, as for his last military Exploits, if he had not dishonour'd his Reign by the Heresy into which he fell; and of which he was the chief Protector. But perhaps he could be excus'd on that he was deceived by the Patriarch *Sergius*, a very learned Man, in whom he had Confidence, and by the other Bishops who abus'd his Ignorance, and of the Zeal he had to exterminate the Heresy of the *Eutychians*, and to procure Peace to the Church.

Constantine his Son succeeded him; but he reign'd but four Months, and was succeeded by *Cleonas*, who held the Empire six Months. The Senate placed *Constantius*, *Heraclius's* Grandson on the Throne, who was an Heretick, like his Father, and who by an unconceivable Desire of extending *Monothelism* throughout the whole World, promoted to Bishopricks, and sent into the Provinces for Prefects, none but Persons he knew infected with that Heresy. Therefore we ought not to be surpriz'd if almost all the East was infected therewith. The Patriarchs and Prelates being corrupted, debauch'd their Flocks, or suffered them to be debauch'd; and the Church had infallibly made a Naufrage in those unhappy Days, if the Rage of the Devil, the Violence of Princes, and the Artifices of Hereticks, were capable to make her perish. Some Bishops, who had remain'd Catholicks, incapable to resist the Violences of the Hereticks, and seeing the Error predominant in their Dioceses, fled to *Rome*, as to a Port secure against the Tempests which agitated the East. Others, unwilling to desert their Flocks, wrote to Pope *Theodorus*, to inform him of their Perseverance in the true Faith, and to condole with him on the Calamities of the Church.

Those of the Island of *Cyprus* assembled a Synod, and sent to the Pope a synodal Epistle, which was read in the Council assembled by Pope *Martin*. It was only subscribed by the Patriarch *Sergius*, and carried this Inscription, *To the most holy, and most blessed, our honoured Lord, Father of Fathers, Archbishop, and universal Pope, my Lord Theodorus, the humble Sergius, greeting in the Lord*. Then continued thus, '*Jesus Christ* our God, 'has established your apostolical See, as a firm, and un- 'moveable Foundation, and as the most radiant Form 'of the Faith. For you are *Peter* (as the divine Word 'has pronounced it) and on that Foundation, the Co- 'lums of the Church are founded. He has intrusted 'you with the Keys of the Heavens, and with the 'Power of binding and unbinding what is in Heaven, 'and on Earth. You are the Destroyer of profane He- 'resies, as the Prince and Doctor of the orthodox and 'immaculate Faith. Therefore, O Father, do not neg- 'lect the Care of the Faith of your antient Fathers, which 'is at present agitated by the Tempest, and disturb- ed

‘ ed by heretical Winds. Be pleased to dissipate, O most
‘ holy, by the Light of your Science, the Clouds of He-
‘ refy; and to silence the Blasphemies of some new He-
‘ retick Doctors, who have lately appeared.’

Before *Pyrrhus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, departed for *Rome*, he had a Dispute in the Month of *July*, of the Year of *Christ* 645; of Pope *Theodorus* 4; of the Emperor *Constantius* 4, with the Abbot *Maximus*. The Acts of that Dispute have been preserved entire, and Cardinal *Baronius* has inserted them in his eighth Tome. There wanted no less learned, and less zealous Defender of the Catholick Faith, to confound so subtil, and so obstinate an Heresiarch as was *Pyrrhus*. This *Maximus* was a Person of an illustrious Extraction; and had rendered himself a great Philosopher, and as great a Theologian, which engaged the Emperor *Heraclius* to make him his Secretary of State. He accepted that Employment to oblige him, and exercised it so worthily, that he was an Example of Piety and Justice to the whole Court. But when the Heresy of the *Monothelites* began to gain Ground there, the Fear of being seduced by it, and the Care of his Salvation, made him quit the Court; so that he retired into the Monastery of *Chrysople* on the other Side of the Streight of *Constantinople*; and having passed some Time there, in the Exercises of the monastick Life, he was judged worthy of being made Abbot; but his Zeal for the Catholick Faith, obliged him to quit his Monastery to defend it. Perceiving then, that the Heresy had infected almost all the East, he came first into *Africa*, where he had several Conferences with the Bishops of that Province; and as he knew perfectly well all the Subtilties and Artifices of Hereticks, he taught others how they should easily answer them. From thence he passed into the Isles, then came to *Rome*, and acting every where with the same Zeal, he so well animated Pope *John* to maintain the Purity of the Faith, that he engaged him to assemble a Council of several Bishops, in which, as we have already observed, the new Heresy was condemned. After all this, Meeting, in *Africa*, with *Pyrrhus*, who had retreated thither; the Patriarch *Gregory* desiring to procure Peace to the Church, made Use of this Encounter, and resolved that there should be at *Carthage* a publick Conference, between these two famous Men. *Pyrrhus* was in it so absolutely convicted of his Error, that he recanted publicly, of his own Accord; though the *Monothelites* (according to Custom) published that he had been forced to it. Afterwards he came to *Rome* with *Maximus*, where having presented to Pope *Theodorus*, a Profession of Faith entirely Catholick, he was admitted into the Church by the same Pope, with the Title of Patriarch, causing all the Honours to be shewn to him, due to that eminent Dignity. This Conversion proved very glorious to *Maximus*, and the Bishops consulted him from all Parts as an Oracle. But this Glory, as it most commonly happens, created him several Enemies, who accused him with having praised *Pyrrhus* while he was yet in his Heresy, and of being fallen himself into Error, having taught, in an Epistle to the Priest *Marinus*, that there were three Wills in *Jesus Christ*. He disown'd that Epistle in the Apology he wrote for his Defence. He has left other Writings, addressed to the Priest *Marinus*, which justify clearly that he acted as a very learned Man, and very zealous for the Defence of the Faith.

The Conversion of *Pyrrhus* caused a very great Consternation among the Hereticks, and a very great Joy among the Bishops of *Africa*. It revived their Zeal, and all the Primates of that Part of the World assembled the Synods of their Provinces to condemn the new Heresy; being the more prompted to it, when they heard that Writings had been affixed at the Doors of the Church of *Constantinople*, to engage every Body to embrace the *Monothelism*: Therefore *Stephen*, Primate of the Province *Bizacene*, assembled 42 Bishops: *Colombus*, Primate of *Numidia*, assembled likewise his Suffragants; and *Reparatus*, Primate of *Mauritania*, convoked his. Those of the consular Province of *Carthage*, met likewise to the Number of 68. Some Fragments of that Council were recited in that of *Lateran* assembled by Pope *Martin* some Time afterwards. The Primates of

the *Bizacene*, of *Numidia*, and of *Mauritania* wrote to Pope *Theodorus* an Epistle, to desire him to forward a Letter they had wrote to *Paul* Bishop of *Constantinople*, the greatest Protector, and the greatest Defender the *Monothelites* had at that Time, to intreat him to quit his Error.

In all those Synods of *Africa*, there is no Mention made of the Bishops of *Carthage*, because *Fortunus*, or *Fortunatius* who held that See during those Synods, was joined in Communion with *Paul* Bishop of *Constantinople*; and by that Means could not appear in those Assemblies which were made against the *Monothelites*. After his Deposition, or after his Death, another Bishop, called *Victor*, was elected in his Place, who, as soon he was created, deputed the Bishop *Melossus*, the Deacon *Redemptus*, and *Cresciturus* Notary of his Church, to inform him of his Election, and sent him his Confession of Faith, to shew him that he was entirely orthodox.

Theodorus seeing the universal Consent of the Bishops of *Africa* against *Paul* of *Constantinople*, sent him *Nuncios* who carried their Letters to that Patriarch. He joined likewise to them his own Letter, which was more bitter than the former he had already written to him, without having gained any Thing on his Mind: For towards the End of this he pronounces Anathema against all those who should depart from the Sentiments of the Catholick Church. Father *Sirmond* has published that Letter in his Additions to *Athanasius* the Library-Keeper.

Paul made an Answer to the Pope, in which he endeavours to dissemble his Heresy, as if by confessing but one Will in *Jesus Christ*, he understood only that there is no Contrariety of Will in him; but that there is but one single Operating, and one single Willing. He advances besides that the antient Fathers, St. *Gregory* of *Nazianzen*, St. *Athanasius*, and St. *Cyril*, are of his Opinion, and have spoken in the same Manner. But notwithstanding those Artifices, the Pope, and the Bishops who were near him, discovered the Heresy contained in this Letter, and at last *Theodorus* condemned it.

This Condemnation had no Effect with Respect to *Paul*, nor brought him back to the Church: On the contrary, he persevered always in his Heresy, and even wrote an Edict, which was published under the Name of the Emperor *Constantius* to give it more Authority, as the *Ephesis* had been under that of *Heraclius*. It had for Title the *Type* or *Formular*, and under Pretence of uniting all the Churches in the same Faith, it imposed Silence as well to those who said that there were two Wills in *Jesus Christ*, as to those who taught there was but one. The Patriarch on this Occasion deceived easily the Emperor, making him believe that this Edict procured Peace to the Church; and that on the other Side he would draw from it, this Advantage for his Heresy of preventing the Catholick Truth, contrary to it, from being publicly taught. The Emperor expected likewise by that Means to gain the Bishops of *Africa*, and hinder them from joining with the Prefect *Gregory*, who had revolted against him. Towards the End of that Edict the Emperor decreed Penalties against all those who henceforwards should speak of the Question of one or two Wills in *Jesus Christ*, deposing the Bishops and Priests, expelling the Monks from their Monasteries, degrading the Magistrates and Soldiers, confiscating the Estates of the Nobility, and lastly, commanding that all other Persons should be chastised and sent into Exile.

In the Council assembled some Time afterwards by Pope *Martin*, the Bishops speak of the *Type* in this Manner: ‘ In reading the *Type* it appears to have been
‘ written with a good Intention; but it contains Things
‘ contrary to that Intention which seems righteous, just,
‘ and reasonable. For it is really a very good Thing,
‘ and desirable to all those who fear God, to hinder
‘ Dissentions and Disputes in the Matters of Faith:
‘ But it is neither good nor useful to destroy Good in
‘ destroying Evil, that’s to say, to destroy with the
‘ Heresies the Words and Dogmata’s of the orthodox
‘ Fathers; for this is not the Means to appease Contro-
‘ versies, since no Body, truly Christian, can suffer with
‘ Patience, that the Use of the venerable Expression of
‘ Faith should be forbidden together with an heretical
‘ Impiety. Theo.

Theodorus assembled a Synod at *Rome*, where the *Type* having been examined, was rejected and condemned. The Patriarch *Paul* was likewise fulminated in it and deposed. That Patriarch having heard it, was provoked to Excess, and to be revenged of it, he caused the Altar and Oratory which were in the Palace where the Pope's Nuncio's lodged in the City of *Constantinople*, to be pulled down; persecuted them in their Persons, and all the Orthodox who adhered to them, imprisoning the one, and sending the others into Exile, or having them cruelly whipped with Rods. *Pyrrhus*, who returned to his Heresy after he had abjured it, as above-mentioned, was likewise excommunicated. This is the Detail of this History.

The Emperor having learned that he had disowned his Errors, and given a Declaration of it to the Pope, ordered the Exarch *Olympius*, he was sending to *Ravenna*, to use all his best Endeavours to engage him anew in his old Heresy. *Olympius* employ'd so many Artifices to seduce this Wretch, and to corrupt him, that at last he succeeded therein, and engaged him to repent publickly of his Repentance, and to detest the Abjuration he had made in *Africa* and at *Rome*. The Pope having been informed of that Apostacy, assembled a Synod, in which he excommunicated him. *Pyrrhus* afterwards returned to *Constantinople*, where he was graciously received by the Emperor, who restored him to his See.

Pope *Theodorus*, after he had courageously defended and maintained the orthodox Faith for the Space of seven Years, five Months, and twenty Days, went to receive in Heaven the Reward of his noble Toils, and died the Eve of the Ides of *May*. *Martin*, born at *Todi*, a City of *Tuscany*, was elected in his Place. Soon after his Elevation, he convoked a Council at *Rome* to condemn solemnly the *Type* we have mentioned. He believed himself obliged to renew that Condemnation, though already made by his Predecessor, to let the Emperor know, that he was very far from receiving it, as he had intreated him to do by express Letters, imagining that he should obtain that Consent from him, in Gratitude for that he had given for his Election to the Pontificate. But he had too much Piety and too much Zeal for the Church, for acknowledging by an Impiety the Favour the Emperor thought he had done him.

That Council was very famous, and the Pope himself calls it a General Council, in his Letter to the Bishop *Amandus*; it was composed of 105 Bishops: The Abbot *Maximus*, who had so earnestly solicited its Convocation, was also there present. It was assembled in the Palace of *Lateran*.

In the first Session *Theophilet*, the first of the Notaries harangued, and addressing himself to Pope *Martin* who presided, said, 'That, imitating *Jesus Christ* who had penetrated the Heavens by Words and Deeds, he had assembled the Priests of the true God, on the Occasion of a Novelty, which had been introduced into the Church: That he desired him to let the Assembly of the Bishops know all that had happened in the Affair of that Heresy; and in what Condition it was at that present Time, &c.'

Afterwards Pope *Martin* made a pretty long Discourse to the Fathers of the Council, in which he exhorts them first to watch carefully over their Flocks by the Example of the Shepherds, to whom the Angels announced the Birth of our Saviour, lest the Plague of the new Hereticks should corrupt them. Afterwards he spoke of *Cyrus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, of *Sergius* of *Constantinople*, and of *Pyrrhus* and *Paul* his Successors, who, said he, publicly taught the Error of one Will, and of one single Operation in *Jesus Christ*. He refuted, in few Words, the new Heresy, by the Authority of *St. Basil*, writing against his Enemies, of *St. Cyril*, in his Book of the Treasure, of the Epistle of Pope *Leo* to the Emperor of the same Name, and of *Plavian* of *Constantinople*. He spoke, likewise, of the Penitence of *Pyrrhus*, who had presented to the apostolical See a Recantation of his erroneous Opinions, but had soon recanted again, returning like a Dog to his Vomit, which had obliged him to punish him with Deposition.

He says, afterwards, 'that *Paul*, Successor of *Sergius*; in a Letter he had wrote to him, had been so impudent as to maintain his Heresy; and that for that Subject he had also been deposed by the holy apostolical See: That afterwards, to disguise his Error, he had persuaded the most clement Emperor to publish the *Type*, in which eluding the Authorities of the holy Fathers, that Prince had order'd that henceforwards no Mention should be made, neither of one, nor of two Wills in *Jesus Christ*. But to say, that *Jesus Christ* is without Will, and without Operation, is to say, that he is without Substance, and without Nature, and therefore to destroy him. *Dennis* of blessed Memory; teaching, that all that has no Operation is not, is nothing, and has no Stability, because Nature is no otherwise discover'd to exist, than by the natural and substantial Virtue of operating, which is inseparable from it. He complains of the Violence *Paul* had exercised against the apostolick Nuncio's, &c.

All that was done, besides, in this Council, where the *Type* was condemn'd, may be seen at large in my Treatise of *Councils*.

In the Year 650; of Pope *Martin* 2; of the Emperor *Constantius* 9; the Heresy of the *Monothelites* was condemn'd in a Council held at *Orleans* in *France*; and afterwards that Heresy could never make any Progress in that Kingdom.

The *Monothelism* was condemned for the last Time in the sixth general Council, called *in Trullo*, assembled in the Year 680; of Pope *Agatho* 3; of the Emperor *Constantine Pogonatus* 13; as it may be seen in my Treatise of the *Councils*.

The *Iconoclastes*, or *Ichonomachi*, i. e. those who destroyed the Images, appeared in the Year of *Christ* 717; of Pope *Gregory* II. 2; of the Emperor *Leo Isauricus*, 13 to which the Emperor himself gave Occasion; for having been excited by some Magician *Jacos*, he declar'd War against the Images; and caused them to be pulled down in all the Places, where they could be found; publishing an Edict whereby he ordered that they should not be suffer'd in Churches.

The *Iconoclastes* were condemned as Hereticks in the second Council of *Nice*, assembled in the Year of *Christ* 786; of Pope *Adrian* 16; of *Constantine* and *Irene* 8; the History whereof may be seen in my Treatise of the *Councils*.

In the Year 791; *Felix*, Bishop of *Urgel*, in *Spain*, and *Elipandus*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, published that *Christ* was God's Son but by Adoption. They were condemned in the Council of *Ratisbon*, held in 792, under Pope *Adrian*; and also in that of *Frankfort* on the *Main*, assembled by the Emperor *Charlemagne*'s Orders; and where he assisted in Person; together with the Bishops of the Provinces of his Kingdom, of that of *England*, and with the Pope's Legates.

The *Roman* Catholics rank among the Hereticks, *Claudius*, Bishop of *Turin*, who pretended, that no Respect should be shown to the Cross, nor to the Sepulchres of the holy Apostles, nor to the Relicks of Saints; that Pilgrimages were needless, &c. He began to dogmatize in the Year 802.

In the Year 823; of Pope *Paschal* 7; *Michael* III. called the *Stoterer*, Emperor of the East, shewed himself an Heretick. He began by persecuting the Orthodox, and professing *Judaism*. He turned into Ridicule, and denied the Existence of Devils, and the Resurrection of the Dead. He was of Opinion, that Fornication was not a Sin, and ranked *Judas* among the Saints.

In the Year 1049, *Photius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, began the Schism of the *Greeks*; and to publish his Error of the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father only.

In the Year 1058, *Berengarius*, Archdeacon of *Ligiers* (whom the *Roman* Catholics rank among the Hereticks) began to teach, that the real Body and the real Blood of *Christ* were not in the Eucharist; and afterwards having revoked that Sentiment, which the whole *Christian* World called then an Error; he pretended, that the Substance of the Bread remained with the Body of *Christ*: He added, that none but Adults ought to be baptized; tho' he recanted at last, and died in the Catholic Faith.

The *BOGAVILES* appear'd in the Year 1087, under Pope *Urban II.* and had for Author, *Basil*, who was burnt by Order of *Alexis Comnene*, Emperor. They denied the Trinity of God, pretending that God had a human Form, and the World had been created by the Devil, &c.

Peter and *Henry de Bruis*, dogmatized in the Year 1119; under Pope *Callistus II.* that Children ought not to be baptized, &c.

Peter Abellard appear'd in the Year 1144; he admitted an Inequality of Degrees in the divine Persons, and no Faith without Reason, and several other Things of the same Nature.

The *CATHARI*, or *PATARI*, published in the Year 1153, under Pope *Anastasius IV.* that the World had been made by the Devil; that the Sacraments were of no Service, &c.

Waldo, whence his Disciples were called *WALDENSES*, or the Poors of *Lyons*, began to teach in 1170, under Pope *Alexander II.* that the Power of remitting Sins, and of administering the Eucharist, was also granted to Laicks; that the Feasts and Fasts ordered by the Church were not to be observed, &c.

Peter of John published, in the Year 1195, under Pope *Celestinus III.* that *Christ's* Side had been perforated, while he was yet living: That the rational Soul was not the Form of the Body: That the universal Church was the *Babylon* of the Apocalypse, and the Pope the Antichrist.

Almarick, Doctor of *Paris*, taught in the Year 1209, under Pope *Otho IV.* that the Law of God the Father had lasted till the Birth of *Christ*; the Law of *Christ* till *Almarick*; and the Law of the Holy Ghost would last to the End of the World, &c.

The *ALBIGENSES* appeared in the Year 1241, under Pope *Innocent III.* who oppressed the Church, not only by their Sermons, but also by their Arms. They admitted two co-eternal Principles, one Good and the other Bad, &c.

William of St. Amour, Doctor of *Paris* (whom the Catholics rank among the Hereticks) published in the Year 1254, under Pope *Alexander IV.* that it was not permitted to establish, or enter religious Orders, which had not Possessions, at least in common.

The *FRATRICELLI* appeared in the Year 1276, under Pope *Adrian V.* and had for Authors a certain Hermit, and *Dulcitius* of *Navarre*. Their principal Errors were, among many others, that their Sect was the true Church: That they were as perfect as the Apostles were; that they were obliged to obey no Body; that the Popes had all been Prevaricators from the Time of *St. Sylvester*, except *Celestinus V.*

The *BEGARDS* and *BEGHINES* (the one Monks and the other Nuns) appeared in 1299, under Pope *Boniface VIII.* they had for Author one *Bogonatus*. They pretended that a Man could become impeccable in this Life; and therefore was no longer obliged to fast and pray; neither could he increase in Grace, &c.

Walter Lolard, who appeared in the Year 1309, under Pope *Clement V.* was of Opinion, that God had unjustly condemn'd *Lucifer*.

The *FLAGELLANTS* appear'd in 1352; under Pope *Innocent V.* and used to say, that none but those who were baptized in their own Blood, by whipping themselves with knotted Cords, would be saved. They besides despised the Sacraments, and other good Works, &c.

I find in the Index, *John Wickliff*, an *Englishman*, who appeared in the Year 1372, ranked among the Hereticks. I also find him condemn'd as such in the eighth Session of the Council of *Constance*.

John Hus, a *Bohemian*, is also found in the Index among the Hereticks; and his Sentiments are condemn'd as heretical in the fifteenth Session of the Council of *Constance*, held in 1412.

The *HUSSITES* divided themselves into several different Sects; for some of them were called *Orebites*; others *Thaborites*; others *Orphans*; others *Adamites*, or *Pichards*, because they had for Chief a certain *Frenchman*, called *Pichard*, who pretended that he was the

Son of God, and called himself *Adam*.

Bernard of *Luxembourg*, places in his Catalogue of Hereticks, *Herman Ruswich*, a *Dutchman* born, who in the Year 1492, under Pope *Alexander VI.* published that the Soul dies with the Body; that there is no Hell; that *Christ* was a Fool; that our Faith was fabulous, and the Gospel false.

Martin Luther, is also placed in the Index as a Heretick, and condemned as such by the Council of *Trent*; but as he is considered by the Reformed as one of their Apostles, and I write in a *Protestant* Country, I leave to the two opposite Parties, to dispute which of them is in the Right; though I design to give under the Letter *L*, an entire Treatise of the Origin, Progress, &c. of *Lutheranism*.

Andrew Carlostad, *Luther's* first Disciple, accompanies likewise his Master in the Index, as an Heretick of the first Class; and is condemned as such in the Council of *Trent*.

Balthasar Pacimontanus, and *Bernard Rothman*, instituted the Sect of *Anabaptists*, in the Year 1527, under Pope *Clement VII.* they denied the Validity of Infant-Baptism, and pretended that if they had been baptized, they should be rebaptized when they arrived at the Age of Discretion.

I also find *Philip Melancthon* in the Index. He composed the Confession of *Ausbourg*, in 1536; whence those who followed it were called *Confessionists*.

I have given a whole Treatise of *Calvinism*, which had for Author *John Calvin*, who has likewise a particular Place in the Index; and was fulminated in the Council of *Trent*.

Michael Servetus, born in *Spain*, appeared in the Year 1550, under Pope *Julius III.* while he was yet but 25 Years of Age, he boasted of being a very great Prophet. He wrote seven Books, *Of the Errors of the Trinity*, in which he pretended, that there was no real Generation in God, nor a personal Distinction: That Men were not to be baptized till they were 30 Years of Age. At last he was burnt alive at *Geneva*, by *Calvin's* Order, in 1555.

David George, born at *Delft* in *Holland*, preached in 1558, under Pope *Paul IV.* that he was a very great Prophet, even greater than *Jesus Christ* the Son of God. That he would rise three Years after his Death, and then restore the Kingdom of *Israel*. But he has been dead almost two hundred Years, and is not risen yet, and in all Appearance will not till the last Day, when he will be condemned to eternal Punishments, with all the other Impostors like him.

Gaspard Swenkfeld, one of the Confessionists, published in 1564, under Pope *Pius IV.* that the human Nature of *Christ* had been changed after his Ascension, into the divine, &c.

Andrew Osiander, one of the Confessionists, but condemned by the Confessionists themselves, taught in 1566, that the Charity, Justice, and Wisdom of Man, are the proper Essence of God; and that justifies Men, according to the divine Nature only.

J. Brentius, a Confessionist, taught in 1572, under Pope *Gregory XIII.* that the Humanity of *Christ*, from his Incarnation, has always been every where; whence the *Ubiquists*.

Matthias Flaccius, the principal Author of the Centuries of *Magdeburgh*, published in the Year 1577, under Pope *Gregory XIII.* that the Original Sin was a Substance.

Quintin Piccard, Chief of the Sect of the *Libertines*; published in 1585, under Pope *Sixtus V.* that it was lawful to dissemble one's Faith and Religion, and to communicate with every Body: That there was but one Spirit immortal: That the Angels, and Souls of Men were not immortal: That *Christ* did not really die on the Cross, but in Appearance only, &c.

Valentin Gentilis, renewing *Arianism*, began to teach in 1558, that the three divine Persons were three eternal Spirits, different in an essential Number; but that the Father was greater than the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

Francis David, taught in 1605, under Pope *Paul V.* that

that none but the Father was a true God; the Son and Holy Ghost being only the Virtues of God, not at all distinct from the Person of the Father, either by Relation or Essence. That *Christ* was a pure Man, and was called the Word of God, only because he preached the Word of God.

The SOCINIANS, are a modern Sect of *Antitrinitarians*, who in these Ages have revived some of the Errors of *Paulus Samosatenus*, *Photinus*, and *Arius*; whence they are also occasionally called *Arians*, *Photinians*, &c. tho' in many Respects different from them all.

Faustus Socinus, a Gentleman of *Sienna*, whence they take their Name, was not the first Author of the Sect; he himself affirms, in his Letter to *Martin Vodau*, wrote in 1548, that he advances no Dogma but what had been published by others before him, even in *Poland*, ere he came to settle there. The Truth is, he may be rather said to have refined by his Subtilties, on the Novelties that already prevailed there in his Time, than to have invented a new Heresy.

In his Life, wrote by a *Polish* Knight, we read, that he had not applied himself to the Study of Philosophy and Divinity, nor had studied any Thing but Logick, till 35 Years of Age: But had spent the greatest Part of his Life at the Court of the Great Duke of *Tuscany*. Upon his retiring thence, he began to think of Religion; and possessed as he was with the Writings of his Uncle *Lelius Socinus*, he formed a System thereon. *Lelius* had explain'd the first Words in the Gospel of St. *John*, *In the Beginning was the Word*; by these, *In the Beginning was the Evangelical Word*; as if the Beginning there spoke of, was only the Beginning of the Gospel.

This Interpretation, never heard of in all Antiquity, is followed by *Faustus*, on his Comment on the fourteen first Verses of that Gospel. He adds, that he who is called *Word*, had not been from all Eternity, nor even before the Creation of the World; but that by *Word* must be meant the Man *Jesus Christ*, God born of the Virgin, under the Emperor *Augustus*. But this is a Paradox, which all his Followers do not equally come into. However, they all deny, not only the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*, but the Existence of the Holy Ghost, the Mystery of the Incarnation, Original Sin, and Grace.

Their Sentiments are expressed at large in their Catechism, printed several Times, under the Title of *Catechesis Ecclesiarum Polonicarum, unum Deum Patrem illius que Filium unigenitum, una cum Sancto Spiritu, ex sacra Scriptura consentientium*, i. e. the Catechism of the *Polish* Churches, confessing from the Scripture, one only God the Father, and his only Son, together with the Holy Spirit.

The *Socinians* are divided on several Articles; some of them leave *Socinus*, as to what regards the Worship offer'd to *Jesus Christ*, not being able to conceive how divine Worship should be given a mere Man.

The Heresy of the *Socinians* spread exceedingly in *Poland*, *Lithuania*, *Transylvania*, and the neighbouring Places. *Racow* was their chief School; and there all their first Books were published. But they were exterminated out of *Poland* in 1655; since which Time they have chiefly shelter'd in *Holland*; where, however, their publick Meetings have been prohibited: But they find Means to conceal themselves under the Names of *Arminians* and *Anabaptists*.

The ARMINIANS are accounted Hereticks, even by the *Calvinists* themselves, from whom they separated.

The *Arminians* appeared first in *Holland*, and are sometimes also called *Remonstrants*, by Reason of a Remonstrance which they preferred to the States General, in 1611, wherein the chief Articles of their Faith were laid down.

The later *Arminians* carried Things further than *Arminius* himself, and even came very near the *Socinianism*, especially under *Simon Episcopius*. — When the *Calvinists* upbraided them for renewing an antient Heresy, already condemned in the *Pelagians*, and *Semi-Pelagians*; they replied, that the mere Authority of Men could not be al-

lowed a legitimate Proof any where but in the Church of *Rome*; that it was not enough to shew any Opinion had been condemned, without shewing it had been condemn'd justly.

On this Principle, the *Arminians* retrench Abundance of those called fundamental Articles of Religion. Not finding them all clearly expressed in the Scripture, they laugh at all the Catechisms and Formula's of Faith, which the former would restrain them to; and were condemn'd at the famous Synod of *Dort*, held in 1618, whereat Divines from most of the reformed Churches were present.

Many among them have quitted the Doctrine of their Master, relating to the Point of eternal Election and Predestination.

Arminius taught that God elected the Faithful out of his Foreknowledge of their Faith: But *Episcopius*, and others, thinks he elects no Person from all Eternity; and only elects them at the Time when they actually believe. They speak very ambiguously of the Prescience of God, which was the principal strong Hold of *Arminius*. They look on the Doctrine of the Trinity, as a Point not necessary to Salvation; and many of them held there is no Precept in Scripture, by which we are enjoin'd to adore the Holy Ghost; and that *Jesus Christ* is not equal to God the Father. In which they approach very near *Arianism*. And they generally avoid the Words, *Satisfaction of Jesus Christ*, which some Charge with *Socinianism*. Though *Episcopius* declares, that *Jesus Christ* has made Satisfaction to God, so far as to render him propitious to Mankind.

They press with a great deal of Earnestness, a general Toleration of all those who profess the Christian Religion; maintaining that all *Christians* are agreed in the essential Points; and that as it has never been decided by any infallible Authority, which of the many Ways is the true one, and the most agreeable to the Word of God, they ought all to combine on the same Footing, to compose one Church, without obliging any to quit their own Sentiments, or embrace those of others.

Their principal Writers are *Arminius*, *Episcopius*, and *Grotius*, to which may be added *Curcellus*, who has collected a System of Theology, out of the large diffusive Writings of *Episcopius*, with the Addition of many Things of his own. Though *Curcellus*, it must be owned, is ranked by the *Socinians* among their Writers.

Note, That as I have often mention'd the Word *Index*, at the End of this Treatise, I'll conclude it with informing the Readers what the *Index* is.

The INDEX, or INDICE, is the Denomination of a Congregation at *Rome*, whose Business is to examine Books, and to put such as they think fit to prohibit the Reading and Selling of, into an *Index*.

INDICES, or *Expurgatory Indices*, is the Name by which the Catalogue of prohibited Books are called; among which, however, there is this Difference, that some are condemn'd purely and absolutely, and others only *Donec corrigantur*, till they be corrected.

Philip II. of *Spain*, was the first who procured an *Index* to be published of the Books condemned by the Inquisition of *Spain*. Pope *Paul IV.* took the Hint, and in 1559; ordered the Congregation of the holy Office at *Rome* to print a second. *Pius V.* recommended the Matter to the Council of *Trent*, who made another. After this the Duke of *Alva* procured another to be printed at *Antwerp*, in 1575. *Clement VIII.* in 1596, published a very copious one, called by the Name of the *Roman Index*. — There were two others published in 1583, and 1612, by the Cardinals *Gueroi* and *Sandoval*; and several others by the Inquisitors and Masters of the sacred Palace. The most considerable of all the *Indices*, is that of *Sottomayor*, which was made for all the States subject to the King of *Spain*, and comprehends all the others, coming down as low as the Year 1667.

HIEROGLYPHICKS.

HIEROGLYPHICK, from the Greek *ιερός*, *sacer*, holy, and *γλυφεῖν*, *sculpere*, to engrave, is a Symbol or mystick Figure, used among the antient Egyptians, to cover, or conceal the Secrets of their Theology.

Hieroglyphicks are distinguished from Symbols, in that *Hieroglyphicks* are properly Emblems, or Signs of divine, sacred, or supernatural Things; and Symbols are Signs of sensible, and natural Things.

As the *Hieroglyphicks* of the Egyptians, were most of them Figures of the Planets, of the different Parts of the human Body, and of Animals in different Shapes and Attitudes, each different Shape or Attitude, though of the same Animal, signifying a different Thing; I'll explain, in this Treatise, several of them, especially the most remarkable, and the Explication thereof is most interesting, and most capable to flatter agreeably our Curiosity, beginning by the Planets; taking only Notice of the *Sun* and *Moon*.

The *Sun* (fig. 1.) was a *Hieroglyphick* which had several Significations; for it has been often used both by the Pagans and Christians, to signify a supreme Being, and some of the Pagans have even adored him as such; especially the Persians. Pythagoras and Hesiod, wanted that he should be respected as something above a human Apprehension.

Among the Christians, St. Gregory the Theologian teaches, that God is among the intellectual Creatures, what the *Sun* is among the sensible ones. St. John, St. Paul, and St. Denis the Areopagite, make often a Comparison between God and the Sun.

The *Sun* was also the *Hieroglyphick* of Truth, because of its Simplicity, Visibility, and Nakedness, which have all an Affinity with Truth.

He is employed by the Christians to signify Jesus Christ, whom they call the *Sun of Righteousness*.

Nothing more proper than the *Sun* to signify Light, since himself is the Source of Light.

He was a *Hieroglyphick* among the Romans of the sovereign Majesty of the Empire.

Archimides, lib. 1. c. 36. says that he was the *Hieroglyphick* of the human Life: That to shew the Tranquility of that Life, he was represented in his full Glory; darken'd and cloudy, to signify Troubles and Inquietude.

The *Sun* was also a *Hieroglyphick* of the Revolution of the whole Year, as regulating the Seasons by his Course.

When the Egyptians wanted to signify a Woman with Child, or lying in, they represented the *Sun* divided in two, with a *Star* in the Middle of the Division, for a *Hieroglyphick* of the Child in the Womb of its Mother; not only because they compared the Belly situated in the Middle of the Body to the Sun; but, likewise, because they were of Opinion that he vivifies all Sorts of Conceptions; imagining besides, that a *Star* borrows its Light from the Sun, as a Child receives its Aliments from its Mother.

The *Moon*, (2) was a *Hieroglyphick* of human Life, because its Face changes every Day, like that of the human Life.

The Christian Church makes it the *Hieroglyphick* of the Assembly of the Faithful, which is enlightened by the divine Light of the *Sun of Righteousness* Jesus Christ, like the *Moon* is enlightened by that of the *Sun*.

The *Moon* was among the Pagans, a *Hieroglyphick* likewise of Eternity, because it seems to have a perpetual Rotation.

On some of Faustina's Medals is represented a Figure, holding a Gown with the Left-Hand, and with the right a small Bird, with the *Moon* placed a-top, with this Legend, *ÆTERNITAS*, Eternity.

On some of those of the Emperor Severus is another Figure, lifting up the *Moon* with his Right-Hand, and this Legend, *PERPETUITATI AUGUST.* to the Eternity of Augustus.

For a *Hieroglyphick* of the Month, the Egyptians painted the *Moon* her Horns downwards.

On the Medals of Antoninus Pius, is represented a human Figure wanting to lay hold of the *Moon* with his two Hands, the *Moon* with her Horns downwards, and in her Disk, three small Protuberances. Under the Feet of the Figure backwards, are three Ears of Corn; forwards, a Crocodile having her Head erected towards the Figure. The Legend ALEXANDRIA, which in all Appearance, represented Egypt.

The Egyptians made a *Star* one of the *Hieroglyphicks*, to signify God; because they imagined that the fixed Stars gave the Motion to the inferior Heavens, as God does to all created Beings. It is perhaps for that Reason, that we see on the Coin of Pertinax an Image with the Hands lifted up to Heaven, towards a large *Star*, with this Legend, *PROV. DEOR. COS. II.* by the Providence of the Gods twice Consul.

From the Planets and Stars, I'll pass to the Parts of the human Body, beginning at the Head.

The principal *Hieroglyphick* of the Head has always been to signify the Beginning of something.

A Head with a Diadem is the *Hieroglyphick* of Sovereignty: It is likewise the *Hieroglyphick* of Riches, Security, Prosperity, and Providence.

Note, That Pierius says, that he has seen a Draught of one of the Standards of the Emperor Theodosius, which represented a Table loaded with Books ranged in Order, some marked with certain Characters, shewing, as he supposes, the Contents thereof, and others which had no Characters. In that Table was a little Eminence, in the Middle whereof were two Genies supporting a large Round, with a Head like that of a Man, and this Inscription, DIVINE PROVIDENCE. At each Corner of the Table was a Head like this; that on the Right a-top with this Inscription, VIRTUE; that on the Left with this, SCIENCE; that on the Right at Bottom with this Inscription, AUTHORITY; that on the Left with this, FELICITY. The same Author imagined, that these *Hieroglyphicks* concerted under the Christian Emperors, signified, that the Beginning of our Actions comes first from God, and that we must next ask for his Assistance to help us in persevering, without which it is a sacrilegious Temerity to flatter ourselves with any Hopes of acting with Success.

The Corinthians used to represent Fear with the Head of Medusa, which the Emperor Domitian used to carry before his Breast, with a Design of rendering himself formidable to the whole World.

We find on several Coins, that the City of Rome was represented by the Head of a Woman, with a Helmet.

The Egyptians signified watching, by two Heads, one of a Man looking inwards, and the other of a Woman looking outwards, whereby they pretended that the Devil had no Power to offend them.

You'll find often on antient Monuments two Heads, with these Letters DM, whereby is understood that the Thing is consecrated to the infernal Gods; i. e. to those who are Tutelaries or Protectors of the Dead.

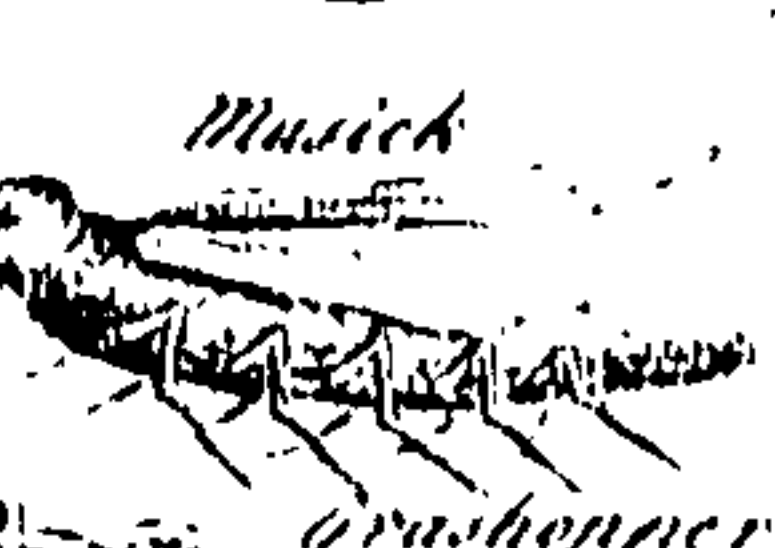
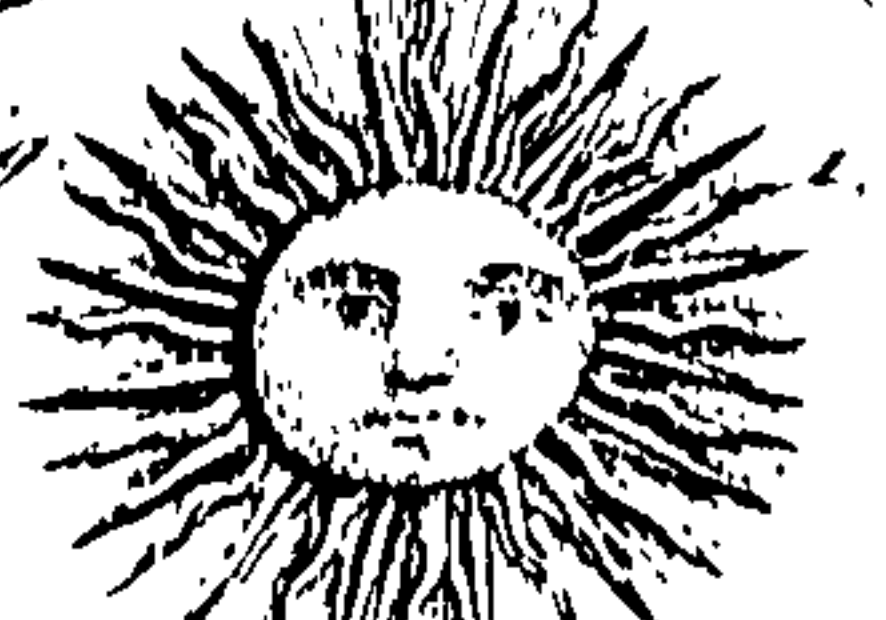
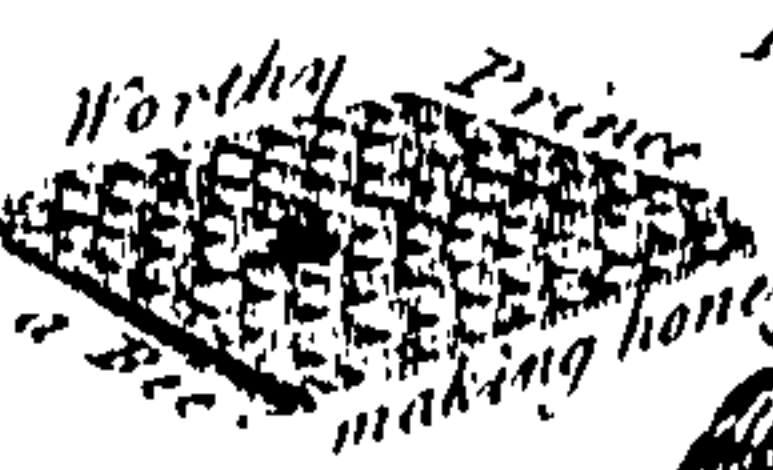
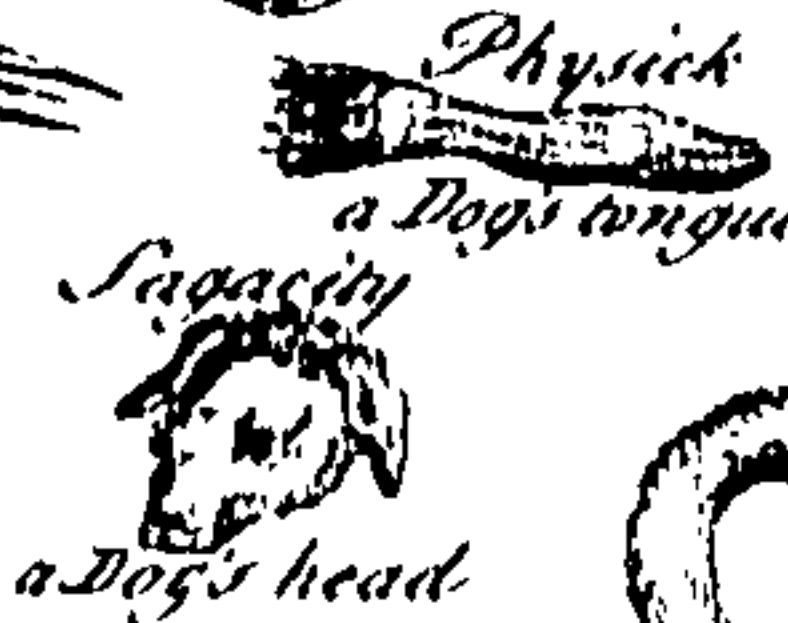
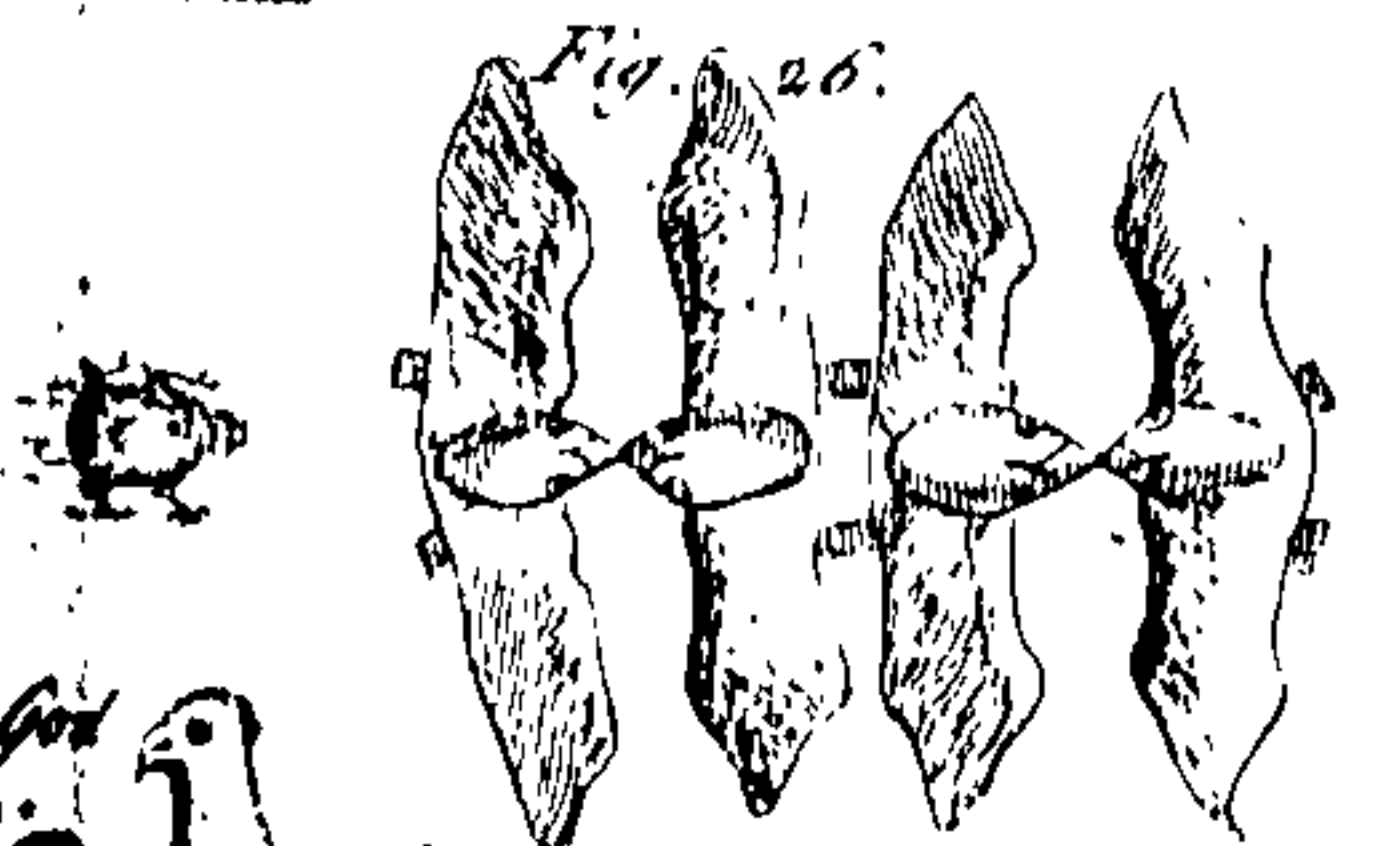
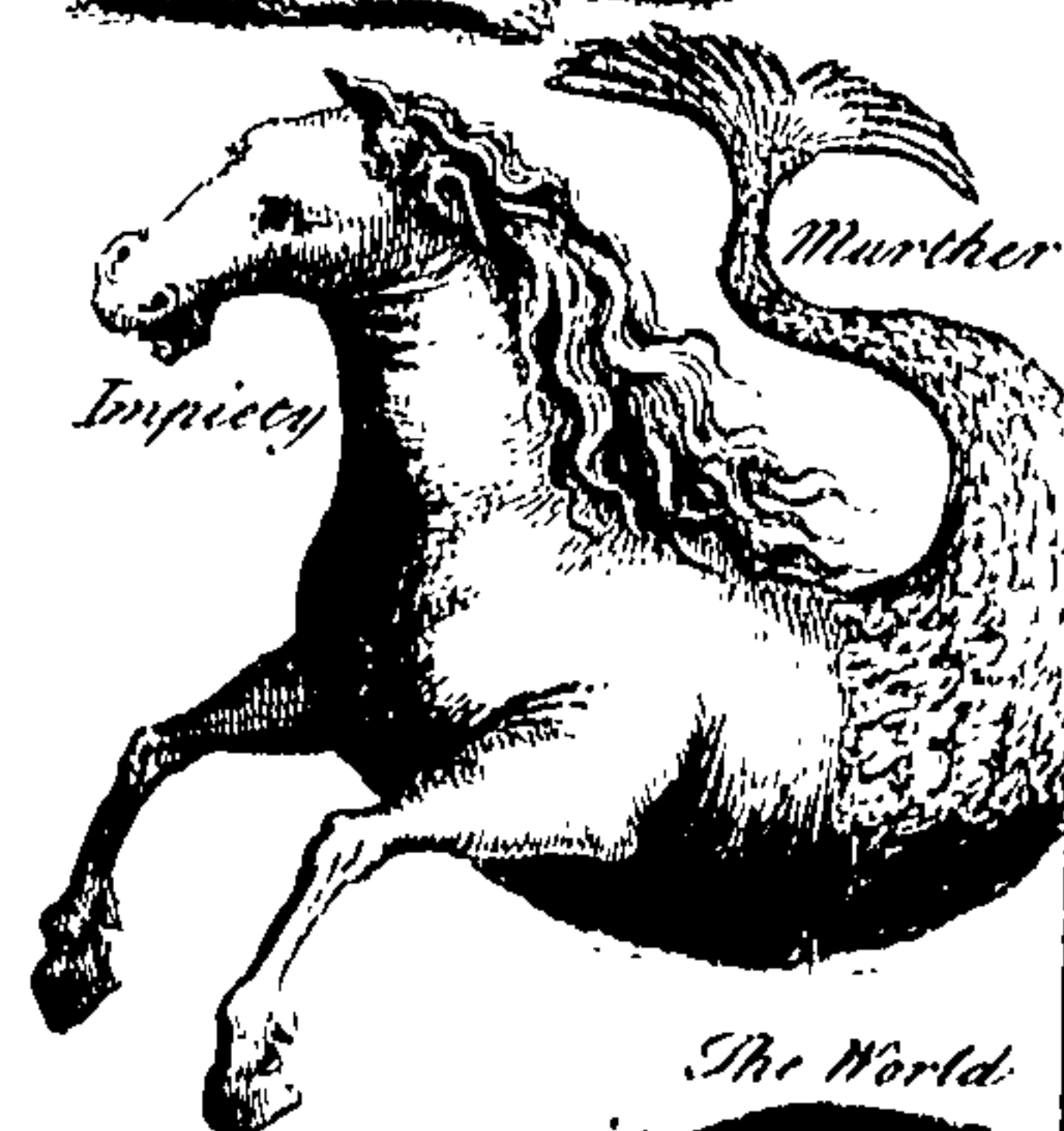
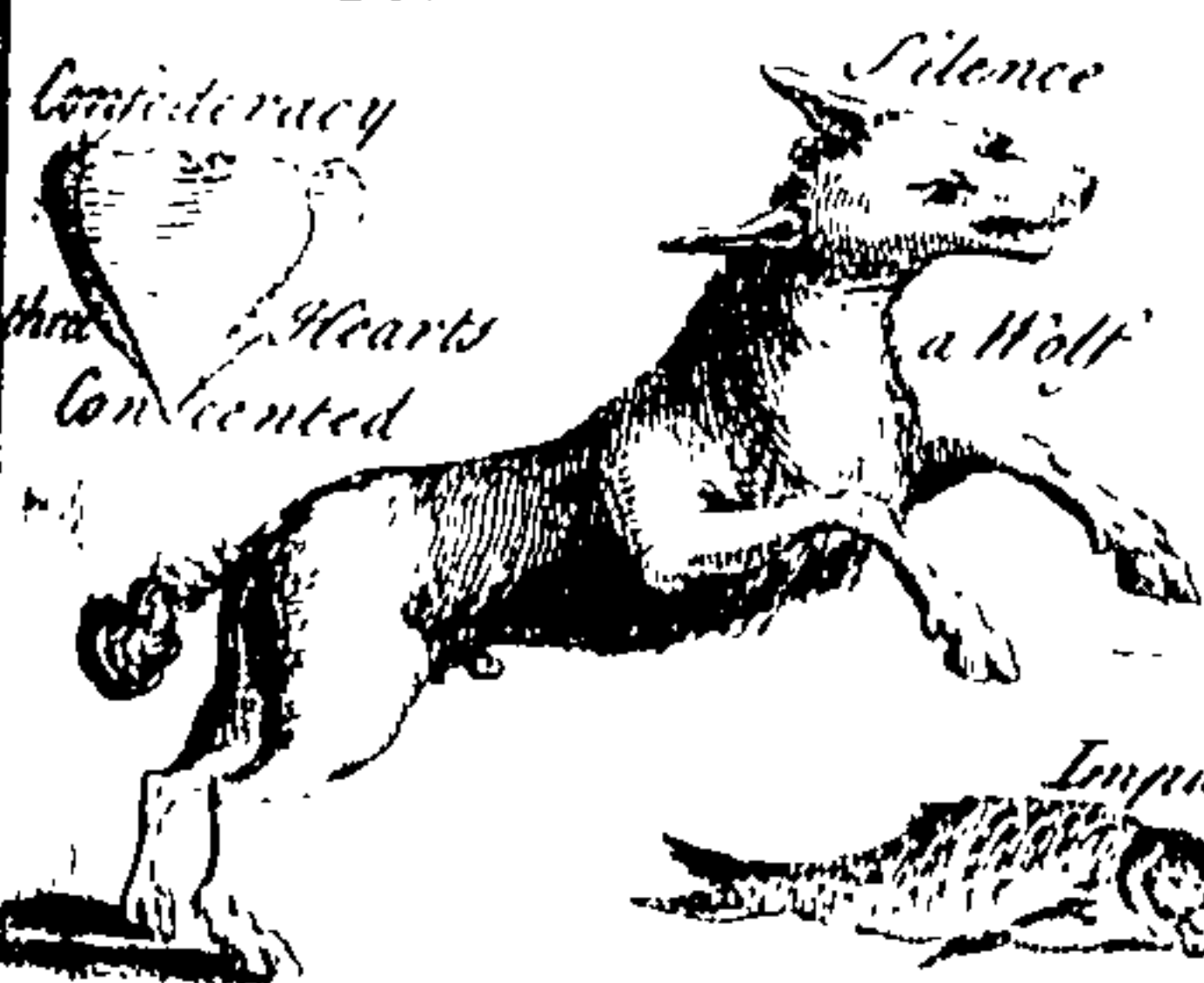
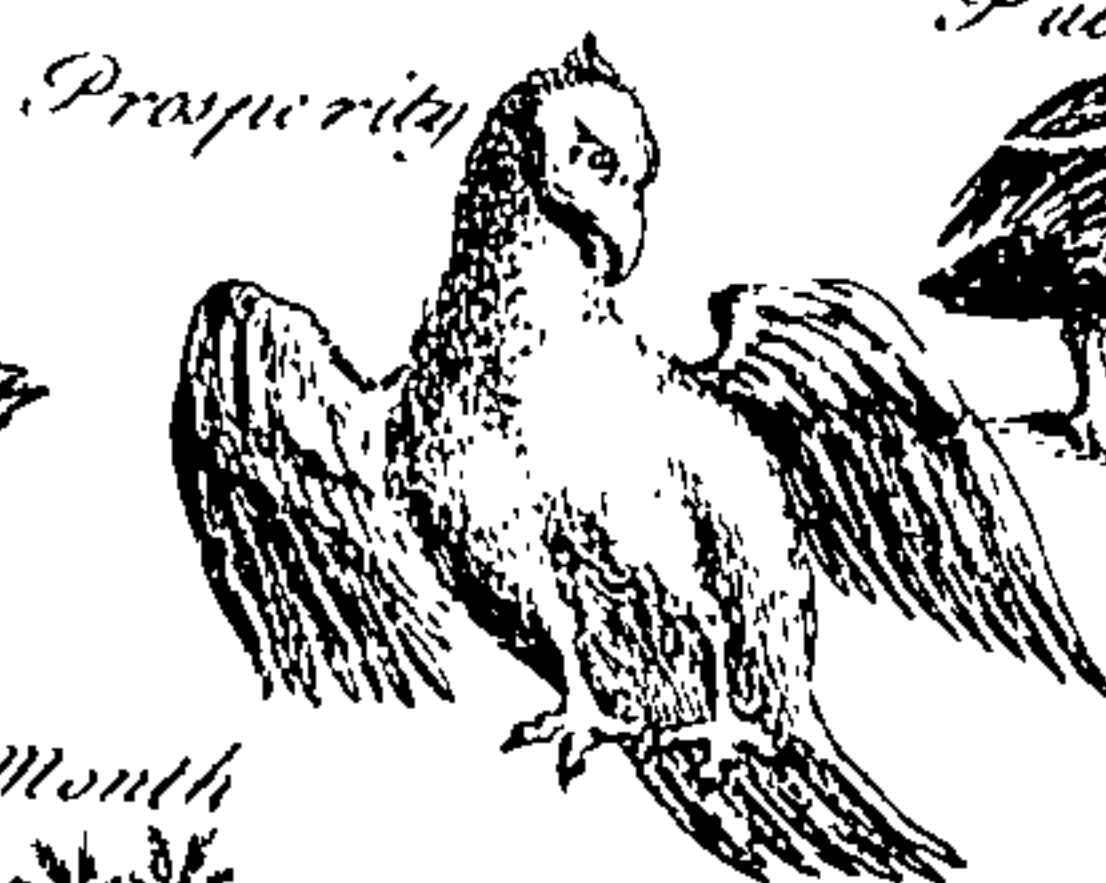
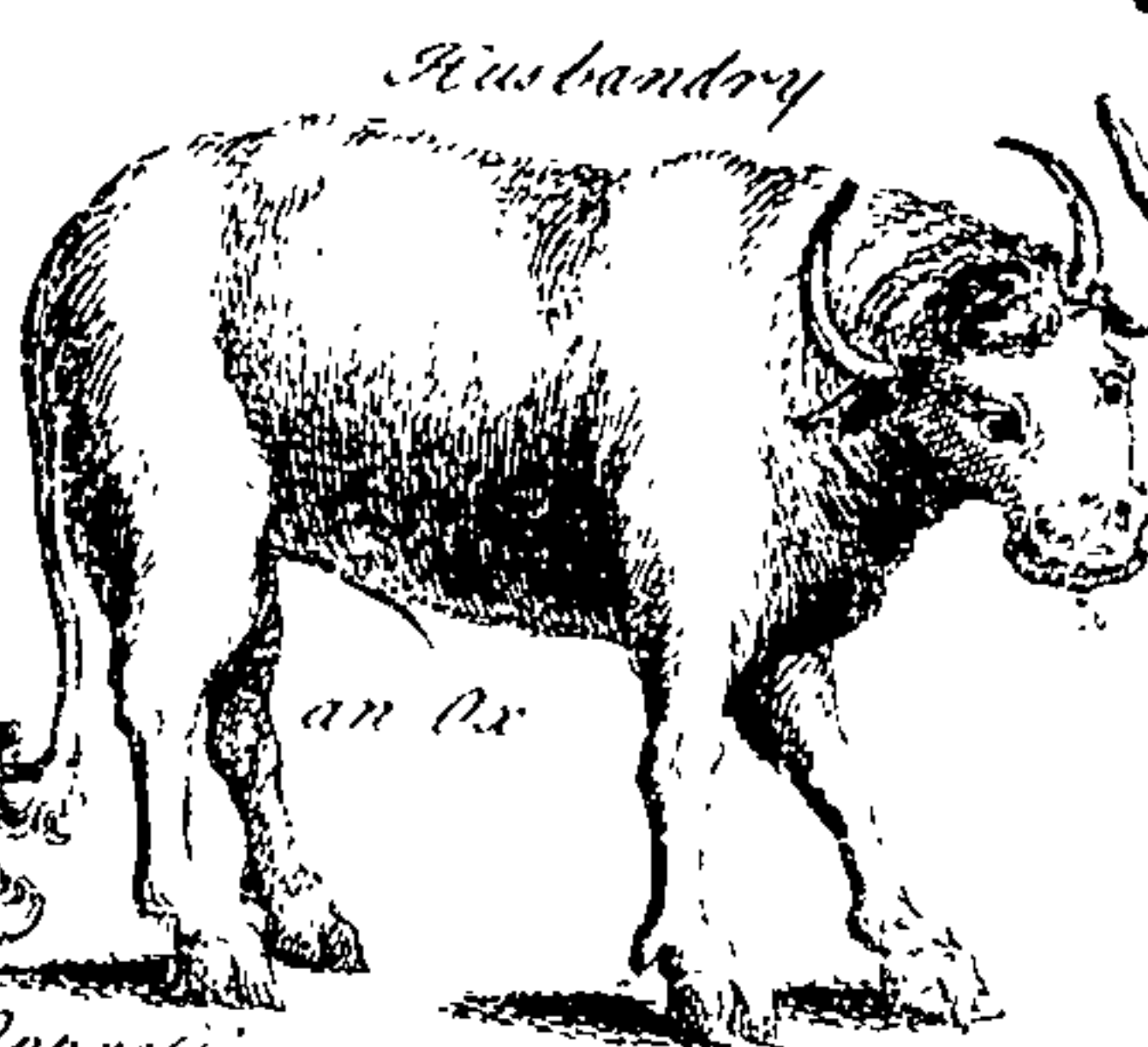
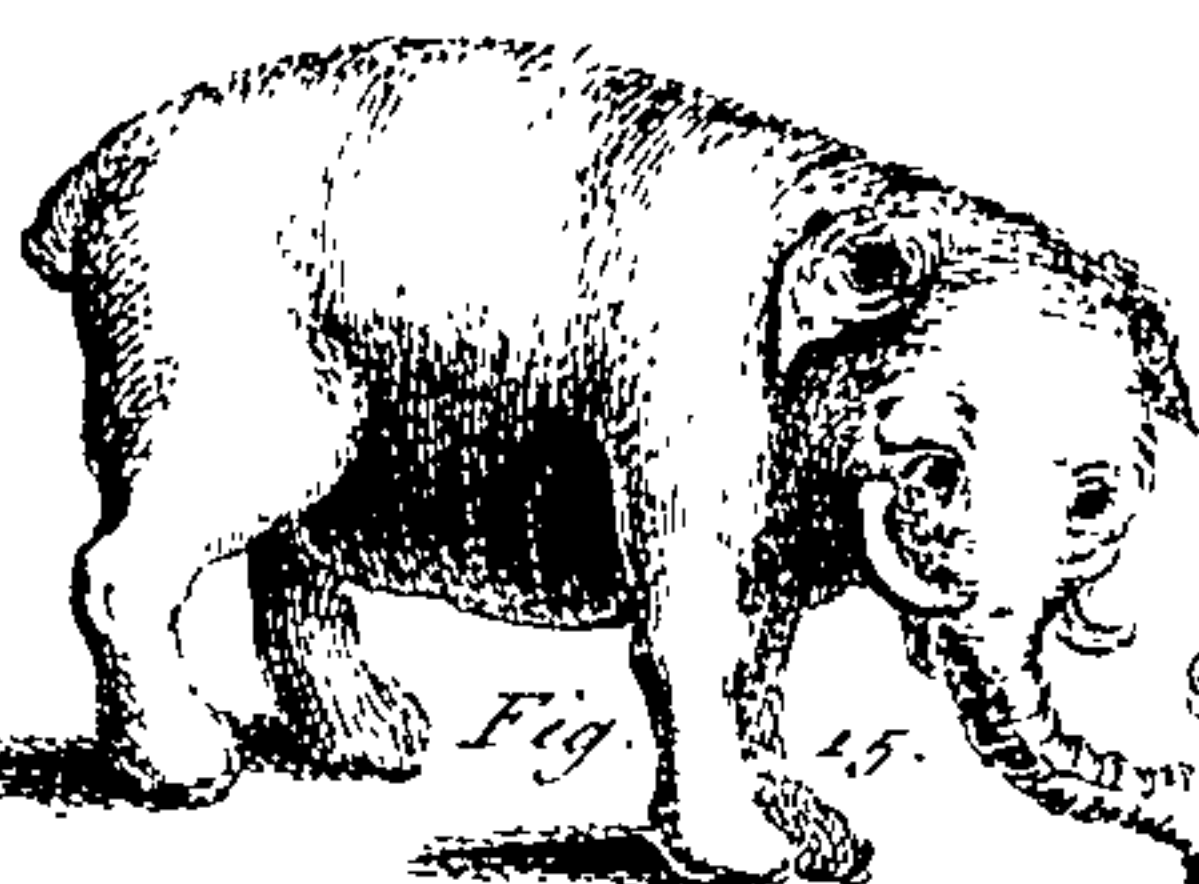
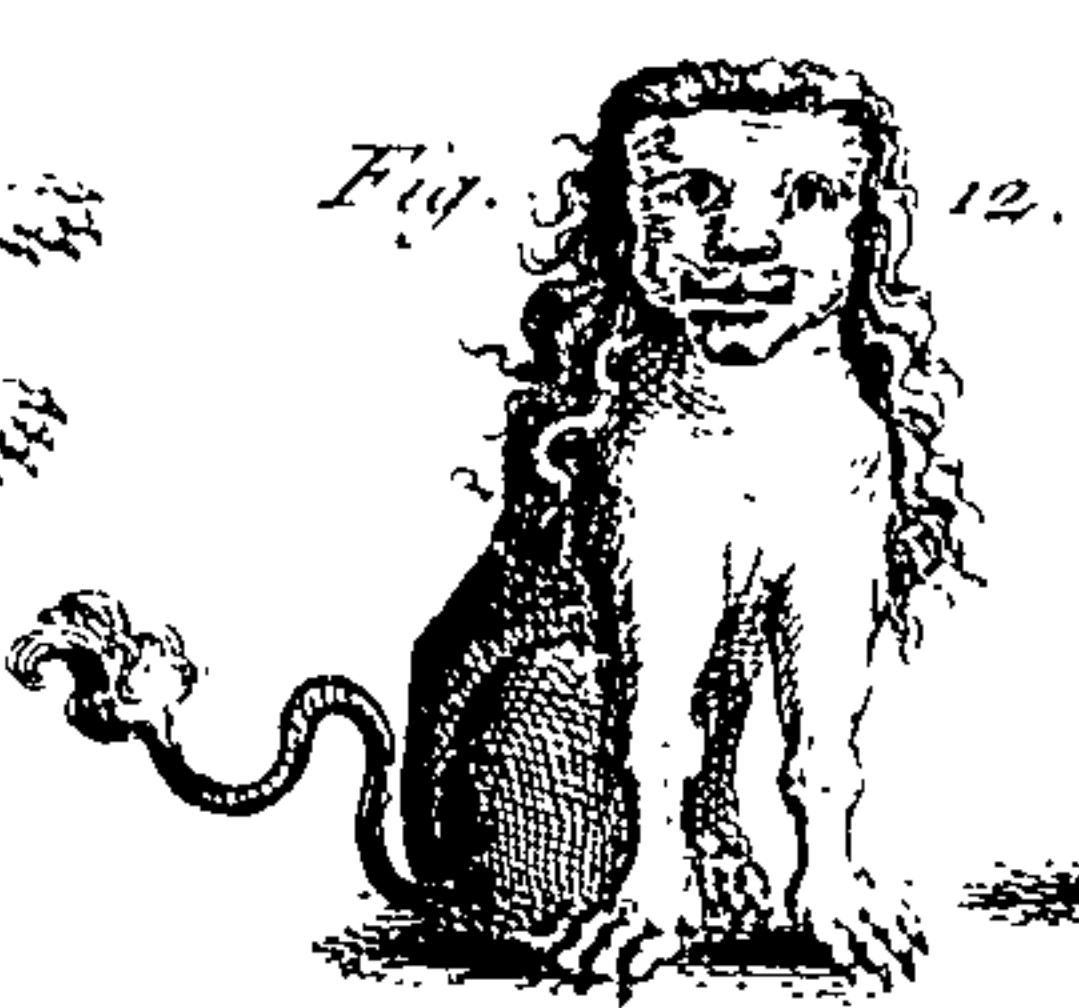
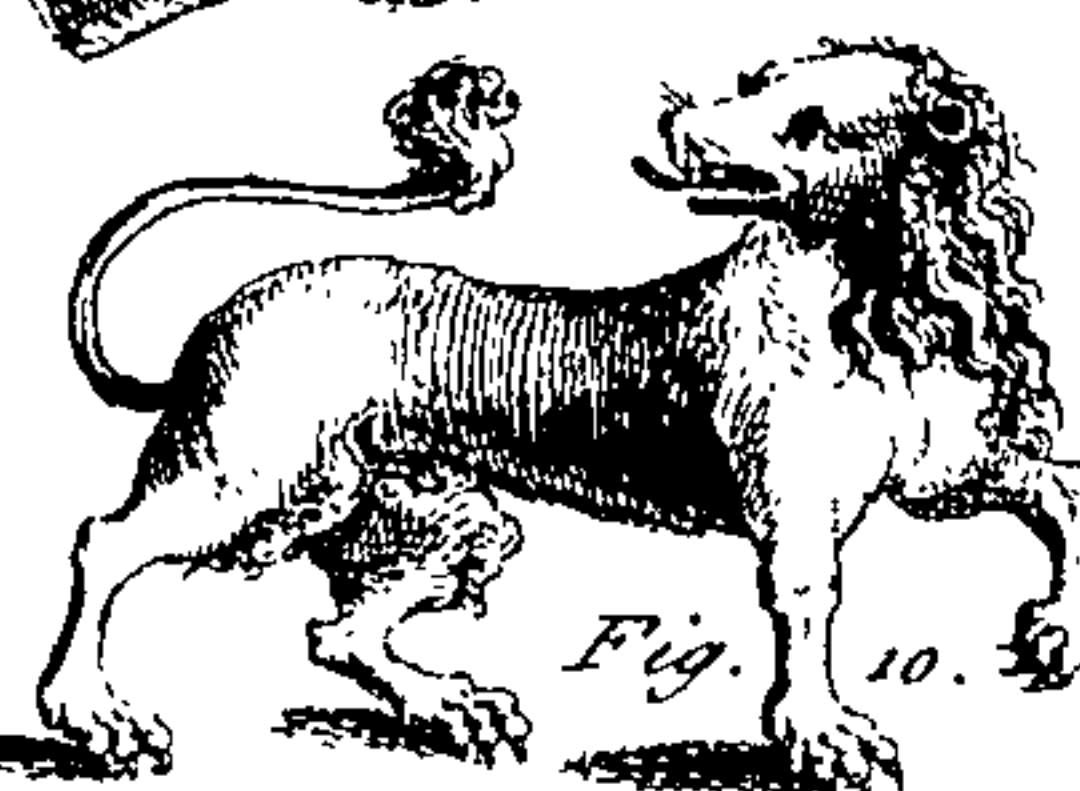
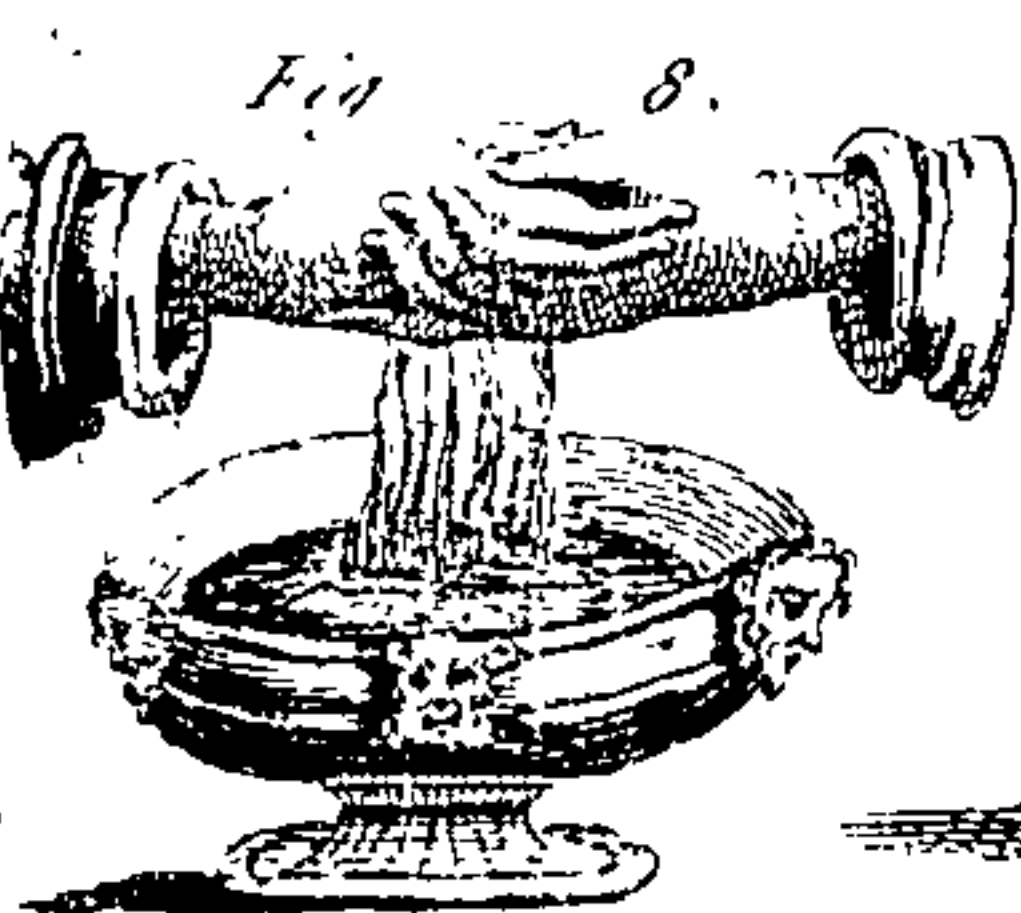
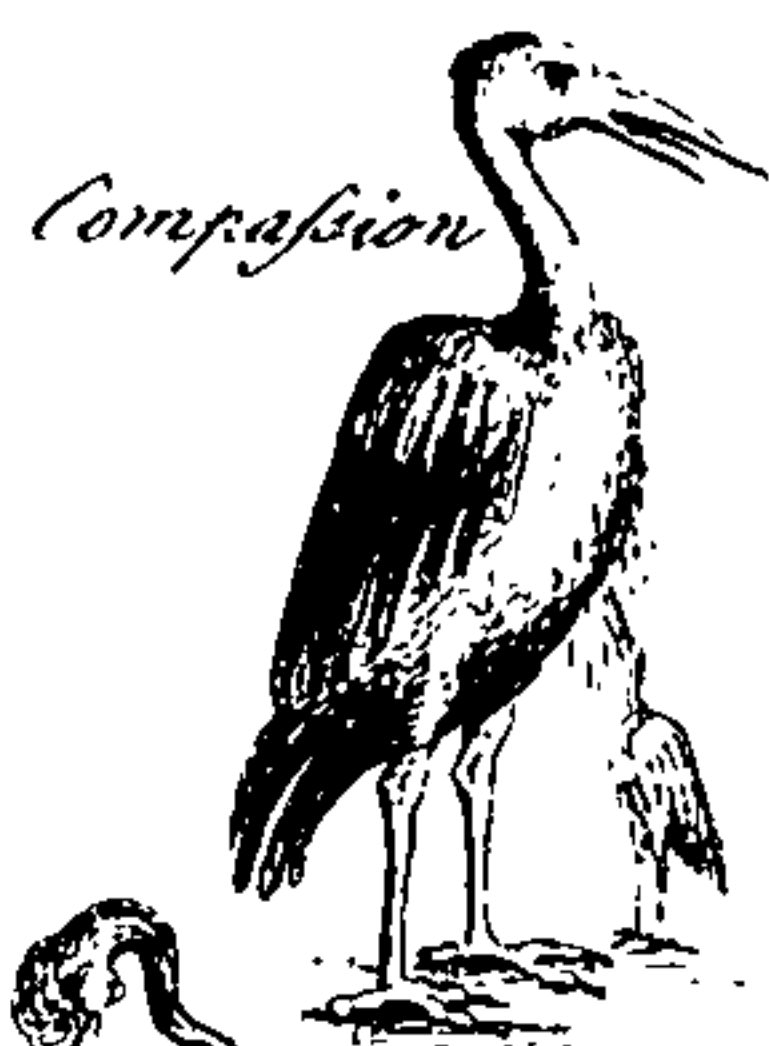
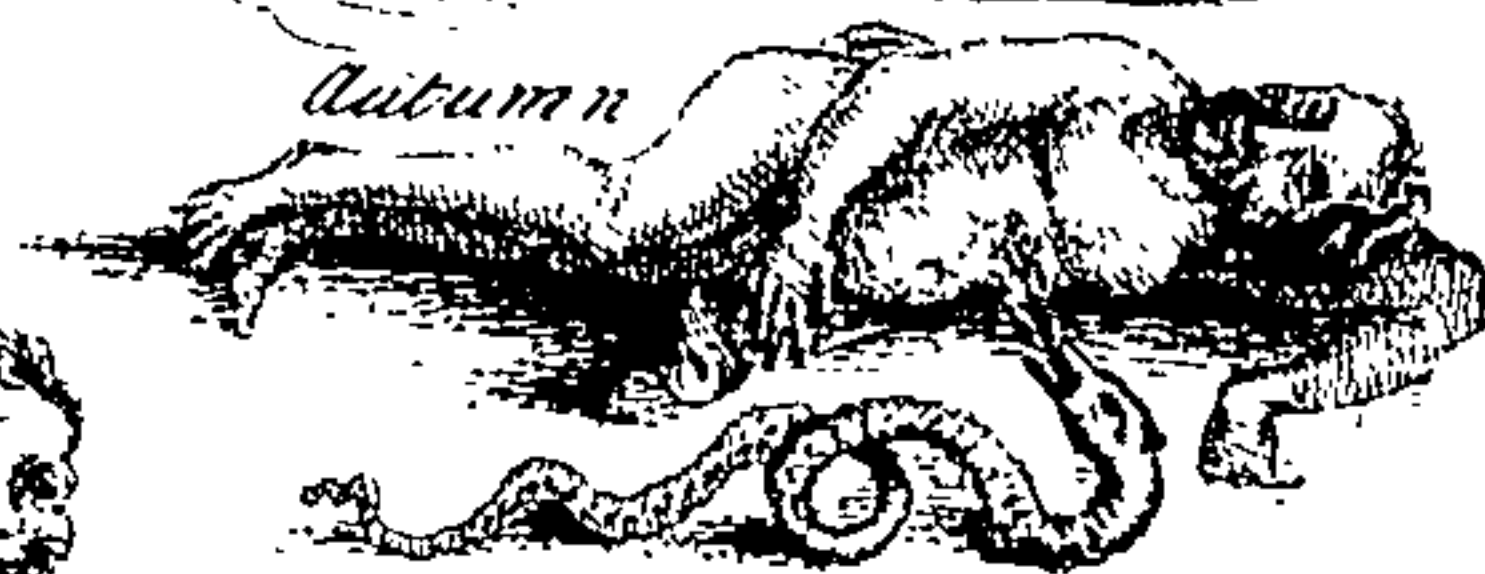
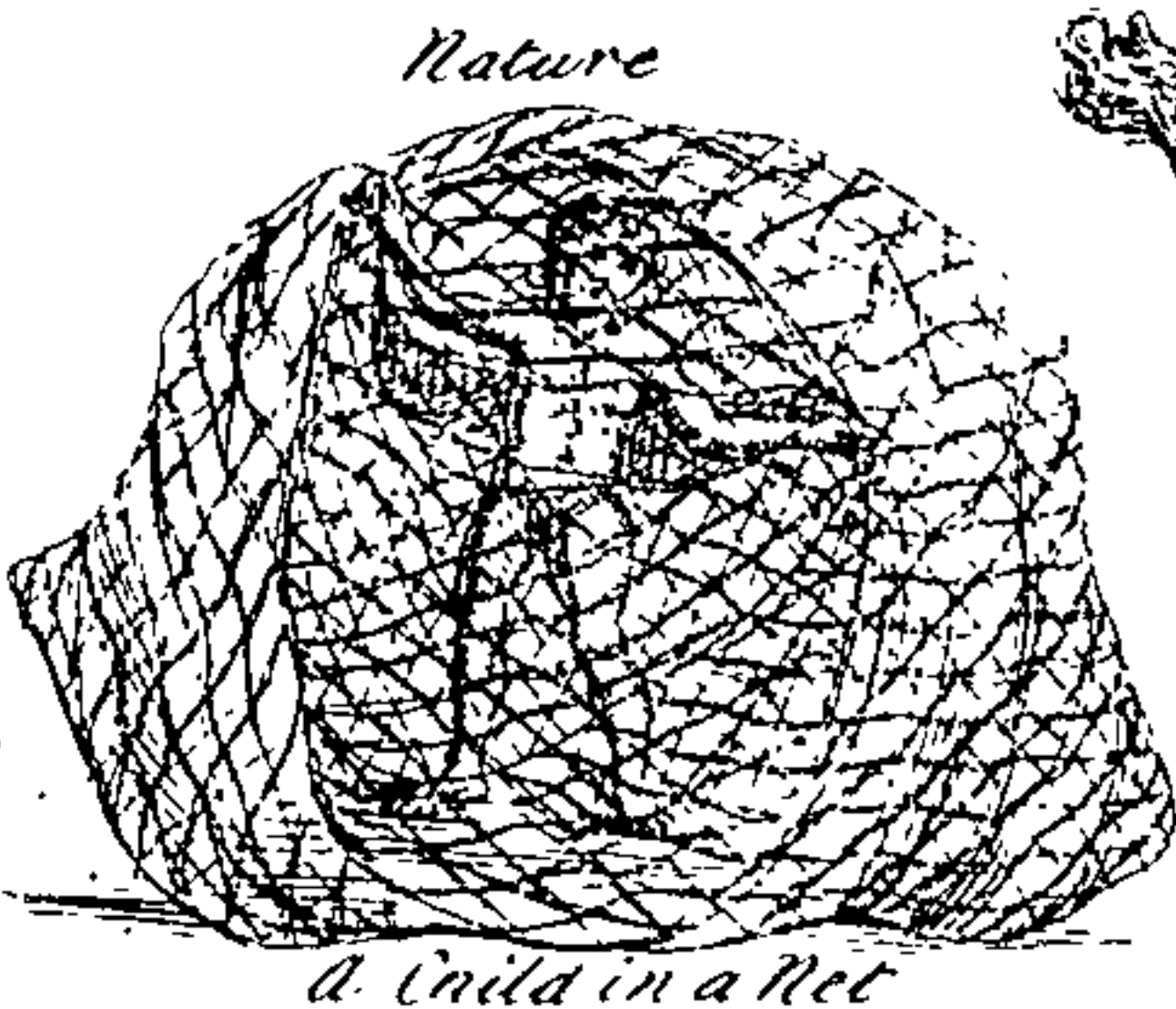
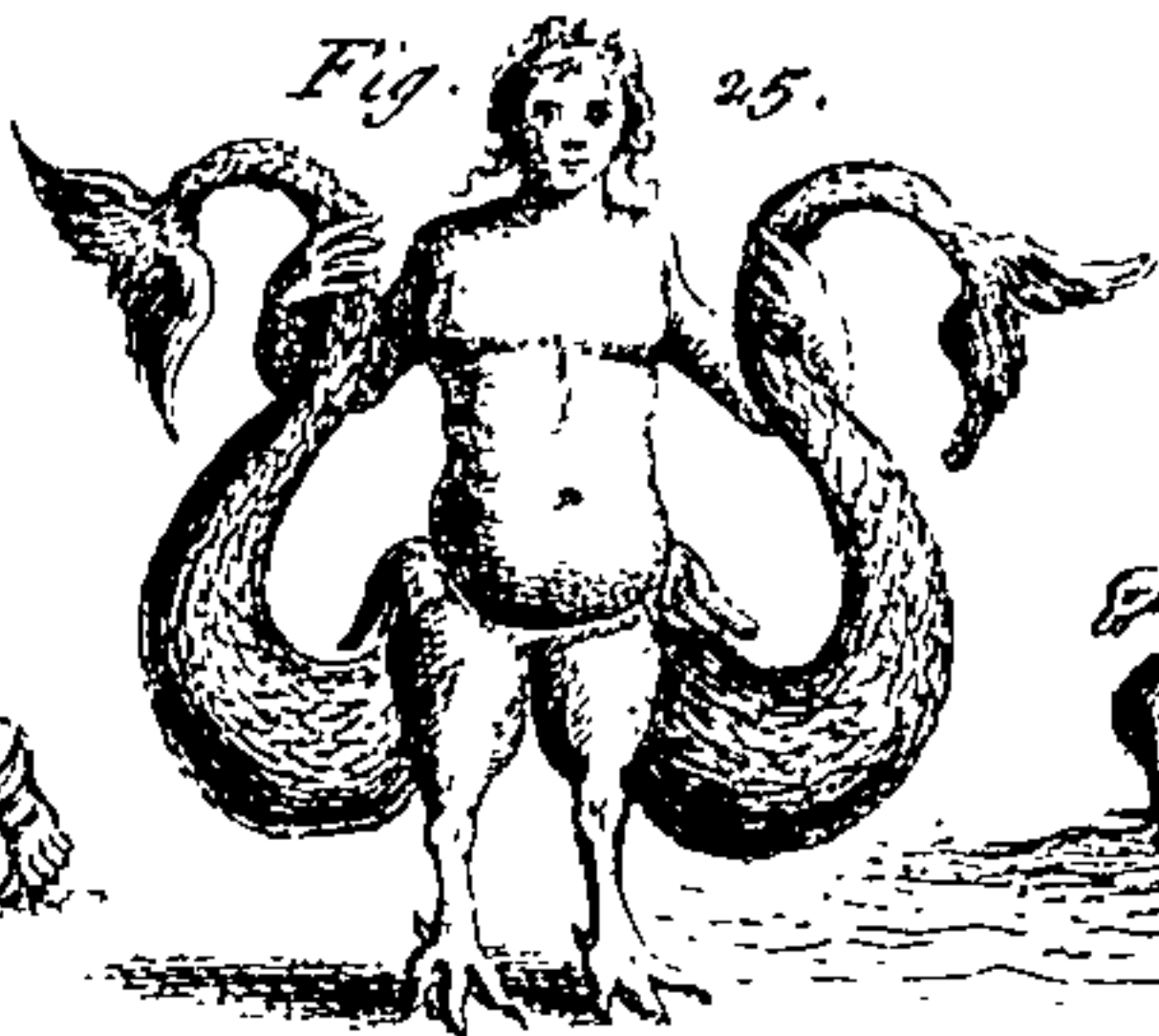
Pollux mentions the Coin of Tenedos, whereon, on one Side, were represented two Heads, and on the other a Hatchet, to signify the rigorous Punishment inflicted by a King of Tenedos on his own Son convicted of Adultery, according to a Law himself had made against Adulterers.

By the double Head of Janus, so famous among the Romans, some imagine that Prudence and Popularity were represented.

On a certain Roman Medal was represented a Janus with two Heads; on the Reverse a Chariot drawn by four Horses, carrying Jupiter armed with his Thunder, and this Legend, ROMA, which was the Seal of the Roman Republick.

HIEROGLYPHICKS.

Three Counties



On a Piece of Silver a *Janus* with two Heads, with this Legend L. F. M. F. O. V. R. on the Reverse, a Trophy with a Whip, and a Scepter garnished at the End with a Serpent, and *Rome* near it, which puts a civic Crown on the Trophy.

Some imagine, that the *Janus*'s found in several Places, with two Heads, without Hands or Feet, mounted on a quadrangular Column, (5) large a-top, and always going in diminishing to the Bottom, is the *Hieroglyphick* of Constancy.

The Interpreters of *Hesiod* are of Opinion, that the *Gerion* with three Heads, signify the Moon: Others the Month divided into *Nones*, *Ides*, and *Calends*.

The Figure with seven Heads, (6) is the *Hieroglyphick* of a Man versed in all Sorts of Sciences.

The Head of an *Ass* on a human Body, was the *Hieroglyphick* of Ignorance.

The Back, was a *Hieroglyphick* of Flight.

The *Egyptians* made the Eye the *Hieroglyphick* of Justice. *Chrysippus* gives bright and quick Eyes to Justice, which never wink.

The Eye was also the *Hieroglyphick* of our Conceptions.

An Eye engraved on the Sole of a Shoe, was an *Hieroglyphick* for an Atheist.

Eyes without Eye-lashes, was the *Hieroglyphick* of a lascivious Person, because the *Egyptians* were of Opinion, that in Debaucheries of that Kind, the Hair used to fall.

The Right-Eye open, was a *Hieroglyphick* to signify Life, and the Eye shut, a *Hieroglyphick* to represent Death.

The Eye-brows, were a *Hieroglyphick* of Severity.

The *Lacedemonians* gave four Ears and four Hands to *Apollo*, to signify Wisdom, of which that God was the *Hieroglyphick*.

An Ear open was a *Hieroglyphick* of Obedience; and an Ear stopt, one of Obstinacy.

A Tongue, guided by a Hand, found represented on some Obelisks, was a *Hieroglyphick* of Eloquence.

A Tongue on an Altar represented Sleep.

Homer says, *Iliad* 3. that Tongues cut, signified Silence.

The *Egyptians*, to give to understand that a Thing had been slightly tasted, proposed the *Hieroglyphick* of a Tongue; the Tip whereof passed between the fore Teeth; and represented an entire Taste by the Entrance of the Throat adhering to the Root of the Tongue.

Aristander, lib. 1. c. 33. says, that the Mouth is a *Hieroglyphick* of a House, the Teeth representing the Inhabitants thereof.

A Heart hanging on the Neck, was a *Hieroglyphick* of Sincerity.

The *Egyptians*, to signify the Inundation of the Nile, represented a Heart, with a Tongue fixed to it.

Egypt was often represented by a Heart placed on an Altar.

The *Egyptians*, according to *St. Cyril* of *Alexandria*, represented Rage or Indignation by a Heart placed on a Gridiron.

By the Back-bone they signified a strong Inclination to Luxury, because they imagined that the Seed falls from the Brain through the *Vertebrae* into the Testicles.

By the Penis, represented on so many Pyramids or Obelisks, they gave to understand, the Valour or Courage of the Persons buried under, or near those huge Masses of Stones.

The Matrice, was a *Hieroglyphick* to signify a Person who had been vanquished thro' Cowardice.

The Antients represented Continency, by a Man holding his Testicles in his Hand.

The Figure of *Priapus*, holding in his Left Hand his Penis erected, and in the Right a *Caducee*, was a *Hieroglyphick* of the Sun.

The Navel was, on some Medals, a *Hieroglyphick* of Jupiter, as is seen on one mention'd by *Pierius*, with this Legend, ΣΕΛΕΤΚΕΩΝ ΗΙΕΙΡΙΑΣ ΖΕΥΣ. Jupiter, God of the City of *Pieria* in *Seleucia*.

Among the *Egyptians*, the Hand was an *Hieroglyphick* of Architecture.

The Washing of Hands (fig. 8.) was an *Hieroglyphick* of Innocence.

The Hand extended, signified Authority and Power. Both Hands in one's Bosom, was an *Hieroglyphick* of Idleness.

On some Medals of the Emperor *Claudius*, is seen a small Figure, holding in his right Hand a Cap, and the Left open, with this Legend, *Liberty* of Augustus.

On the Coins of the Emperor *Antoninus*, *Piety*, represented thereon, has her Right Hand open and extended, and with the Left putting the Offering on the Altar.

The Hands tied behind the Back, was a *Hieroglyphick* of Captivity.

Victory, seen on the Medals of *M. Cato*, Pro-pretor, sitting with a Hand open and extended, is a *Hieroglyphick* of Peace, procured by good Councils.

On the Coin of *Gratian*, is seen a Hand extended to a Woman, kneeling on one Knee, with this Legend, REPARATIO REIPUB. *Reparation of the Republic*.

Two Right Hands joined together, were a *Hieroglyphick* of Felicity.

On the Coin of *Adrian*, that Goddess carries a *Caducee* in one Hand, and with the other lays hold of the Emperor, with this Legend, FELICIT. AUGUSTI. The Felicity of Augustus. But where the same Emperor seems to raise up Somebody kneeling, the following Legend shews what the two Hands join'd signify, RESTITUTORI GALLIÆ, To the Restorer of the Gauls.

A Statue without Hands, was the *Hieroglyphick* of a Judge, therefore at *Thebes*, the Statues of Judges were all without Hands, to signify that Legislators, or Judges, should have none for Bribery or Corruption.

The Feet walking upon the Water, were among the *Egyptians*, a *Hieroglyphick* of the Impossibility of a Project being executed.

But, on the contrary, the Feet set firm on the Ground, are an *Hieroglyphick* of a strong Foundation.

The *Egyptian* Priests represented the Winter Solstice, by two Feet in Fetters, to shew that then the Sun walks slower.

Lame, or distorted Feet, were a *Hieroglyphick* of Iniquity.

The Right Foot extended, and wrapt up, was an *Hieroglyphick* of Retreat, or Return; as it is seen mark'd on a Roman Coin, with this Legend, FORTUNÆ REDUCI, To the Fortune returned.

When we see an antient Statue with a Hand on his Head, and as if he was playing with his Fingers, it is a *Hieroglyphick* of Lasciviousness and Effeminacy.

The Thumb extended downwards, was, among the Romans, an *Hieroglyphick* of Peace. Extended upwards, an *Hieroglyphick* of Favour.

A Hand without a Thumb, was an *Hieroglyphick* of a Man unfit for the Army.

The Index on the Mouth, was a *Hieroglyphick* of Silence; there is a Statue of *Titus Livius* on the Gate of the Town-House of *Padua*, seen in that Posture; and in all the Temples of *Isis* and *Serapis*, there was an Image holding his Finger on his Mouth.

The *Egyptian* Priests represented the Stomach by the Middle Finger; because perhaps, those who have gorged themselves with Victuals, are sometimes forced to thrust their Finger into their Throat, as far as they can, to ease their Stomach.

The Middle Finger extended was also a *Hieroglyphick* of Infamy.

The Annularis was a *Hieroglyphick* of the Heart, and for that Reason the *Egyptian* Priests used to adorn it with a Ring, and perfume it. It is also the *Hieroglyphick* of Marriage, of Slavery, and Impetration when put to the Ear.

Having examined all the Parts of the human Body, which the *Egyptians*, and other Nations, have borrowed for *Hieroglyphicks*, I'll pass to the Animals which have served them for the same Use, beginning by the *Lyon*.

The LION, Hieroglyphick.

Admet, King of *Theffalia*, caused a *Lion* to be joined with a wild Boar, to shew the Strength of the Imagination by the *Lion*, and of the Body by the wild Boar.

The *Lion* alone was also among the *Egyptians*, a Hieroglyphick of the Strength of the Body.—By the Head of a *Lion* they understood *Vigilancy* and *Watchfulness*.—To signify an excessive Rage, they represented a *Lion* tearing his own Progeny into Pieces.

As the *Lion* is very fearful of Fire, the *Egyptian* Priests, to signify a Man possessed with the same Fear, represented a *Lion*, carrying in his Mouth a small lighted Torch.—*Pierius* says, that he saw at *Rome* that Hieroglyphick engraved on a Piece of Marble.

The *Lioness* was most commonly the Hieroglyphick of a Prostitute.—In fact, there was at *Corinth*, joining a Temple dedicated to *Venus*, the Tomb of *Lais*, on which was seen the Figure of a *Lioness* holding a Ram between her Paws, to denote Lasciviousness.

A *Lion's Skin*, was the Hieroglyphick of Virtue.

On *Antiochus's* Coin, was seen a *Lion* almost couchant, with an Owl flying upon him; which was an Hieroglyphick signifying, that Strength represented by the *Lion*, gives Way to *Prudence*, represented by the Owl.

The Hieroglyphick represented on a certain antient Coin, with this Legend *ΜΙΑΗΤΩΝ*, of the *Meletians*, has the same Signification, where the *Lion* leans his Fore-side against the Ground, and upon it a *Caducee* standing upright.

The *Lions* set to the Chariot of *Cybel*, Mother of the Gods, was an Hieroglyphick to signify the Obedience due from Children to their Parents. On a Medal of *Faustina* is seen *Cybel* crowned with several Towers, setting with a Globe between her Hand and her Knees, and drawn by *Lions*, with this Legend, *Matri Magnæ*.

A *Lion Rampant* (fig. 9.) is the Hieroglyphick of Magnanimity.—*Regardant* (fig. 10.) of Circumspection and Caution.—*Saliant* (fig. 11.) of Expedition, or Celerity. *Sejant* (fig. 12.) of Council.—*Passant* (fig. 13.) of Prudence.—*Gardant* (fig. 14.) of Defence.

The *Sphinx* (which was seen at the Entrance of several Temples of the Antients) with the Head of a Woman, and the rest of the Body of a *Lion*, was a Hieroglyphick that signified, that human Nature surpasses in Excellency all other Animals.

The ELEPHANT, Hieroglyphick.

The Figure of an *Elephant* (fig. 15.) was among the *Egyptians* a Hieroglyphick to signify a King; because perhaps when those Animals travel in Drovers, the eldest marches always at the Head.—On a Medal of *C. Cesar* is seen an *Elephant* with its Trunk erect, and a Serpent ready to engage him. And on another, a Serpent which an *Elephant* treads under his Feet, with this Legend, *CÆSAR*.—There is another beautiful Piece of Silver Coin, with the Figure of *Scipio Africanus*, with his Helmet resembling the Head of an *Elephant*, underneath a Plough, with an Ear of Corn in the Fore-part thereof; which Hieroglyphick signifies the Triumph of *Africa*, and the large Quantity of Corn and Provisions brought from thence to *Rome*. The Legend is, *Q. METELLUS*.

On the Ensigns of the fifth Legion there were *Elephants* painted, because, during the Civil War between *C. Cesar* and *L. Scipio*, that Legion asked to fight the *Elephants*, which they did with much Glory.

It was decreed by the Senate and the *Roman* People, that on the Coin of *Augustus*, should be engraved a Chariot drawn by four *Elephants*, to signify his Victories in *Asia*. *Triberius* having obtained the Empire, did the same Honour to his Father, as it appears by this Legend; *TIB. CÆSAR DIVI AVGVST. F. AVGVST. P. M. TR. POP. XXII. DIVO AVGVST. S. P. Q. R.*

We see on a Medal of the Emperor *Antoninus Pius*, an *Elephant* erecting his Trunk in Form of a Roof, or making a Semicircle, the End whereof inward, with this Legend, *MUNIFICENTIA AVGVSTI*, the Munificence of *Augustus*; whence it appears that the *Elephant* in that Posture, is a Hieroglyphick to signify *Munificence*.

The *Egyptians* represented in Hieroglyphick Terms, an *Elephant* and a Goat, to signify that a prudent Man avoids with Care, all that has the least Appearance of Folly. They painted an *Elephant* and a Hog, to insinuate that one must fly the Company of Tatlers, as the *Elephant* flies the Grunting of a Hog.—To signify a King who passes his Life in Luxury and Indolence, they painted an *Elephant* hunting Rats; an Occupation very little becoming a Body so large and so heavy.

The RHINOCEROS Hieroglyphick.

Those that see the Coin of *Domitian*, marked with a *Rhinoceros*, imagine, that it was to applaud and please that Prince, who was the first that caused those Animals to be shewn at publick Feasts.

The BULL Hieroglyphick.

The *Egyptian* Priests represented a Bull crowned with the Leaves of a Fig-Tree, for a Hieroglyphick of Modesty.

The HORSE Hieroglyphick.

The first of all the Hieroglyphicks of a Horse, is that it signifies War.

Pegasus, is the Hieroglyphick of the Sun; for there is a *Pegasus* on the Coin of the Emperor *Galienus*, with this Legend, *SOLI CONS. AVG. i. e.* *Augustus consecrates it to the Sun*. Tho' on some other Coins, as on those of *Adrian*, of *L. Papyrius Cursor*, the *Pegasus* is thought to be the Hieroglyphick of Fame.

Some imagine, that the Horses stamp on some Coins of *Italy*, are an Hieroglyphick signifying that Country.

For on some of those Coins, either of Silver or Copper, is the Head of a Horse bridled, behind it a Scepter, at the End thereof is likewise the Head of a Horse, with this Legend, *Roma*. Unless we rather chuse to believe, that by the Horse is understood the Province of *Mauritania*, taken by Composition; since we see on the Coin of *Adrian*, a Horse led by a Man on Foot, with this Legend, *MAURITANIA*.

The *Cephalians* represented, likewise, a Horse on their Coin. The *Athenians* had represented a Horse on one of their Coins, with this Legend, *ΓΕΡΩΝΟΣ*, which was a Hieroglyphick to signify the Valour and Experience of a Hero, in the Command of the Cavalry.

By the Representation of a Horse, the *Egyptian* Priests signified a profane Man.

The DOG Hieroglyphick.

The *Egyptians* signified by the Representation of a Dog, a Theologian or Divine.

Macrobius, *Saturn. c. 20.* says, that the Figure of a Dog, was a Hieroglyphick to signify the Remembrance of Things past.

There is a Medal of *C. Manilius*, on which is represented a Dog barking at him, which is supposed to signify Confidence; because he was sent by the Senate, to measure the Frontiers of the Republick.—A Dog is likewise the Hieroglyphick of Fidelity.

The *Egyptians* represented under the Figure of a Dog, their God *Anubis*.

They likewise understood by the Hieroglyphick of a Dog, with a Diadem or Coronet, a Prince or Legislator. A Dog with a Leading-Lash, was the Hieroglyphick of a Soldier; the Lash signifying the Oath of a Soldier, and the Dog his Duty.

The *Egyptian* Priests, wanting to signify the Obedience due by a Servant to his Master, used to represent a Dog turning his Head backward.

On a Medal of *C. Posthumus*, is seen a Dog running with his Tail erect, which is an Hieroglyphick of a Victory to come.

The Figure of a Man with the Head of a Dog (fig. 16.) is a Hieroglyphick of Impudence.

The MONKEY Hieroglyphick.

The *Egyptians* wanting to signify a Man who resembled his Vices, represented a Monkey pissing, because

cause when he has done, he covers his Urine with Earth, or something else. By the *Monkey* they likewise signified a Lover of himself.

The HART Hieroglyphick.

The *Egyptians*, by the Figure of a *Hart*, represented a Man deceived by Adulation, or Flattery. By the *Hart*, and the *Viper*, a panick Fear. By a *Hart* running, but looking back, a Man who takes some Respite from his Labours. A Man addicted to Fornication, by a *Hart*, his Genitals tied. By a *Hart* without Horns, a Man deprived of his Employments.

A *Hart* chewing the Cud (fig. 17.) is a *Hieroglyphick* of a Man perfectly accomplished.

The ANT Hieroglyphick.

The *Ant* was the *Hieroglyphick* of Care and Industry; of Foresight; of Constancy in Toils and Labours; of mutual Compassion; of different Offices and Manners; of Opulence; of Vain-Glory.

By the *Ant*, and a small Bundle of *Origan*, the *Egyptian* Priests signified Devastation.

The HOG Hieroglyphick.

The *Egyptian* Priests understood by the Figure of a *Hog*, a dangerous and brutish Man; by a *Hog* and an Elephant, Head to Tail, a Tatler; by a *Hog*, the Sophists; by a *Hog* wallowing in the Mud, an uncivil and ill-bred Man; by the same Animal, Luxury and Gluttony. In the Temple of *Thebes*, there was a Column on which were written several Imprecations against *Menis* King of *Egypt*, who had debauched his Subjects from Parsimony to Luxury, from Modesty to Intemperance, and from Virtue to Effeminacy.

A *Hog* feeding, was the *Hieroglyphick* of an Epicure.

The GOAT Hieroglyphick.

By the Figure of a *Goat*, the *Egyptian* Priests understood a Person quick of Hearing. By a *Goat* held by the Hair under her Chin, a Riot (fig. 9.)

The Figure of *Pan*, was an *Hieroglyphick* of the whole Machine of the World.

The SHEEP Hieroglyphick.

The *Egyptians* by the Figure of a *Sheep*, understood Folly.

The Figure of a *Sheep*, is likewise the *Hieroglyphick* of Innocence, of Good-Nature, and Meekness.

The WOLF Hieroglyphick.

The Figure of a *Wolf*, with the End of his Tail bald, was the *Hieroglyphick* of a Man fallen into the Hands of his Enemies. That of a *Wolf*, with his Tail between his Legs, that of Security. That of a *Wolf*, which a Mare kicked with her hind Feet, was the *Hieroglyphick* of Abortion. On the contrary, by the Figure of a *Wolf* biting the Buttock of a Horse, the *Egyptians* understood a Person raised from his Misfortunes. To signify a Man an Enemy of Sobriety, they represented a *Wolf* with his Mouth open. By a young *Wolf*, they understood Precipitation. By a Man holding a *Wolf* by the Ears, a Person who is irresolute.

The HYÆNA Hieroglyphick.

The principal *Hieroglyphick* of the *Hyæna*, was to signify Contention.

To signify a victorious Enemy, the *Hyæna* was represented fighting, his Huntsman on the Left Side. The *Hyæna* was likewise the *Hieroglyphick* of Inconstancy. To signify a Calumniator of Persons dead, the *Latins* represented the *Hyæna* digging a Grave.

The PANTHER Hieroglyphick.

The *Egyptian* Priests signified Dissimulation by the Figure of a *Panther*; because it was imagined the other Beasts take Pleasure to flatter her.

The TYGER Hieroglyphick.

Some, to signify Revenge, have painted a *Tyger* tearing a Horse in Pieces. Others by a *Tyger* and a *Drum*,

would represent a Man Enemy of Learning, or of Music. The *Egyptians* had not ranked the *Tyger* among their *Hieroglyphicks*.

The LYNX Hieroglyphick.

The *Lynx*, is the *Hieroglyphick* of a quick Sight.

The ASS Hieroglyphick.

The *Egyptian* Priests signified by the Figure of a Man, with the Head of an *Ass*, Ignorance of all Things: Therefore *Jacob* who had lived in *Egypt*, and consequently was very well versed in the Science of *Hieroglyphicks*, after he had compared his Son *Issachar* to an *Ass*, says, that he'll die within his Limits, because an *Ass* is not much used to travel. The *Ass* was also a *Hieroglyphick* of Stupidity, and of Uncleanliness.

A *Running Ass*, was a *Hieroglyphick* of a fine Enterprize began, but soon neglected; because the Galloping of an *Ass* is but short.

The *Egyptians* represented an *Ass* bridled, to signify the Want of a Capacity in a Man.

An *Ass* lying among Flowers and Perfumes, was a *Hieroglyphick* of Flattery.

By an *Ass* with a Whip behind her, signified a Woman who forsakes the Conjugal Bed for Fear of being got with Child.

The *Egyptians*, to signify a careful Father, and prodigal Children, represented an *Ass* twisting a Cord, and behind her, Children untwisting it as fast as she twisted it. And to signify an industrious Husband and a prodigal Wife, a Man making a Cord of Hay, and an *Ass* eating it as fast as it was twisted. They also signified their King *Ochus*, a Prince of a sordid Avarice, by the Figure of an *Ass*.

The MULE Hieroglyphick.

The most common Signification of this *Hieroglyphick* is Bastardy, because the *Mule* is not begotten of its own Specie.

The *Egyptians* represented the *Mule* to signify Sterility; because supposed to be incapable of Generation. Prodigies were also signified by a *Mule* foaling.

The CAMEL Hieroglyphick.

By the *Camel* led by a Child, was signified a tractable Humour; and also Abstinence and Frugality; because no Animal, of his Bigness, eats so little, and can be so long without Eating or Drinking.

The HARE Hieroglyphick.

The *Egyptian* Priests understood by the Figure of the *Hare*, Vigilancy; and likewise the Quickness of Hearing; because the *Hare* has the Ears longer than any Animal, in Proportion to the rest of his Body.

The *Hare* was, besides, a *Hieroglyphick* of Fecundity; and of Solitude.

The *Egyptian* Priests signified, by a dead *Hare* with a Dog near it, People disputing for Precedency, or Emulation; because, says *Plutarch*, a Dog which has killed a *Hare*, tears him with Pleasure, and delights in his Blood.

The FOX Hieroglyphick.

By the *Fox* was signified a deceitful, cunning, treacherous, and malicious Man. Though the *Egyptians* have not ranked it among their *Hieroglyphicks*.

The Antients used to sew a *Fox* Skin, with that of a *Lyon*, to signify a strong Effort done with Art and Cunning.

The CASTOR Hieroglyphick.

By the Figure of this Animal, the *Egyptians* signified a Man who had insulted a Woman; because this Animal, seeing himself closely pursued, cuts his Genitals, and throws them far from him, knowing very well that they are the principal Occasion of his being pursued.

The MOLE Hieroglyphick.

The *Mole* is the common *Hieroglyphick* of Blindness; of a quick Hearing, and of Futurity.

The RAT Hieroglyphick.

The *Rat* was an *Hieroglyphick* of Ruin and Destruction; because they are always gnawing something Night and Day.

The *Egyptian* Priests represented the *Rat*, to signify Choice and Option, because of several Eatables, he always chuses the best. — By a *dead Rat*, they understood Imbecility; because he faints away for the least Indisposition. By the Figure of a *white Rat*, the Pleasures of Love.

Some of the Coins of *Argos*, were stamped with the Figure of a *Rat*.

The CAT Hieroglyphick.

The Figure of a *Mouse*, taken or caught by a *Cat*, signified a Man fallen in the Hands of his Enemies, and asking for Succour.

The *Egyptians*, by the Figure of a *Cat*, understood the Moon; by that of a *She Cat*, Lubricity.

A *Cat* of *Synople*, running, his Head turn'd backward, in a Field Argent, encompassed Gold, was the Ensign of the *Roman* Troop, called *Augusta*.

The SERPENT Hieroglyphick.

The *Egyptian* Priests, to signify the World, represented a *Spotted Serpent* biting its Tail; pretending thereby to shew the Immortality of Things created, whose Beginning tends towards its End, and the End returns to the Beginning.

By a *Serpent* which had cast off his Skin, was signified an old Man, restored to his pristine Juvenility. — By one the Tail under his Throat, was understood Time; comparing the Revolution of the Seasons, to the Circumvolutions of the Serpent.

The Figure of a *Serpent*, with the Head of a Saker, within a Brass Hoop, almost in the Form of the *Greek* Letter Θ , signified the Mass of the World.

The BASILISK Hieroglyphick.

By the Figure of the *Basilisk*, the *Egyptian* Priests understood a Century and Eternity; because among all the Species of Serpents, this cannot be killed by Force, his very Sight being mortal to Men.

The *Basilisk* is seen on some Obelisks, placed on a Column, and his Breast erect.

The Figure of the *Basilisk* signified likewise a Calumniator.

They also represented it to signify that universal Spirit, which they imagined filled up the whole World.

By the Figure of a *Snake*, was understood the Force or Energy of the Discourse, because the whole Strength of that Animal, was supposed to consist in his Mouth. — It also signified Contumacy.

The VIPER Hieroglyphick.

By the Figure of the *Viper*, was understood a Wife who loves her Husband no otherwise than for the Sake of gratifying her Sensuality; for the Female *Viper* (says *Horus*) in her Copulation with the Male, thrusts her Head into his Throat, and overcome by the extreme Pleasure she feels, cuts his Neck with her Teeth, and kills him.

The *Egyptian* Priests represented the *Viper* to signify Children who conspire against their Parents.

The *Egyptian* Priests, to signify that a Prince should reside in the Heart of his Dominions, and among his Subjects, placed a *Viper* round-wise, and in the Middle thereof, the Representation of a Palace.

On a Medal of the Empress *Julia Mamaea*, is seen the Figure of a Woman, leaning with the Left-Hand on a Lance, and extending the Right to a Serpent, with this Legend, JUNO CONSERVATRIX, which I suppose is a *Hieroglyphick* of Dominion and Power.

When the *Egyptians* wanted to signify a Prince, whose Dominion extended no further than over a Province only, they represented a *Serpent* cut in Pieces.

To signify a Prince inclinable to Clemency, they represented a *Serpent* in his Circumvolutions, and biting his Tail. And to signify one who had taken a particu-

lar Care of his People, they represented a *Serpent* with his Eyes open, his Neck erect, and raising up his Breast.

Epaminondas having been killed at the Battle of *Mantineia*, a Column was erected to his Memory, on the Field, with a Buckler, bearing the Figure of a *Dragon*, for a *Hieroglyphick* of his extraordinary Valour.

Asia was figurated by *Three Serpents*; which is confirm'd by several Coins of Silver, with this Legend on one Side, CÆSAR IMP. VII. and on the Reverse, *Three Serpents*, between them *Victory* leaning on a Cushion, the Legend, ASIA RECEPTE, *Asia Recover'd*.

The CADUCEE Hieroglyphick.

This *Hieroglyphick* is entirely *Egyptian*. — By the *Caducee*, which is a Rod, garnished with two Serpents, Male and Female, they understand the Birth of Man, pretending that four Gods presided at it, viz. Genius, Fortune, Love, and Fate. Others pretend, that by the *Caducee*, where the Serpents are placed in a Posture as if they wanted to kiss one another, the *Egyptians* understood by it Concord and Amity.

The *Cornu Copia* joined to the *Caducee*, signify Felicity, as is plainly seen on a Coin of *Adrian*, whereon the *Caducee* is represented with a *Cornu Copia*, with this Legend, FELICITAS AVG. the Felicity of Augustus. And on another of the Emperor *Severus Macrinus*, whereon there is a Figure with a Lance in the Left-Hand, and a *Caducee* in the Right, with this Legend, FELICITAS TEMPORUM, S. C. Happy Time, for the Order of the Senate. — On one of the Emperor *Vespasian*, is represented a *Caducee*, with this Legend, P. M. TR. P. COS. VIII. i. e. Military Pretor, Tribune of the People, and eight Times Consul. All these Medals were *Hieroglyphicks* of Peace.

The northern Wind was represented by the Figure of a Man with Tails of Vipers instead of Feet.

The SCORPION Hieroglyphick.

The *Egyptian* Priests painted the *Scorpion* and the *Crocodile*, to signify two Enemies fighting with equal Advantage. — The *Scorpion* was also a *Hieroglyphick* of Treachery. — A *Scorpion* in the Water, signified a Malice which could do no Harm.

The *Scorpions*, on some Coins of *Adrian*, is supposed to signify *Africa*.

The SALAMANDER Hieroglyphick.

By the Figure of the *Salamander*, the *Egyptian* Priests understood a Person environ'd on all Sides with Fire, but without being hurt thereby.

St. *Gregory Nazianzene*, takes the *Salamander* for the *Hieroglyphick* of Constancy; for she is supposed, not only to live in the Middle of Fire, but likewise to conquer it by extinguishing it. — She is also the Symbol of Love.

From these Quadrupeds and Reptils, I'll pass to the feather'd Kind, and chuse among them, some of those which were made use of for *Hieroglyphicks*, beginning by the *Vulture*.

The VULTURE Hieroglyphick.

The Figure of the *Vulture* was made Use of by the *Egyptian* Priests, to signify the Year; because when the Season is come for her Copulation, she abstains 5 Days from eating or drinking, remains 120 Days with Young after Impregnation, employs the same Space of Time in feeding her Young, and remains the other 120 Days without any other Care but of herself. By the Figure of a dead *Vulture*, they signified a Century, because that Bird is supposed to live so long. By the *Vulture* cocking up her Tail, and turning it Northwards, they understood *Nature*, because they supposed, that the *Vultures* being all Females, and no Males, they conceived by the Wind. By the *Vulture* tearing her Thighs to feed her Young withal, they represented Pity and Commiseration.

Plunder is also represented by the Figure of the *Vulture*.

The *Egyptian* Priests wanting to signify something very

very perfect, represented a *Vulture* with a *Beetle*; understanding by those two Figures, *Pallas* and *Vulcan*. The same Figure represented likewise the two Hemispheres; and Art and Genius.

The EAGLE Hieroglyphick.

The principal Signification of the *Eagle* was Prosperity.

The Figure of the *Eagle* is also employ'd to signify an *Apotheose*, — On a Medal, the Legend thereof is, *DIUI AUGUSTI PATRIS, Of the divine Augustus, Father*, is seen an *Eagle* with Fire under her, which is interpreted of *Augustus's* Funerals. On another Piece of Money, the Legend whereof is, *DIVUS PERT. PIUS PATER*, is represented an *Eagle* on a Globe, as wanting to shew, that *Augustus* had been carried into Heaven; for the Legend on the Reverse is, *CONSECRATIO*. The same Figure is found, in different Manners, on the Coins of *Antoninus Pius*, sometimes with the Thunder; sometimes also, carrying that Prince on her Wings; and sometimes his Field-Bed into Heaven, with this Legend, *CONSECRATIO*. On a Coin of *Vespasian*, is seen an *Eagle* carrying a Globe, and on her Wings a Tent crowned a-top with Flowers. On some of *Adrian*, he appears to receive his Scepter from an *Eagle*; as he had received his Crown from *Jupiter*, as it appears by this Legend, *PROVIDENTIA DEORUM, By the Providence of the Gods*. A Medal of the Empress *Sabina*, shews an *Eagle* with the Thunder, and this Legend, *CONSECRATIO*.

By the Pen-Feathers of the *Eagle*, the *Egyptians* understood a dangerous Power; because they pretended, that those Feathers, when mixed with those of other Animals, bruise, and, in a Manner, destroy them. They also signified by the *Eagle*, the Prince who consults nothing else but his own Interest, having no Regard to those of his Subjects; because that Bird is supposed to destroy every Thing he thinks proper, to build his *Nest* or *Nest*. They besides represented by the *Eagle*, a Person who dies of Hunger.

Pindarus designs by the *Eagle*, a quick Wit, because no other Bird is so nimble in catching its Prey.

The *Egyptian* Priests had another *Hieroglyphick*, understanding by an *Eagle* which carried a Stone, a Person who had fixed his Habitation in a Place.

An *Eagle* carrying off a *Dragon*, was the Coat of Arms of the Republick of *Lacedemon*.

The PHOENIX Hieroglyphick.

By the Figure of the *Phenix*, the *Egyptian* Priests understood a Restoration; because the *Phenix* was supposed to revive from his own Ashes; and likewise a long Absence.

The PELICAN Hieroglyphick.

The *Egyptian* Priests signified by the Figure of the *Pelican*, an extreme Folly; because, when as that Bird could build his Nest on the higher Places, he builds it on the lower, where his Young can be stolen away. Likewise paternal Love, because he is supposed to open his Breast, and feed his Young with his own Blood.

The *Christians*, imitating in this the *Egyptians*, place the *Pelican* a-top the Cross of *Jesus Christ*, to signify Compassion.

The OWL Hieroglyphick.

By the Figure of an *Owl* placed on an Altar, was understood *Minerva*; and consequently Wisdom.

The *Egyptian* Priests, by the Figure of an *Owl*, signified Death. To signify two Enemies hating one another to Death, they represented the *Owl* sucking an Egg. They understood Succours implored in vain, by representing the *Owl* and the Sparrow together. — By the *Owl* was likewise represented Tyranny.

The CROW Hieroglyphick.

By the Figure of Two Crows, the *Egyptians* understood Marriage; because they are said to follow in their Copulation, the Manner of the human Creatures. By the Figure of a dead Crow, they signified a Man who had happily ended his Days, and lived long. By the Figure of a young Crow, Inquietude; and by that of an old one, Winter.

The SPARROW Hieroglyphick.

By the Figure of a Sparrow the *Egyptian* Priests un-

derstood the Term of a Year, or a short Life; because it has been discovered that the Male Sparrow lives no longer than a Year, though this Rule is not without Exception. Wanting to signify a *prolifick Man*, they painted a wild Sparrow.

The LANNER Hieroglyphick.

By the Figure of the *Lanner*, the *Egyptian* Priests understood the Sun. *Zoroaster* says, that God has the Head of a *Lanner* (fig. 20.)

By the Figure of a *Lanner* flying, the *Egyptians* understood the Sublimity of Thoughts, and likewise Wit. To signify Parents who neglected or abandoned their Children, they represented a *Lanner* setting on her Eggs; because the *Lanner* lays three Eggs, sets on one of them, and breaks the two others.

A *Lanner* flying, is also a *Hieroglyphick* of Celcrity and Quickness.

The seven *Lanners* pursuing a *Vulture*, were painted as a *Hieroglyphick* of the Victory gained by seven *Persian* Lords against *Smerdis*, an Usurper of the Throne of *Persia*.

The *Lanner* with his Wings extended, signifies the Element of the Air.

The DOVE Hieroglyphick.

By painting a black Dove, the *Egyptian* Priests understood a Widow persevering in the State of Viduity. And by the Figure of two Doves billing one another, they signified the Inticements of Love.

The *Christians* by the Figure of a Dove understood divine Love, otherwise called Charity.

The *Egyptian* Priests signified likewise by the Figure of a Dove, the Impious and Ungrateful; because the Male being grown strong, beats his Father and expells him from his Nest. They painted a Dove with his Tail erect, to signify a Man meek of his Nature, who can't be provoked at repeated Injuries; because the antient Authors had imagined that a Dove had no Gall. By a Dove carrying in his Beak a small Branch of Bays, they understood a Person recovered from Sickness, because that Bird when sick, cures himself by a Bay-leaf.

The SWALLOW Hieroglyphick.

By the Figure of a Swallow feeding her Young, the *Egyptians* understood Impartiality, or a Man who divides his Estate equally between his Children; because the Swallow feeds her Young with a marvellous Equality.

Horus writes, that the *Egyptians* understood by a Nest of Swallows, the Bulk of an Estate left to Children, because that Bird builds her Nest with so much Art and Labour, that it may serve for her Posterity.

The Swallow was also the *Hieroglyphick* of ungrateful and inconstant Friends, because she leaves soon her native Place.

The SWAN Hieroglyphick.

The *Egyptian* Priests understood by the Figure of the Swan, an old Man who delights in Musick, because the Swan is supposed to sing better the nearer he approaches his End.

The Figure of a Swan signified likewise, a Man who oppressed his Countrymen and Fellow Citizens (fig. 21.) For the Swans have this peculiar to themselves, that they fight and eat one another.

There is in the Cabinet of Curiosities of the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, an *Apollo* on Marble, who plays on the Violin, which he holds in his Left-Hand, and resting it on the Back of a Swan, which seems to touch gently the Chords with his Beak, as it were to heighten the Harmony. This was made for a *Hieroglyphick* of Musick, (fig. 22.)

The NIGHTINGALE Hieroglyphick.

By the Figure of the *Nightingale*, sometimes is signified the Spring, and sometimes Watchfulness, because he never appears but in the Spring, and is supposed to sing Part of that Season all Night.

The PARROT Hieroglyphick.

By the Figure of the Parrot is understood Eloquence, because no other Animal imitates so well the human Voice as he does, (fig. 24.)

The RAVEN Hieroglyphick.

The Raven is the *Hieroglyphick* of a Man, who disinherits his own Children, because it's said, that he throws his

Young out of the Nest as soon as they are capable to fly:—It is also the *Hieroglyphick* of a Coward.

The PEACOCK *Hieroglyphick*.

The Figure of the *Peacock* signified *Juno*, because that Bird was consecrated to her. The Ridicule and Vanity of Riches was also figured by the Feet of the *Peacock*, which are despicable when compared with the rest of his Body. By the Tail of the *Peacock*, was signified the Vicissitude of Fortune, because its fine Feathers fall every Year at the Fall of the Leaves, and they begin to sprout anew in the Spring following. To represent Night, they painted a *Peacock* making the Wheel with his Tail. To signify the Day, they painted the same Tail down.

Prodigality was also represented by the Figure of a *Peacock*; for though he makes Parade of fine Feathers, they are of no Use to him either to walk or fly.

The Medals of the Empress *Domitia* bear on one Side the Figure of a *Peacock*, with this Legend, CONCORDIA AUGUST.

There was a Silver Coin of *Faustina* marked with a *Peacock*, and this Legend CONSECRATIO. Another under the Name of *Diva Paulina*, bears the Head of a Woman already advanced in Years and veiled behind; and on the Reverse a *Peacock*, supporting the same Figure setting on his Wings, with the Legend CONSECRATIO.

The HEN *Hieroglyphick*.

The Figure of a *Siren* or *Mermaid*, with the Feet of a *Hen*, signified Misfortunes, (fig. 25.)

The Figure of a *Hen* signified Fecundity, Health, and Security.

The COCK *Hieroglyphick*.

By the Figure of a *Cock* is understood the *French* Nation. By the same Figure, the Antients understood the Purity of the Mind, Courage, and Victory; because that Bird is silent when he is beaten, and sings when he has conquered.

The *Cock* is also the *Hieroglyphick* of Impiety, because he treads his Mother and beats his Father.

The GOOSE *Hieroglyphick*.

By the Figure of a *Goose* holding a Pebble in her Bill, the *Egyptians* understood Silence kept a-propos, and also a false Accuser.

The OSTRICH *Hieroglyphick*.

The Feathers of an *Ostrich* being very even between them, contrary to the Feathers of all other Birds, have been borrowed for a *Hieroglyphick* of Justice and Equality; as it appears by a Medal with this Legend, TI. CAESAR. DIVI. AUG. F. AUG. P. M. TR. POP. XXIV. wherein is represented a Bunch of the Feathers of an *Ostrich*, on the Forehead of a Figure, with this Word underneath, *Justitia*.

In the sacred Scripture Irresolution is signified by the *Ostrich*.

The BAT *Hieroglyphick*.

The *Egyptian* Priests signified by the Figure of the *Bat*, a Man who without Birth, Wit, or Fortune, has been raised to some eminent Post. And represented likewise by the Figure of three *Bats* tied together, (fig. 26.) mutual Love.

To represent a Misanthrope, or a Man who hated the Civil Society, they painted an Ant, and the Wing of a *Bat*; for they imagined that there was so great an Antipathy between the *Bat* and the Ant, that if only a Wing of that Animal was placed near a Nest of Ants, none of them dare to come out.

The BEE *Hieroglyphick*.

The *Egyptian* Priests wanting to represent good and loyal Subjects who loved their Prince, painted a *Bee*, representing likewise a King by the *Bee*, as well as the Gift of Eloquence.

The *Bees* painted feeding, signified a Man who thirsts after the Pleasures of this Life.

A long Health, without being interrupted by any Disease, was signified by *Bees* placed on a Branch of an Olive Tree loaded with Fruit.

Hesychius of *Jerusalem* says, c. 5. that by the *Hieroglyphick* of the Honey and *Bees*, is understood a foreign

Doctrine, which has a great many fine Words and no Effect. By the *Bee* is also understood Chastity.

The FLY *Hieroglyphick*.

By the Figure of a *Fly*, the *Egyptian* Priests understood Importunity and Impudence, and likewise Obstinacy.

The *Fly* is likewise a *Hieroglyphick* of Indocility; for *Plutarch* says, that there are but two domestick Animals, which never sympathise with Man, viz. the *Fly* and the Swallow.

The SPIDER *Hieroglyphick*.

By the Figure of a *Spider* is signified a needless Work.

From the Air I'll descend into the Sea, and select from among the Fishes, those which were employ'd for *Hieroglyphicks*, beginning by the *Dolphin* as the most noble.

The DOLPHIN *Hieroglyphick*.

By the Figure of the *Dolphin* was signified Agility, and likewise a quick Navigation.

The Figure of a *Dolphin* tied to an Anchor, signified a mature Deliberation.

The CAMÆLEON *Hieroglyphick*.

By the Figure of a *Camæleon* is understood Cunning and Deceit.

The TORTOISE *Hieroglyphick*.

By the Figure of a Man saved from a Naufrage on the Back of a *Tortoise*, with a Ray of the Sun which helps him, is understood a Person who despises the Inconstancy of Fortune. The Head of a *Tortoise* cut, is a *Hieroglyphick* of a Man wounded with several mortal Wounds, yet dying with great Difficulty. The Figure of a *Tortoise* walking, is the *Hieroglyphick* of a lazy and indolent Man. The Figure of the Head of a *Tortoise* shewing his Teeth, is the *Hieroglyphick* of Medicine.

The Coin of the *Peloponnesians*, at present *Morea*, was stamped with the Figure of a *Tortoise*.

The CRAWFISH *Hieroglyphick*.

The Republick of *Cbio* had the *Crawfish* represented on their Coin, with this Legend a-top ΚΩΙΩΝ, and at Bottom ΑΕΥΚΙΝΝΑΣ. The *Crawfish* laid hold by a Hand signified frustrated Hope; because as one endeavours to catch it, it flies back. By the *Crawfish* walking sometimes forwards and sometimes backwards, was signified Inconstancy.

The OYSTER *Hieroglyphick*.

The Figure of the *Oyster* signified the human Race, because it represents the Soul incarcerated in the human Body.

The CROCODILE *Hieroglyphick*.

To signify the East, the *Egyptians* painted two Eyes of *Crocodiles*, as coming out of the Head. And the West was signified by the Figure of a *Crocodile* laying at its full Length upon the Earth. By the Tail of the *Crocodile* they understood either Death or Funerals, because so soon as the *Crocodile* has caught some Animal, he makes use of his Tail to kill him. The Figure of the *Crocodile* was likewise among them the *Hieroglyphick* of Luxury and Perdition. By the Figure of the *Crocodile* beating himself they understood Fury; because when that Animal has lost his Prey he punishes himself for it.

The Figure of the *Crocodile* with his Mouth open, signified an Epicure. There is seen on several Copper Coins, a *Crocodile* tied to a Palm-Tree, with this Legend COL. AEG. *Egyptian Colony*; and on the Reverse two human Heads, one looking Eastward, and wearing a naval Crown with these Letters a-top, IMP. i. e. Emperor; whereby the *Crocodile* is signified *Egypt*, and its being tied to a Palm Tree signifies the Victory of *Augustus*, which he caused to be engraved on an Obelisk. As to the two Heads, I believe one is of *Augustus* and the other of *Agrippa*.

Another Piece of Silver of *Augustus* is stamped with the Figure of a *Crocodile*, with this Legend a-top, AEGYPTO, at Bottom CAPTA, and on the Reverse the Head of *Augustus*, with this Legend round it, CAESAR DIVI F. COS. VI. there is also a Coin of L. AEL. AUREL. COMMON. where the Emperor *Commodus* under the Figure of *Hercules*, tramples on a *Crocodile* with his Right Foot, holding in his Left-Hand a Club, and giving with the

Right, Ears of Corn to *Egypt*, which presents him with a Syftus, the Legend *INDULGENTIÆ AUGUSTI, To the Indulgence of Augustus.*

The SEA-HORSE Hieroglyphick.

The *Egyptian* Priests to signify Impiety, Ingratitude, and Injustice, painted a *Sea-Horse*, and signified that Piety was preferable to Impiety, by the Head of a *Cassowary* fixed on the Foot of a *Sea-Horse*, (fig. 27.)

The LAMPREY Hieroglyphick.

By the Figure of the *Lamprey*, the *Egyptians* signified those who loved Foreigners; because the *Lamprey* comes out of the Water to fray with the Serpent.

The FROG Hieroglyphick.

The *Egyptians* to signify a Person without Shame painted a *Frog*, because it is supposed that she has Blood no where else but in the Eyes; and also understood thereby a needless or criminal Curiosity.

There was seen at *Sais*, on the Portal of a Temple dedicated to *Minerva*, a Child, an old Man, a Falcon, a Fish, and a *Sea-Horse*, (fig. 28.) which signified the Condition and Fragility of human Life: Which from its Infancy tends towards old Age, and returned again to Infancy. By the Falcon was understood our intellectual Faculty, which is a Participation of the Divinity; Death by the Fish, by reason of the Sea, which the *Egyptians* called Ruin and Destruction; and Violence by the *Sea-Horse*, because he does not even spare his own Father which he kills to enjoy his Mother.

Note, That besides the natural Productions heretofore mentioned, the *Egyptians* and other People of Antiquity, used to have Recourse to Art likewise to borrow from it several of their *Hieroglyphicks*; therefore as I have explained a great Number of the natural Productions applied by them to that Use, I must endeavour to do the same of the artificial ones, beginning by the *Circle*.

The CIRCLE Hieroglyphick.

The *Egyptian* Priests, with regard to that Beginning and End, which is invisible, understood *God* by the Figure of the *Circle*. The same Figure signified likewise Perfection, among some Nations, who after the Sacrifice used to make a Circle on the Altar with the Blood of the Victim, which Ceremony they called Accomplishment, or Perfection.

By the Figure of a *Circle* was understood the Course of a Year, in Consideration of the Gold Circle which *Cambyfes* carried off from the Sepulchre of *Simand*, and which had in Circumference 365 Cubits, and a Cubit in Breadth, each Day of the Year being engraved on each Cubit, according to the diurnal Course of the Planets.

The winged Sphere wreathed about with *Serpents*, was the *Hieroglyphick* of the Spirit and Soul of the Universe, (fig. 29.)

The SQUARE Hieroglyphick.

The *Egyptian* Priests, by a quadrangular Figure, understood Wisdom; because they supposed that Form the most secure Foundation.

The PYRAMID or OBELISK Hieroglyphick.

By the Figure of a triangular *Pyramid* or *Obelisk*, the Antients understood the Divinity; as considering the Number Three the most perfect Number.

The Figure of an equilateral Triangle was the *Hieroglyphick* of Humanity.

The CAP Hieroglyphick.

By the Figure of the *Cap* was understood Liberty; therefore we see often on ancient Coins the Representation of a *Cap*, with this Legend, *LIBERTAS, Liberty*: As on the Coin of *T. Claudius*, whereon is seen a Figure, holding a *Cap* in his Right Hand, with his Left open, and this Legend, *LIBERTAS AUGUSTI, the Liberty of Augustus*. Likewise on the Coin of *Antoninus*, the *Cap* is in the Left Hand, and in the Right a Battle-Ax, with this Legend, *LIBERTAS COS. III. the Liberty of the Consul for the fourth Time*: But on the Coin of *Caracalla*, that Liberty, besides the Rod and the *Cap*, has a Star before it.

On some of the Medals of *Brutus* are seen two Pionards with a *Cap*, which *Dion* imagined to signify that *Cassius* and *Brutus* were the Liberators of their Country; because the Pionard signified Murder, and the *Cap* Liberty.

On the Coin of *Galba* is represented a Figure with a Javeline and a *Cap*, with this Legend, *LIBERTAS PUBLICA, the publick Liberty*: The same is seen on some of the Coins of *Nerva*.

The *Romans* have always considered the *Cap* as a *Hieroglyphick* of Priesthood; because the Priests *Flamines*, established by *Numa*, were thus denominated from *Pileus* a *Cap*, as if one would say *Pileamines*.

The GOWN Hieroglyphick.

By the Figure of a *Gown* was understood a Man employ'd in the Management of publick Affairs, or in the Legislature; the same Figure signified likewise Peace or Tranquility.

The HELMET Hieroglyphick.

The Figure of a *Helmet* signified War.

The VEIL Hieroglyphick.

By Figures we see represented veiled, on Medals with this Legend, *PUDICITIÆ*, is understood Chastity. On one the Legend thereof is *SABINA AUGUSTA HADRIANI AUG. SABINE AUGUSTA, of Hadrian Augustus*, is seen on one Side a Goddess sitting and veiled, and carrying the Index in her Bosom with this Legend, *PUDICITIA, Pudicity*. On another of *Horennia* is the Figure of a Woman sitting, with a Staff under her Left-Arm, and with the Right-Hand covering her Face with a *Veil*, with this Legend *PUDICITIA AUG.*

The GIRDLE, or BELT Hieroglyphick.

By the Figure of a *Girdle*, the *Greeks*, *Latins*, and *Hebrews* understood Virginity: — It also signified Strength and Virtue. By the Figure of a *Girdle* loosened or untied, was understood a Woman who had been delivered of her first Child.

The RING Hieroglyphick.

The Figure of a *Ring* was a *Hieroglyphick* of Faith and Honour, and among the *Romans* of Nobility.

The DIADEM Hieroglyphick.

The *Diadem* signified Royal Power or Authority, as well as Victory.

The CROWN Hieroglyphick.

The Figure of a *Crown* was a *Hieroglyphick* of the Laws established for the good Order of a State, because those Laws keeping the Subjects in Subjection, are signified by the different Circles a *Crown* is formed of. A *Crown of Roses* or rather Flowers, was a *Hieroglyphick* of Mirth.

The SCEPTER Hieroglyphick.

The *Scepter* signified a Kingdom.

The NECKLACE Hieroglyphick.

A *Necklace* or Gold Chain, signified a solid Virtue.

Note, That as the precious Stones have also been ranked among the *Hieroglyphicks*, it is but just, in order to render this Treatise more perfect, to mention them here, beginning by the *Diamond*.

The DIAMOND Hieroglyphick.

The Figure of the *Diamond* signified Strength and Constancy, because it can neither be broken nor consumed in the Fire. It was also a Sign of Impetration among the *Jews*.

The SAPPHIRE Hieroglyphick.

The *Sapphire* signified the Sovereign Sacrificature, because that Stone was supposed to draw a certain Virtue from *Jupiter* and *Saturn*. It also signified the Empyreum.

The EMERALD Hieroglyphick.

By the *Emerald* was understood Virginity, because it was supposed that this Stone breaks of itself in the Act of Venery.

The AMETHYST Hieroglyphick.

The *Amethyst* signified Sobriety.

Note, That all the different Sorts of Arms, were also used by the Antients for *Hieroglyphicks*, v. g.

To signify an heroicall Virtue, they commonly painted their Gods and Goddesses arm'd *Cap-a-pie*.

The *Greeks* by painting theirs armed, understood that all are subject to the Fate of Arms.

The *Lacedæmonians* painted *Venus* armed, to signify an heroicall Virtue in a Woman.

In several Places, and on several Medals, the Figure of *Mars the Avenger* is seen, with the Lance and the Buckler; which is an *Hieroglyphick* of War.

The

The Bow and the Arrows *Hieroglyphicks*.

When the *Egyptian* Priests wanted to signify some Tumult, or the Beginning of a War, they represented a Figure shooting with a *Bow*; but in the Figures of *Apollo* and *Diana*, by the *Bows* and *Arrows* are understood the Rays of the Sun. On the Coin of *Galienus*, is the Figure of an Archer, much like the *Sagittarius* of the *Zodiack*, with this Legend, *APOLLINI COS. AUG.*

The *QUIVER* *Hieroglyphick*.

By the Representation of the *Quiver*, was understood Heart and Counsel.

Note, That some *Meteors* were also ranked among the *Hieroglyphicks*, particularly *Thunder*.

When the *Egyptians* wanted to signify or express Fame, they painted a *Thunder-Bolt*. By the Figure of a *Thunder-Bolt*, was also understood Celerity; as it appears by the antient Coins, especially by that with this Legend, *Q. PHILIPPUS*, whereon is seen a Horse on a full Gallop, with his Tail erect, the Thunder following it, and a Picque upright; which signified his Expedition in the Management of publick Affairs.

On some of the Coins of *Antoninus Pius*, and of *Nerva*, is represented a *Thunderbolt* laying on a Bed, which is understood to signify Clemency.

The *SHIP* *Hieroglyphick*.

By the Figure of a *Ship* was understood Felicity, as is plainly seen by some antient Coins, particularly that of *Adrian*, whereon is represented with this Legend, *FELICITATI AUG. To the Felicity of Augustus*. And underneath the Ship, *S. C. COS. III. P. P. i. e. By Ordinance of the Senate, three Times Consul*. On some of the Coins of *Augustus* is seen a Galley with Oars, with the same Legend, *FELICITATI AUG.*

Among the *Athenians*, the Figure of a *Ship* was an *Hieroglyphick* of Preservation.

On the Coin of the *Tyrians*, was represented a *Ship* with this Legend, *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΥΡΙΩΝ*. Of *Demetrius King of the Tyrians*; giving thereby to understand, that they were the Inventors of Navigation. There is, besides, another Coin, with a *Galley* or *Ship*, and on the other Side a Head, wearing a Crown composed of Bays, with this Legend, *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΣΙΔΩΝΙΩΝ*. Of *Antiochus King of the Sidonians*.

The *Ship* represented on the Coin of *Agrippa*, with a *Trident* at the Poop, is a *Hieroglyphick* of the naval Victory he gain'd over *S. Pompey*.

The *ANCHOR* *Hieroglyphick*.

An *Anchor*, environ'd with a *Dolphin*, signifies Haste.

By the Figure of a *Ship at Anchor*, the *Egyptian* Priests understood a profound Security. The Figure of the *Anchor* signified, likewise, according to *Pindarus*, Bridle or Restraint.

On the Coin of *Seleucus*, is represented an *Anchor*, because from his Birth he was marked on the Thigh with the same Figure.

The *RUDDER* *Hieroglyphick*.

By the Figure of the *Rudder* of a Ship, was understood the Government of a State; therefore the Antients painted the Goddess *Fortune*, holding with her Right-Hand the Helm of a Ship, and in the Left a *Cornu Copia*. — But as that Goddess was very prone to Inconstancy, she was sometimes represented sitting on a Ball, in which Posture she is seen on the Coin of *Nerva*, with this Legend, *FORT. RED. S. C. i. e. The Fortune return'd by Arrest of the Senate*. On another Sort of Coin, of the same Emperor, *Fortune* is represented sitting, guiding an *Helm* or *Rudder* with her Hand, and which she lites up with her Feet, and this Legend, *FORTUNÆ REDUCT. To Fortune return'd*.

On some of the Coins of *Adrian*, *Fortune* is represented with a Helm placed on a Ball.

The Coin of *Septimus Geta*, has the Figure of *Fortune* sitting, a *Rudder* and a *Cornu Copia*, with this Legend, *FORT. RED. To Fortune return'd*.

On the Coin of *Domitian* is the same Figure, the same *Rudder*, the same *Cornu Copia*; but the Legend is quite different; for it is this *FORTUNA AUGUSTI, The Fortune of Augustus*, as if *Fortune* had never changed

with Respect to him.

The *FISHING-HOOK* *Hieroglyphick*.

The Figure of the *Fishing-Hook* signified Deceit and Falshood.

The *TRIDENT* *Hieroglyphick*.

By the Figure of the *Trident*, was understood Open Force.

The *THREE JUGGS* *Hieroglyphick*.

By the Figure of *Three Juggs*, the *Egyptians* understood the River *Nile*.

The *LAMP* *Hieroglyphick*.

The first Signification of the *Lamp*, is to represent the human Life; because the Oil which serves to feed and maintain the Light, represents the radical Humour of our Bodies, which entertains the natural Warmth, which failing, our Life must be at an End. *Light* was also an *Hieroglyphick* of Nobility and Fame.

The *TORCH* or *FLAMBEAU* *Hieroglyphick*.

By the *Torch* or *Flambeau*, the *Egyptians* understood Love.

By *Two Flambeaux* tied together, a Separation between, was signified a mutual Love. But if they were painted the Light downwards, they signified the Funerals of Lovers.

Note, That *Musick* supplied, likewise, the *Egyptian* Priests, and other antient People, with several of her Instruments for their *Hieroglyphicks*, viz.

The *LYRE* *Hieroglyphick*.

The principal Signification of the Figure of a *Lyre*, was a sound Judgment.

By the Figure of the *Lyre*, or *Violin*, in the Hand of *Mercury*, was understood the Union of several different Subjects.

By the *Lyre* represented on the Coin of *Nero*, is understood his Passion for Musick.

The *FLUTE* *Hieroglyphick*.

The *Egyptian* Priests, wanting to represent a Person who had for a considerable Time lost his Senses, but recovered them at last, painted a *Flute*, because it diverts us, and makes us forget all our Troubles and Misfortunes.

The *Flute* painted together with a *Hart*, is an *Hieroglyphick* of Adulation.

The *TRUMPET* *Hieroglyphick*.

The most common Signification of the Figure of a *Trumpet*, is Fame. Therefore the *Romans* placed a-top of the Temple of *Saturn*, two *Tritons* sounding the *Trumpet* with their Tail hidden, to signify that the History of what had passed ever since *Saturn* to their Time, was clear and apparent.

Note, That the Antients had even borrowed from the Workshop of a Smith, some of their *Hieroglyphicks*; as

The *ANVIL* *Hieroglyphick*.

By the Figure of the *Anvil*, was understood Patience in the greatest Adversity. — By the Figure of *Juno*, with two Gold Anvils, tied at her Feet, was signified the Earth and the Water.

The *HAMMER* *Hieroglyphick*.

The Signification of the Figure of the *Hammer*, was Instigation to Evil.

The *CHAINS* and *FETTERS* *Hieroglyphicks*.

The most common Signification of the Figure of *Chains* or *Fetters*, was Love.

The *Lacedaemonians* used to paint Love, under the Name of *Morphos*, with *Fetters* on her Feet, which *Pausanias* interprets of a conjugal Chastity.

The *Arcadians* used to represent *Minerva* with her Thighs chain'd, to signify the Wound she received from *Centhis*, Chief of the *Arcadians*, while she was endeavouring to persuade him, to continue in the Alliance of the *Greeks*.

Chains, *Cuffs*, and *Fetters*, signify most properly the State of Marriage, (fig. 30.)

Note, That the *Egyptians*, and other Nations, have also ransacked the Vegetable World for *Hieroglyphicks*; as it will appear by the several *Plants*, &c. I am going

going to represent and explain as such, beginning by the *Palm-Tree*.

The PALM-TREE Hieroglyphick.

Among the several *Hieroglyphick* Significations of the *Palm Tree*; the following are the four principal; which are, that it signifies Year, Month, Justice or Impartiality, and Victory.

Among the sacred *Hieroglyphicks*, by the Figure of a *Palm-Tree* is understood Innocency and a good Life.

The LAUREL Hieroglyphick.

Aphthoncus says, that the *Laurel* is an *Hieroglyphick* of Prophecy. — *Proclus* informs us, that it is the *Hieroglyphick* of Health, or of Preservation. The *Laurel* is also an *Hieroglyphick* of Victory.

The MYRTLE-TREE Hieroglyphick.

The Crown of *Myrtle*, the *Roman* Soldiers were crown'd with, signified a War, conducted without Effusion of Blood. The *Branch of Myrtle*, which the Antients presented one another with in their Rejoicings and Feasts, was a Sign of Mirth.

The OAK Hieroglyphick.

By the Figure of an *Oak*, was signified sometimes the Strength of Body, and sometimes Length of Time.

On a certain Coin which has the *Dorick* Legend, ΕΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ, is seen an Eagle treading under her Feet a Thunder-Bolt and two Branches of *Oak* in the Form of a Crown.

On the Coin of *Caligula* there is a Civick Crown made of Acorns, with this Legend, S. P. Q. R. PP. OB CIVES SERVATOS, *The Senate and the Roman People, for having preserved the Citizens*. Which proves that the *Oak* was likewise the *Hieroglyphick* of Preservation and Security.

The IVY Hieroglyphick.

By the *Ivy* was understood Antiquity, because it always grows round the Trees, or old Buildings, &c.

By the Poets being sometimes crowned with *Ivy*, was understood, that they were subject to be delirious, or that if they were so very jealous of a Rhime, they were not so of their Reason, with which they made but too often a Divorce.

The CYPRESS Hieroglyphick.

The *Egyptian* Priests have not ranked the *Cypress* among their *Hieroglyphicks*, and none but the *Greeks* and *Latins* have Significations for it; and particularly this, that the Figure of a *Cypress* signifies a Place polluted by the Death of Somebody.

Some Authors say, that the *Cypress* is the Figure of the Death, or Sepulchres of Persons distinguished by their noble Birth; and *Thucydides* informs us, that the Coffins of those killed in the Defence of their Country, were made of *Cypress*.

By Branches of *Cypress* engraved on Sepulchres, was understood, that the Deceased were recommended to the infernal Gods.

The Figure of a *Cypress*, signified, likewise, *Words without Deeds*; because the *Cypress*, tho' a beautiful Tree, produces no Fruit.

The OLIVE-TREE Hieroglyphick.

We see on several antient Coins and Medals, that the *Olive-Tree*, with a *Caducee*, is an *Hieroglyphick* of Felicity.

In several Places of the Scripture, by the *Olive-Tree* is understood Alms.

Manfuetude and Clemency, are also understood by the Figure of the *Olive-Tree*.

In the Scripture, Abundance or Plenty, is often figured by the *Olive-Tree*; and likewise Hope, because always green. — The *Olive-Branch* is an *Hieroglyphick* of Peace.

The VINE Hieroglyphick.

By the Figure of the *Vine*, the *Egyptians*, and other Nations, understood Joy and Mirth; and likewise Liberty.

The Wine offered in the Sacrifices, was a Sign of Blood; therefore the *Egyptian* Priests abstained from it.

The FIG-TREE Hieroglyphick.

Crates, by a *Fig-Tree* planted on a steep Rock, understood a Person loving Adulation or Flattery; the Fruit whereof is only devoured by Birds of Prey, as the Fortune of such a Person is dissipated by Adulators.

The Religion of the *Cyrenians*, was figured by several Statues, crowned with *Fig-Leaves*.

The PEACH-TREE Hieroglyphick.

Among several Figures used by the *Egyptians* to signify Silence, the *Peach-Tree* was one of them.

By the Figure of a *Peach*, with but one Leaf, Truth was signified. And by the Stone of a *Peach*, a barbarous Action, or Murder. A *Peach* in a Scale, was the *Hieroglyphick* of the Flower of the Age.

The POMEGRANATE Hieroglyphick.

The principal Signification of the *Pomegranate*, is the Assemblage of several Nations into one.

From *Trees* I'll pass to the *Flowers*, which have also been used for *Hieroglyphicks*.

The ROSE Hieroglyphick.

The principal Signification of the *Rose*, is the Fragility of human Life, which passes in an Instant like the Beauty of a *Rose*.

The WHITE LILLY Hieroglyphick.

By the Figure of the *White Lilly*, was understood Hope; in fact, on a Coin of the Emperor *Alexander Pius Aug.* is represented a Goddess holding a *White Lilly* in her Right Hand, with this Legend, SPES PUBLICA, *the Publick Hope*. On the Coin of *Tib. Claudius*, is the same Figure, with this Legend, SPES AUGUSTA, *August Hope*. The same is seen on the Coin of *Adrian*, with this Legend, SPES P. R. *the Hope of the Roman People*.

In the sacred Writ, the *White Lilly* is sometimes an *Hieroglyphick* to signify *Jesus Christ*, and sometimes to signify the Angels.

The Antients searched also their *Hieroglyphicks* in their Kitchen-Garden, among the *Pulses*, or *Legums*, viz.

The ONION Hieroglyphick.

By the *Onion*, the *Egyptian* Priests understood the Moon, and even ador'd her under that Figure; because they imagined, that the *Onion*, either whole or cut in Pieces, represented all the Phases of the Moon.

The RADISH Hieroglyphick.

The *Egyptians*, by the Figure of the *Radish*, signified the Sun, because they imagined that the *Radish* represented the Sun, as the *Onion* does the Moon.

Note, Having thus ran thro' the Animal, Mineral, and Vegetable World, in Quest of the *Hieroglyphicks* of the *Egyptians*, and other Nations, and even ransacked, for the same Purpose, the Workshops of several Mechanics, I'll conclude this Treatise, by the Explication of the different Figures of the heathen Gods, which were all so many *Hieroglyphicks*.

The God ENEPH Hieroglyphick.

The *Egyptians*, by their God *Eneph*, understood, *hieroglyphically*, the Creator of the Universe, whom they represented under a human Figure, his Cloaths Sky-blue, with a Feather on his Head, a Girdle, and a Scepter in his Hand. The Feather signified the Creator, who is difficult to be found, who cannot be seen, is incomprehensible, or above human Understanding. The human Form denoted that he was Author of Life, and that he is susceptible of a Motion which can be conceived. The Scepter signified his Power over all created Beings. And by the Zone or Girdle, was understood the Origin and End of natural Things. They besides represented the same God with an Egg coming out of his Mouth; which signified the World created by the Word of God.

The God PAN Hieroglyphick.

The Antients represented *Pan* in the Form of a Goat, the Face red, the Horns hairy, the Feet of a Goat, and covered with the Skin of a Panther, holding in one Hand a Flute, and in the other a Crook. They pretended that this monstrous Figure was that of the Universe; for by the red Face, they understood the Air; by the two Horns, the Sun and Moon; by the Skin of the Panther, the Variety of the Stars; the lower End of his Body was hairy, to signify the Woods, Forests, and the Brutes. By his Feet like those of a Goat, was understood the Solidity of the Earth; the Harmony of the Heavens by the Flute; and the Revolution of the Year by the Crook.

The Figure of the WORLD Hieroglyphick.

The *Egyptians* represented the *World* under a human Form, his Legs bent, his Gown of several Colours, and supporting with his Head a golden Globe. He had his

his Legs bent to signify the Weight of the Earth; a long Gown of several Colours, to denote the Diversity of Elements, and the great Quantity of Things they produce; and the golden Globe signified the Heavens, and their circular Rotation.

The Figure of the SUN Hieroglyphick.

They painted the *Sun* with a young and round Face, and placed him in a Ship, carried by a Crocodile; signifying by the Ship, his Influence on the Air, and the Intelligences. For several of them imagined, that even the elementary Region, where they placed the Fire, was humid.

In the City of *Elephantopolis*, in *Egypt*, they adored a Figure of *Osiris*, which had a human Body of a blue Colour, and the Head of a Sheep, which *Eusebius* says, signified the Conjunction of the *Sun* with the *Moon*.

The Figure of the MOON Hieroglyphick.

In the City of *Heliopolis*, the *Moon* was represented under a human Form, the Head excepted, which was that of a Hawk; killing *Thyphon* with a Launce, which *Thyphon* was represented under the Form of a Sea-Horse; and the whole Figure was white, to signify that the *Moon* borrows its Light from another, viz. the *Sun*, signified by the Hawk, as consecrated to the *Sun*.

The Figure of PLUTO Hieroglyphick.

The Antients, to let us know that we should keep a Secret, painted *Pluto* with a Helmet, and carrying away *Proserpine*; because the Helmet covering the Head, signify that our Secrets, which reside in the Head, should be hidden; and because *Pluto* is imagined God of the subterraneous Regions, which are hidden from us.

By the same Figure of *Pluto*, with a Scepter in his Hand, they signified an inferior Power, for though *Pluto* is the God of Hell, his Power is nevertheless subordinated to that of *Jupiter*.

The Figure of SILENUS Hieroglyphick.

The Antients pretended, that *Silenus* whom they represented old and sleeping, was the *Hieroglyphick* of the Motion of the Mind; because the animal Spirits are often ofuscated, and their Motion retarded, by the Vapours which rise from the other Parts to the Brain.

The Figure of VULCAN Hieroglyphick.

To represent the Strength of Fire, they painted the Figure of *Vulcan* with a blue Cap, signifying the æthereal Region, where the Fire was thought to reside; and the Figure lame, to give to understand, that Fire cannot subsist of itself, without Food.

The Figure of HERCULES Hieroglyphick.

The Figure of *Hercules* suffocating *Antheus*, is seen on several antient Coins, which signified the Revolt of the sensual Appetite against our Reason. For *Hercules* is the *Hieroglyphick* of the rational Soul and Mind; *Antheus* of the Body; the Heart of *Hercules* is the Seat of Wisdom and Prudence, which are always at Variance with our sensual Appetite; which it is impossible our Reason should conquer, unless it be elevated, and carried so far from the Sight of the terrestrial Things, that the Feet, i. e. our Affections, should have no Commerce with the Earth. This is the greatest of all Victories; therefore this Verse was written on the Tomb of *Scipio*, the *African*:

MAXIMA CUNCTARUM VICTORIA, VICTA VOLUPTAS.

i. e. *The greatest Victory, is the Pleasure vanquished.*

Boetius exalting this Action of *Hercules*, says,

SUPERATA TELLUS, SIDERA DONAT.

Having conquer'd the Earth, he procures Heaven.

By representing *Hercules* shooting Arrows with three Points, the *Egyptians* and *Greeks* understood Logick, Physick, and Metaphysick.

The Figure of PROMETHEUS Hieroglyphick.

The Figure of *Prometheus*, holding a lighted Torch in his Hand, which denotes his having stolen the Fire from Heaven, signified the Invention of Arts; because by the lighted Torch is understood, that Vigour and Strength of Imagination is necessary for so excellent a Discovery.

The Figure of a Man standing against a steep Rock, an Iron-Ring on his Finger, with a small Stone, loosen'd

from the Rock, by a Chain which had been fixed to it, signified Gratitude, for a Fault forgiven. Because it was pretended, that *Prometheus* having been chain'd by *Jupiter* to Mount *Caucasus*, as a Punishment for his Theft; and afterwards released by the same *Jupiter*; in Gratitude for his Deliverance, he put on his a Finger a Ring of that Chain, with a small Stone of the Rock to which he had been tied, whence the Manner of putting Stones in Rings.

The Figure of MERCURY Hieroglyphick.

The Figure of *Mercury*, represented with Wings at his Head and Feet, signified Words and Eloquence; because the Words fly, and vanish in an Instant.

The same Figure of *Mercury*, with a Purse in his Hand, and a Cock at his Feet, signified Commerce, by the Purse was understood Money, which is the Sinews of Commerce, and by the Cock, Vigilancy, so necessary to a Merchant.

The Figures of HONOUR and VIRTUE, Hieroglyphick.

There are certain Medals of *Vitellius*, on which are represented very fine Figures of Honour and of Virtue. Virtue is represented with a Helmet in her Left-Hand, and in the Right, a Scepter, treading under her Right-Foot a Tortoise, and turn'd towards Honour. The Helmet signifies that Virtue must have Strength to oppose the Dangers she is exposed to; it is likewise for the same Reason she holds a Pike. The Scepter shews her Authority or Power to conquer Vices; and the Tortoise, that Virtue marches always with Caution and Prudence. Honour is cloathed like a Woman, to signify that Women, in particular, ought always to be very jealous of their Honour; that Woman carries a *Cornu Copia*, to denote that Honour is the Source of all Sorts of Good; and treads a Helmet under her Feet, whereby is understood, that a Person rais'd to Dignities and Honours for his Merit, is respected by every Body.

The Figure of EUROPA Hieroglyphick.

The Figure of *Europa*, carried on the Sea by a Bull, turning her Head backwards, and looking afar off the Shore she has left, signified the human Soul, carried by the Body on the Sea of this World, looking notwithstanding towards the Shore she has left, i. e. her Creator.

The Figure of DIANA Hieroglyphick.

Diana, whom *Mercury* presented with a Suit of Cloaths, signified the Mutation or Vicissitude of Things created.

The Figure of DANAE Hieroglyphick.

The Figure of *Danae*, with the Gold Rain falling in her Lap, signified the Beauty of the Mind.

The Figure of PANDORA Hieroglyphick.

The Figure of *Pandora*, represented with a Box in her Hands, signified Misfortune, Obscurity of Birth, Poverty, Shame, Vain-Hopes, in a Word, all Sorts of Calamities and Miseries.

The Figure of EURYDICE Hieroglyphick.

The Figure of *Eurydice*, her Heel bitten by the Serpent, signified human Affections.

Note, That the *Hieroglyphicks* were invented by Priests, called for that Reason, *Hierogrammatici*; who also used to write *Hieroglyphical* Books, and occasionally explain them, with other Matters relating to the Doctrine of Religion. *Suidas* says, that they were also Prophets; at least he relates, that an *Hierogrammaticus* foretold to an antient King of *Egypt*, that there would be an *Israelite* of great Wisdom, Virtue, and Reputation, who should humble *Egypt*.

The *Hierogrammatici* were always near the King, to assist him with their Informations and Counsels. The better to fit them for this, they made Use of the Skill and Knowledge they had acquired of the Stars, and the Motions of the heavenly Lights; and even of the Writings of their Predecessors, wherein their Functions and Duties were delivered. They were exempted from all civil Employments; were reputed the first Persons in Dignity next the King; and bore a Kind of Scepter, in Form of a Ploughshare. After *Egypt* became a Province of the *Roman* Empire, the *Hierogrammatici* fell into Neglect.

HORSEMANSHIP.

HORSEMANSHIP, in the Sense I take it here, is the Art of breeding, propagating, &c. Horses; and of forwarding and accommodating them to the Uses they are proper for.

Horsemanship, in this Sense, includes what relates to the Make, Colour, Age, Temper, and Qualities of Horses, and their respective Countries and Climates. Likewise the Knowledge of the Defects and Diseases of Horses, and the Remedies proper for the same; with the several Operations relating thereunto, as *Docking*, *Gelding*, *Shoeing*, &c.

Note, That before I can pretend to proceed further, on this important Subject, I must give my Readers some general, and very necessary Notions of a Horse.

A Horse is a domestick Quadruped, of great Use in Agriculture, Commerce, War, Sporting, &c. and is the Subject of the Art of *Horsemanship*.

Horses are distinguished into divers Kinds, and differently denominated; either with Regard to their *Strain*, or *Country*, or to their *Colour*; or to the *Uses*, or *Offices* they are reserved for.

They are distinguished with Regard to their *Strain*, or *Country*; as the *Neapolitan*, known by his Hawk Nose; the *Spanish Fennet*, known by his small Limbs; the *Barbe*, by his fine Head and deep Hoof; the *Dutch*, by the Roughness of his Legs; the *English*, by his strong knitting together, &c.

With Regard to their *Colours*; as a *Bay*, which admits of divers Shades or Casts, *viz.* a black *Bay*, brown *Bay*, dapple *Bay*, all which have constantly black Manes and Tails. *Dun*, and *Mouse-Dun*, having frequently a black List along the Back, which denominates them *Flea-backed*. *Flea-bitten*, which is white spotted with red. *Grey*, dappled *Grey*, silver *Grey*, sad or powder'd *Grey*, black *Grey*, fandy *Grey*, and Iron *Grey*. *Griffel* or *Rount*, a light Flesh Colour intermixed with white. *Peach-Colour*, or *Blossom-Colour*. *Pye-bald*, which consists of two Colours, one of them white. *Roan*, a Bay, Black, or Sorrel, intermixed with white Hairs. *Rubican*, Black, or Sorrel, with white Hairs scatter'd about his Body. *Sorrel*, common *Sorrel*, red or Cow-colour'd *Sorrel*, bright or light-colour'd *Sorrel*, burnt *Sorrel*, all chiefly distinguished by the Colour of their Manes. *Starling-Colour*, resembling a brownish, or blackish grey, only more freckled, or intermixed with white. *Tyger-Colour*, much the same with the branded grey, only the Spots smaller. — *Wolf Colour*. — *Deer-Colour*. — *Black*. *White*, &c.

The Colours are generally considered as symbolical of the Nature, Qualities, &c. of the Beasts; and accordingly their Value is much influenced thereby. The *dapple Grey*, is priz'd for *Beauty*; the *brown Bay*, for *Service*; the *Black*, with Silver Hairs, for *Courage*; the *Roan*, for *Countenance*; the *Sorrel*, black with white, and Iron-grey, are reputed *hot* and *fiery*; the *bright Grey*, *Flea-bitten*, and black with white Spots, are *sanguine*; the *White*, *Dun*, and *Pye-bald*, *phlegmatick* and *heavy*; the *Mouse-Dun*, *red Bay*, and *blue Grey*, are *dull*: The *Peach-Colour* rarely proves obedient to the Spur; the *Sorrel* seldom fails of being good, especially if their Legs, Tails, and Manes are black; and the same may be said of the *Flea-bitten*, at least those so mark'd in the Foreparts, or over the whole Body; for when only behind, it is an ill Sign.

Indeed it is hard laying down any universal Rules. The *White*, which promises the least, proves good, when black about the Eyes and Nostrils; and there are excellent *Iron-greys*, though they are not reputed a good Colour.

With Regard to the *Uses* or *Offices* they are reserved for, Horses are distinguished into *Coach-Horse*, *War-Horse*, *Hunting-Horse*, *Running-Horse*, *Pack-Horse*, &c.

The two former Distinctions contribute much towards the Knowledge of a Horse; but one of the most essential Points of that Knowledge, consists in the Age; the Horse being an Animal, that remarkably shews the

Progress of his Years, by correspondent Alterations in his Body.

We have Characteristicks from his Teeth, Hoofs, Coat, Tail, and Eyes.

The *first Year* he has his Foal's Teeth, which are only Grinders and Gatherers: The *second*, the four foremost change, and appear browner and bigger than the rest: The *third*, he changes the Teeth next to these; leaving no apparent Foal's Teeth, but two on each Side above, and two below: The *fourth*, the Teeth next to these are changed, and no Foal's Teeth are left, but one on each Side, above and below: At *five Years*, his foremost Teeth are all changed, and the Tusshes on each Side are compleat: Those which come in the Places of the last Foal's Teeth, being hollow, and having a little black Speck in the Midst; which is called, *the Mark in a Horse's Mouth*, and continues till eight Years of Age: At *six Years*, he puts up new Tusshes; near which appears a little Circle of young Flesh, at the Bottom of the Tush; the Tusshes withal being white, small, short, and sharp: At *seven Years*, the Teeth are all in their Growth, and the Mark in the Mouth appears very plain: At *eight Years*, all his Teeth are full, smooth, and plain, and the Mark scarce discernable; the Tusshes looking yellowish: At *nine Years*, the foremost Teeth shew longer, yellower, and fouler than before; and the Tusshes become bluntish: At *ten Years*, no Holes are felt on the Inside of the upper Tusshes; which till then are very sensible: Add that the Temples begin to be crooked and hollow: At *eleven Years*, his Teeth are very long, yellow, black, and foul; but he will cut even, and his Teeth stand directly opposite to one another: At *twelve Years*, the upper Teeth hang over the lower: At *thirteen*, the Tusshes are worn close to his Chaps, if he has been much rode; otherwise they will be black, foul, and long.

As to the *Hoof*; if it be smooth, moist, hollow, and well-sounding, it is a Sign of Youth: On the contrary, if rugged, and as it were seamed, one Seam over another, and withal dry, foul, and rusty, it is a Mark of old Age.

For the *Tail*; taking him by the Stern thereof, close at the setting on to the Buttock, and griping it between the Finger and Thumb; if a Joint be felt to stick out more than the rest, the Bigness of a Nut, the Horse is under ten; but if the Joints be all plain he may be fifteen.

The *Eyes* being round, full, and staring; the Pits that are over them filled, smooth, and even with his Temples; and no Wrinkles to be seen, either under or above, is a Mark of Youth.

The *Skin* being plucked up in any Part betwixt the Finger and Thumb, and let go again; if it returns suddenly to its Place, and remains without Wrinkles, he may be accounted young.

A dark-colour'd Horse, growing grizzly above the Eye-brows, or under the Mane; or a whitish Horse, growing mackled, either white or black, all over, may be infallibly concluded extremely aged.

Lastly, a Horse being young, the Bars of his Mouth are soft and shallow; otherwise they are deep and feel hard, and rough.

The Masters in this Art lay it down, that a Horse to be good and well made, must have three Parts like those of a Woman, *viz.* the Breast, which is to be broad, the Hips round, and the Mane long: Three of a Lyon, *viz.* Countenance, Intrepidity, and Fire: Three of a Bullock, *viz.* the Eye, Nostril, and Joint: Three of a Sheep, *viz.* the Nose, Gentleness, and Patience: Three of a Mule, Strength, Constancy, and Foot: Three of a Deer, Head, Leg, and Hair short: Three of a Wolf, Throat, Neck, and Hearing: Three of a Fox, Ear, Tail, and Trot: Three of a Serpent, Memory, Sight, and Turning: Three of a Hare or Cat, Running, Walking, and Suppleness.

The Parts of a Horse's Body furnish a great Variety of Terms, some of which I have already mentioned, but

but which I have not explain'd, therefore I'll do it in this Place. The Skin and Coat, are called the *Hair*: The long Hair on the Neck, the *Mane*: The Fore-top, the *Topping* or *Tuke*: The Hair behind, on the Feet, the *Fet-lock* or *Fetter*: That growing over the Top of the Hoof, the *Coronet* or *Cronet*: That on the Eye-lids, the *Brills*.

The Ridge whereon the Mane grows, is called the *Crest* or *Crist*: The Fore-part, from the Neck to the fore-Legs, the *Brisket* or *Chest*: The Mark frequently running down his Face, the *Ratb*; and that in the Fore-head, the *Star*.

The Top of the Shoulder, at the setting on of the Neck, is called the *Withers*: The Place where the Saddle is set, the *Dock*; and a Bruise or Hurt thereon, a *Navel Gall*: The Middle of the Back, from the Mane to the Hips, the *Reins*: The Extremity of the Reins above the Hips, the *Croup*: The Tail, the *Dock* or *Runt*: The Hollow or Sinking of the Back-bone, the *Sway*: the hind Part of the Belly, next the Genital, the *Flank*: That nearer the Thighs, the *Groin*: The loose Skin wherein the Yard is, the *Sheath*; and the fore Part of the Shoulders, next the Breast, the *Fillets*.

The uppermost Part of the hind Leg, next the Buttock, is called the *Stifle* or *Stifle Joint*: The after-Joint or Bending of the hind Leg, the *Chambrel* or *Elbow*: The inner, the *Ham*, or *Hough*: The Joint at the Fetlock, the *Pastern*, *Ankle*, or *Fet-lock Joint*: The Foot, above the Hoof of the Ankle Joint, the *Coronet*.

The Part from the Withers to the Top Joint of the Thigh, is called the *Shoulder*: The middle Joint of the fore Leg, the *Knee*: The right Leg before, the *farther Leg*; and the Left, the *nearer*.

The Hoof is called the *Horn*: The Hollow of the Hoof, the *Coffin*: The tender Part of the Hoof, next the Heel, the *Fruß*: The Ball of the Foot, the *Frog*: The Part to be pared, or cut off the Hoof, when over-grown, the *Rift*: The fore Part of the Hoof, the *Toes*: The hind Part, where there is a Rising in the Middle of the Sole, the *Heel*; and the Inside, meeting on the Heel, the *Quarters*.

From these first Rudiments of *Horsefanship*, I'll pass to the Manner of breeding Horses.

The principal Article of the Art of breeding Horses, consists in the Choice of the *Stallion* and *Mare*; since on this depends chiefly the Goodness of the Breed.

It is the common Opinion, that the best *Stallion* is either an *Arabian* Horse, a *Spanish*, a *Turk*, or a *Barbary*, that is well shaped, and of a good Colour; though Mr. *Blandeville*, and *Frederigo Griffone*, are of Opinion, that these Circumstances are not absolutely necessary.

To begin with the *Arabian* Horse, Merchants and other Gentlemen that have travelled in those Parts, report, that the right *Arabs*, are valued at an incredible, as well as an exorbitant Rate; being prized at five hundred, others say at one, two, and three thousand Pounds a Horse; that the *Arabs* are as careful of keeping the Genealogy of their Horses, as Princes in keeping their Pedigrees; that they keep them with Medals; and that each Son's Portion is usually two Suits of Arms, two Scimiters, and one of these Horses. They boast that one of them will ride fourscore Miles a Day, without drawing Bit; which is not so absolutely peculiar to the *Arabian* Horses, since the same has been performed by several *English* ones, and even much more; a Highwayman having taken a Booty, rode his Horse, on the same Day, from *London* to *Tork*, which is one hundred and fifty long Miles. Notwithstanding this great Value, and the Difficulty of bringing them over from *Scanderoon* to *England*, by Sea; yet by the Care, and at the Charge of some Breeders in the North of *England*, the *Arabian* Horse is no Stranger to those Parts.

The *Spanish* Horse (according to the Duke of *Newcastle*) is the noblest Horse in the World, and the most beautiful that can be; no Horse is so curiously shaped all over from Head to Croup, and he is absolutely the best *Stallion* in the World, whether you design your Breed for the Manage, the War, the Pad, Hunting, or running Horse. But as he is excellent, so it wants not for Price, three or four hundred Pistoles being a common Rate for a *Spanish* Horse. Several have been sold for seven hun-

dred, and a thousand Pistoles a-piece. And one particular Horse, called *el Bravo*, that was sent to the Arch-duke *Leopold*, was held worth as much as a Manor of a thousand Crowns a Year. The best *Spanish* Horses are bred in *Andalusia*, and particularly at *Cordova*, where the King has many Studs of Mares, and so have several of the *Spanish* Nobility and Gentry. Now, besides the great Price at first, the Charges of the Journey from *Spain* to *England*, will be very considerable; for first he must travel from *Andalusia* to *Bilboa*, or *St. Sebastian*, the nearest Port to *England*, and is at least four hundred Miles; and in that hot Country, you cannot with Safety travel your Horse above twenty Miles a Day; then there is the Expence of your Groom and Farrier, besides the Casualty of Lameness, Sickness, and Death. So that if he does prove an extraordinary good Horse, by that Time he arrives at your own Home, he will likewise be an extraordinary dear one.

The *Turkish* is very little inferior to the *Spanish* Horse in Beauty, but somewhat odd-shaped, his Head being somewhat like that of a Camel: He has excellent Eyes, a thin Neck, beautifully rais'd, and somewhat large of Body: His Courage is like that of a Mule; his Legs not so underlimbed as that of the *Barbary*, but very finewy, good Patterns and good Hoofs: They never amble, but trot very well; and are accounted at present the best Stallions for Gallopers.

Some Merchants affirm, that there cannot be a more noble and diverting Sight to a Lover of Horses, than to walk in the Pastures near *Constantinople*, about Sailing-Time, where he may see many hundred gallant Horses grazing; and every Horse has his Attendant or Keeper, with his little Tent placed near him to lie in, that he may look to him, and take Care to shift him to fresh Grass, as Occasion requires.

The Price of a *Turkish* Horse is commonly one hundred, or one hundred and fifty Pounds a Horse, and when bought it is difficult to get a Pass; the *Grand Seigneur* being so very strict, that he seldom permits any of his Horses to be exported his Dominion. But if, when obtained, you travel by Land, without a *Turk* or two for your Escort, you will be sure to have them seiz'd on by the Way.

Some People chuse to buy Horses at *Smyrna* in *Anatolia*, and from thence, and likewise from *Constantinople*, transport them into *England* by Sea, which, if the Wind proves fair, arrive in *England* in a Month.

The *Barb* is little inferior to any of the former in Beauty, only he is accounted by our modern Breeders too slender and Lady-like to breed on; and therefore in the North, at this Time, they prefer the *Spanish* and *Turkish* Horse before him. He is so lazy and negligent in his Walk, that he'll stumble on Carpet-Ground. His Trot is like that of a Cow, his Gallop low, and with much Ease to himself. But he is for the most Part finewy and nervous, excellently winded, and good for a Course, if he be not over-weighted.

The *Mountain-Barbs* are accounted the best, because they are the largest and strongest. They belong to the *Altarbs*, who value them as much themselves, as they are prized by any other Nations, and therefore will not part with them to any Body, except to the Prince of the Band to which they belong; who can, at any Time, command them for his Use. But for the more ordinary Sort, they may be bought in *Languedoc* or *Provence*, in *France*, for forty or fifty Pistoles a Horse. Or if you will send into *Barbary*, you may have one for thirty Pounds, or thereabout. But here too the Charges and Journey will be great; for though from *Tunis* to *Marseilles* in *France*, the Passage is but short; they must travel from *Marseilles* to *Calais*, by Land, which is a very long Journey; from thence they are shipped for *England*.

The fittest *Mare* to breed out of (according to the Duke of *Newcastle*) is one that has been bred of an *English* Mare, and a *Stallion* of the above-mention'd Races; but if such a *Mare* is not to be got, Choice must be made of a right bred *English* Mare, by Sire and Dam, that is well fore-handed, well underlaid, and strong put together in general; and in particular, see that she has a lean Head, wide Nostrils, open Chaul, a big Weasand,

and the Wind-Pipe strait and loose; and chuse her about five or six Years old; taking Care, likewise, that the *Stallion* be not too old.

The next Thing we ought to consider is, how the *Stallion* is to be fed, to make him stronger, and more capable to cover the *Mares*.

A *Stallion* must be kept as high as possible, for four or five Months, before the Time of Covering, with old clean Oats, and split Beans, well hulled; to which you may add, if you please, Bread; and now and then, for Change of Diet, you may give him a Handful of Wheat or Oats washed in strong Ale; I have ordered myself, once or twice a Week, Pieces of Bread soaked in Red Wine to be given them. Mr. *Morgan*, in his *Perfection of Horsemanship*, advises to mix Bay-Salt and Anniseed with his Provender; which others think needless, while the Horse is in Health; but he must have Plenty of good old sweet Hay, well cleansed from Dust; and good Wheat Straw to lie on; watering him twice every Day, at some fair running Spring, or else a clear standing Pond-Water, near some Meadow or level Piece of Ground, where you may gallop him after he has drank. When you have brought him to the Water, do not suffer him to drink his Fill at first, but after his first Draught, gallop and skip him up and down a little, to warm him; and then bring him to the Water again, and let him drink as much as he pleases, after which gallop him as before, never leaving the Water till you will find he will drink no more. By this Means, new Crudities are prevented, which the Coldness of the Water would produce to the Detriment of the Stomach, if he had been permitted to drink his Fill at first; whereas, in allowing him his Fill at last, thus by Degrees, his Body is kept from drying too fast. And this, Masters in the Art of *Horsemanship*, take to be much better for the Horse, than to encourage his Water with White Wine, to qualify the cold Quality thereof; for they are of Opinion, that Nature itself is the best Directress for the Expulsion of her Enemies, especially in Brutes, where usually she can command the Appetite; and therefore prefer the Horse's own natural Heat, for warming his Water, to that which proceeds from any other. Neither are they of Mr. *Morgan's* Opinion in another Article, which is of sweating him every Day early in the Morning, which, he says, will not only perfect the Digestion, and exhaust the Moisture from his Seed, but also strengthen and cleanse his Blood and Body from all raw Humours; for they think, on the contrary, that it will both dry up the radical Moisture too fast, and likewise, instead of heightening his Pride and Lust, weaken him too much; which, in my Opinion, is a very reasonable Supposition; since there is always a very great Dissipation of Spirits made in those extraordinary Evacuations.

When the *Stallion* is in his Lust, and the Time for Covering is come, which is best in *May*, that the Foals may fall in *April* following (otherwise they will have little or no Grass, if they should be put together, according to *Markham's* Opinion, in *March*, though he holds that a Foal falling in *March*, is worth two falling in *May*, 'because, says he, he possesses, as it were, two Winters in a Year, and is thereby so harden'd, that nothing afterwards can almost impair him.') The Time, says I, being come to put your *Stallion* and *Mares* together, you must pull off his hind Shoes, and lead him to the Place where the Studd of the *Mares* is, which you intend for Covering, which Place ought to be close, well fenced, and in it a little Hut for a Man to lye in, and a large Shed with a Manger to feed your *Stallion* with Bread and Corn, during his Abode with the *Mares*, and to shelter him in the Heat of the Day, and in rainy Weather; and this Close ought to be of a sufficient Extent to keep your *Mares* for two Months.

Before you pull off his Bridle, let him cover a *Mare* or two in Hand, then turn him loose among them, and put all your *Mares* to him, as well those which are with Foal, as those which are not, for there is no Danger in it; and by that Means they will all be served in their Height of Lust, and according to the Intention of Nature. When your *Stallion* has covered them once, he tries them all over again, and those which will admit him he serves; and when the Business is finished, he beats the Pale, and attempts to be at Liberty; which when your

Vol. II.

Man finds (who must watch them Night and Day, and take Care that no other *Mares* are put to your Horse, and give you an Account which takes the Horse, and which not, &c.) let him be taken up, and be well kept as before; unless you give him at first a good Mash or two, to help to restore Nature, for you'll find him nothing but Skin and Bones, and his Mane and Tail will rot off. You ought not to give him above ten or twelve *Mares* in a Season, to the Utmost; otherwise you will scarce recover him against the next Year Covering-Time.

When your *Stallion* is past this Use, then buy another; never making Use of a Horse of your own Breed, otherwise the best Kind would in Time degenerate; but you cannot do better, says the Duke of *Newcastle*, than to let your own *Mares* be cover'd by their Sire, for there is no Incest in Horses; and by this Means they are nearer, one Degree, to the Purity and Head of the Fountain, from which they are derived, since a fine Horse got them, and the same fine Horse covers them again.

Some are of Opinion, that this Method of the Duke of *Newcastle* for covering *Mares*, does not correspond with the Interest of some private Gentlemen, who turn Breeders for Profit as well as Pleasure; for a good *Stallion*, say they, bearing such an extraordinary Rate, and they, having but one, have Reason to be cautious, to avoid as much as can be, all hazardous Experiments, which this, in some Cases, may prove. For first, there have been Horses of great Spirit, that have killed themselves through Excess of Lust, being left to range at their Liberty; and those that have been confin'd to an Inclosure, and a select Number of *Mares*, have yet in one Week so weaken'd Nature, that not above half the *Mares* have held. Secondly, some *Mares* are of so hot a Constitution, and their Lust so violent, that if they are permitted to run long with the Horse, after they have conceived, will (if they be high in Flesh and lusty) desire the Horse again, which generally hazards the Loss of the Embrio they go with.

To prevent therefore these Inconveniencies, they lay down another Method, which is called covering in Hand, and which is this:—When they have brought both their Horse and Mare by Art and good Feeding, to a proper Condition for Breed, they set some ordinary stoned Nag by her, for a Day or two to woo her, and by that she will be so pruned to lust, that she will readily receive their *Stallion*; which they present to her, either early in the Morning, or late in an Evening, for a Day or two together, and let him cover in Hand once or twice, if they think proper, at each Time, observing always to give the Horse the Advantage of Ground, having Somebody ready with a Bucket of cold Water, to throw on the Mare's Shape, immediately on the dismounting of the Horse, which will make her retain better the Seed received; for which Purpose, they get on her Back and trot her for about a Quarter of an Hour, avoiding, at the same Time, from heating or straining her; and taking Care, after every Act, to let them fast two Hours, and then giving each of them a warm Mash.

As to the Manner of keeping the *Mares*, during the Time of their being with Foal, and at their Foaling, you must take Care to house them all the Winter, and to keep them well, their Colts will prove the better. When they are foaled, let them run with their Dams till *Martinmas*, then wean them, and keep them in a convenient House, with a low Rack, and Manger on Purpose; litter them well, and feed them with good Hay, and Oats and Wheat-Bran mixed, which will make them drink and belly well. The first Year, you may put them all together, but afterwards they must be separated, the Stone-Colts from the Fillies; and if you have Choice of Horses, you may put Yearings together, two Years old, for their better Satisfaction and Agreement.

In a warm fair Day, you may grant them Liberty to run and skip, in some inclosed Court or Back-Side, taking Care to put them up again carefully, that they be not hurt. When Summer is come, and there is Plenty of Grass, put them out in some dry Ground, that has convenient Watering, and so let them run till *Martinmas* again: Then house them as before, and order them in all Points as older Horses, till they are full

Y y

full five Years old ; then take them up for good, and let your Groom back them, if he has Skill, or else some skilful Rider. You may, if you please, break your Fillies, at two Years and a half old, and let them be cover'd at three ; and by that Means they will be so tame and gentle, as not to injure themselves, or their Foals. But in Case of Sicknefs, or any other Accident, as Lameness, &c. you must then commit them to the Farrier's Care.

The Reason why it is propos'd to house them every Winter, with dry Feeding and Lodging, is, that they may be the more like their Sire in Beauty and Shape. For the primary Cause of the Fineness of the Shape and Beauty in Horses, is Heat, and dry Feeding. And this is proved from the several Races already mention'd, *viz.* the *Spanish*, *Barb*, and *Turkish* Horse, all which Countries are under a hot Climate, and by Consequence afford little Grass : Therefore in our more moderate and cold Countries, we are to assist Nature by Art, and to supply the Want of Heat by warm Housing, and dry Feeding. This is easily made evident by Examples. For, take two Colts begot by the same Sire, on Mares of equal Beauty, and house the one every Winter, and feed him as directed, and expose the other till they are four Years old, and fit to be backed ; you shall find the former like his Sire, in all Respects, and the other fitter for the Cart than for any Thing else, as being a dull, heavy, flabby, scarce animated Clod ; all which proceeds from the Humidity of the Air and Earth. From hence you may infer, that it is not only Generation, but, as I may term it, Education, that makes a compleat Horse ; and such yours will be, if you order them according to the former Directions ; for you may with Ease break the Colt, that is by such good Management made gentle, and half backed to your Hand.

Note, That as a Stone-Horse is seldom kept entire, but to serve for a Stallion, he is most commonly gelt, when design'd for any other Use.

In *Gelding* of Horses, Regard must be had to their Age, the Season of the Year, and the State of the Moon. — For the first, if it be a Colt, the Operation may be performed at nine or fifteen Days old, if the Testicle be come down ; in Regard the sooner he is gelt, the better it will be for his Growth, Shape, and Courage ; though the Horse may be gelt at any Age, if Care be taken in the Cure. As for the second, the best Time is about *April* or *May* ; or else about the latter End of *September*. For the third, the Wane of the Moon is preferred as the fittest Time.

The Manner of *Gelding* is thus : The Beast being cast on some soft Place, the Operator takes the Testicles between his fore and great Finger, slits the Cod, and presses out the Stones ; then with a Pair of Nippers, made very smooth, either of Steel, Box, or Brasil, claps the String of the Stones between them, very near to where the Stones are set on ; and presses them so hard, that there may be no Flux of the Blood ; then sears away the Stone with a thin, drawing cauterizing Iron, made red-hot.

This done, he takes a hard Plaister, made of Wax, Rosin, and wash Turpentine melted together, and melts it on the Head of the Strings with the hot Iron ; and afterwards sears the Strings, and melts more of the Salve, till there is a good Thickness of it laid on the Strings.

This being done to one Stone, the Nippers are loosen'd, and the like is done to the other ; and the two Slits of the Cod filled with white Salt ; and the Outside of the Cod anointed with Hog's Grease ; and thus they let him rise, and keep him in a warm Stable, without tying him up.

If he swells much in his Cod, or Sheath, they chafe him up and down, and make him trot an Hour in a Day, and he soon recovers.

As our Colts are not kept to be look'd at only, we'll chuse one among them fit for a Hunter, which, as near as can be, must have a lean, large, and long Head ; a thin and open Chawl ; small and pricked Ears, or if they be somewhat long, provided they stand upright, like those of a Fox, it is usually a Sign of Mettle and

Toughness : A long and broad Forehead, not flat, and as we term it, Mare-face, but rising in the Midst like that of a Hare, the Feather being placed above the Top of his Eye, the contrary being thought by some to be a Token of Blindness. His Eyes ought to be full, large, and bright ; his Nostrils wide and red within, for an open Nostril betokens a good Wind ; his Mouth large, deep in the Wykes and hairy ; his Thropple, Weasand, or Wind-Pipe big, loose, and strait, when he is rein'd in by the Bridle ; for if when he bridles, it bends in like a Bow (which is called Cock-throppled) it very much hinders the Passage of his Wind. His Head must be set on to his Neck, that there may be a Space felt between his Neck and his Chawl ; for to be Bull-necked is uncomely to Sight, and prejudicial to the Horse's Wind. His Crest should be firm, thin, and well rais'd ; his Neck long, and strait, yet not loose and pliant, which the northern Men term withy-cragged ; his Breast strong and broad, his Chest deep, his Chine short, his Body large, and close shut up to the Huckle-Bone ; his Ribs round like a Barrel, his Belly being hid within them ; his Fillets large, his Buttocks rather oval than broad, being well let down to the Gascoins ; his Chambrels upright, and not bending, which is called by some, feckle-houghed, tho' some hold it a Sign of Toughness and Speed. His Legs clean, flat, and strait ; his Joints short, well knit and upright, especially betwixt the Pasterns and the Hoofs, having but little Hairs on his Fetlocks ; his Hoofs black, strong, and hollow, and rather long and narrow, than big and flat. And lastly, his Mane and Tail should be long and thin, rather than thick, which is counted by some a Mark of Dulness.

As to the Colour and Marks, some are rather inclined to believe them grateful to the Eye, than an infallible Sign of Goodness ; and that the Goodness or Badness of a Horse, proceeds from his inward Dispositions ; inasmuch, that Mr. *Morgan* is of Opinion, that Colour and Marks are no more Assurance of a good Horse, than the having a Feather in a Man's Hat, does prove him a good Man or a bad ; inferring, that inherent Colours are of no greater Eminency or Value, than those external ones are, which may be taken or laid aside at a Man's own Will and Pleasure.

Others are of a different Sentiment, pretending, that although Marks and Colour are not infallible Marks of the Goodness of a Horse, yet they, as well as his Shape, intimate, in some Part, his Disposition and Qualities. For Nature, say they, not being defective, forms every Part of the same Matter which composes the whole ; and therefore the Foetus being formed of a Mixture of the Seed of the Sire and Dam, derives from them as well the accidental, as the more essential Qualities of its Temperament and Composition. And for this Reason, Hair itself, may often receive the Variation of its Colour from the different Temperature of the Subject, out of which it is produced. To confirm this, they say, that wherever one shall meet with a Horse that has no White about him, especially in his Forehead, though he be otherwise of the best reputed Colours, as Bay, Black, Sorrel, &c. that Horse they affirm to be of a dogged and sullen Disposition, especially if he has a small pink Eye, and a narrow Face, with a Nose bending like a Hawk's Bill.

But yet they seem to be positive, that Horses, even of the most celebrated Colours, and Marks answerable, prove always the best ; because we have seen, say they, those Horses worsted by others, whose Marks and Colour have been esteemed the worst ; as bright Sorrel, and Mouse, Black with bald Faces, and all the Legs white above the Knee. Though they rather attribute the Cause thereof to the Ignorance of the Rider, that had the training of those best marked Horses, than to any Defect in Nature. And therefore, as they would not have us put too great Confidence in Marks and Colours ; so they would not have them esteemed of a little Signification, as Mr. *Morgan* will have it ; pretending that it is a constant and inseparable Quality for Horses to produce Hair, which is given them by Nature, as a Tegument and Defence against Cold ; and if it be shaved off, galled, or any Ways else removed, or taken away, yet it will grow again ; but a Feather may be put to, or taken from a Man's Hat at his Pleasure.

Therefore, since Colour seems to set forth the Beauty of

of a Horse, one may for Ornament Sake, and to please one's Eye, make Choice of a Horse that is either a brown Bay, dapple Bay, black, Sad-Chestnut, with flaxen Mane and Tail, so that they have either a white Star, Blaze, or Snip with a white Foot; dapple Grey, or white Lyard with black Muzzle, Eye and Ear. Any of these are reputed by most Men, to give a Grace to Shape, tho' in themselves they are no perfect Signs of Goodness.

No doubt but the internal Qualities of a Horse, are preferable to all the external ones. Those internal Qualities are, his being of a gentle Disposition to his Keeper, tractable and docile, free from those ill Qualities of biting, striking, restiveness, lying down in the Water, starting, running away with his Rider, plunging, leaping, &c. Not but that most, if not all these ill Habits may be rectified by Art; for Experience has shewn us, that Horses which have not been of such a perfect natural Composition as might be desired, have yet been tempered by Art, and have not only been reclaimed from their vicious Habits, but have been likewise brought to great Performance in Heat, as well as Hunting.

Therefore since Art was invented to perfect Nature, if, notwithstanding your Care, you have a Horse subject to any of these bad Qualities aforesaid, you must search into the Causes of it, which Art will help you to recover and remove; and then the Cause being taken away, the Effect will cease. So that probably, contrary to most People's Opinions, a vicious Horse, by good Management and Government, may be brought to excel a Horse that has a better Reputation.

It is proper your Horse should be five Years old, and well weighed before you begin to hunt him; for though it be a general Custom, even among the most noted Horsemen, to train their Horses up to Hunting at four Years old, and some sooner; yet at that Age, his Joints not being full knit, nor he arrived at his full Strength and Courage, he is disabled from performing any Matter of Speed and Toughness; and indeed being put to fore Labour and Toil so young, he runs a very great Hazard of Strains, and the putting out of Splints, Spavins, Curbs, and Windgalls, besides the Daunting of his Spirit, and abating his natural Courage; in so much that he will grow melancholy, stiff, and rheumatick, and have all the Distempers of old Age, when it might be expected he should be in his Prime.

Your Horse then being full five, you may, if you please, put him to Grass, from the Middle of May to Bartholomew-Tide, or at least from the Middle of Summer to that Time; for then the Season being very hot, it will not be convenient to work him; where whilst he is sporting at Liberty in his Pasture, we'll take Care to provide a good Stable for his Reception, at his taking up; and a good Groom to look after him; both which are more essentially necessary to the Hunter, than to other Horses, which require not so great Care in Keeping.

The Stable must be situated, if possible, in a very good Air, and upon hard, dry, and firm Ground, that, in Winter, the Horse may go out, and come in clean. It should also be seated on an Ascent, that the Urine, foul Water, or any Wet, may run through Trenches, or Sinks cut for that Purpose. No Hen-Houses, Hog-Sties, Houses of Ease, or any other filthy Smell, is to be suffer'd near it; for Hen-Dung or Feathers swallowed, often prove mortal, and the bad Air of a Jakes is as often the Cause of Blindness. Likewise the very Smell of Swine will frequently breed the Farcy; and no Animal delights more in Cleanliness, or is more offended at unwholesome Savours, than the Horse. The Stable must be built of Bricks rather than Stones, since the latter is subject to sweating in wet Weather, which Dampness and Moisture is the Original of Rheums and Catarrhea's. The Wall ought to be about 18 or 20 Inches thick, both for Safety and Warmth in Winter, and to keep the Sun from annoying him in Summer, which would hinder Concoction. You may, if you please, make Windows both on the East and the North Sides, that you may have the Benefit of the Air, from the North in Summer, and of the Morning Sun from the East in Winter, the Windows should be glazed and made with Sashes, to let in

the Air at Pleasure, and to keep out Poultry. Those Windows should have likewise close wooden Shutters, that by darkening the Stable in the Middle of the Day, your Horse may take his Rest as well, and as conveniently at that Time as in the Night. The Floor (meaning that Part on which the Horse is to stand or lie down) is to be made of oaken Planks not pitched, being easier and warmer for him to lie on Boards than on Stones; laying those Planks level, for if they were laid higher before than behind, his hind Legs would swell, and he could never lie at Ease, his hind Parts still slipping down. The Planks are also to be laid Cross-ways, and not at length, and underneath them a Trench is to be sunk, which receiving the Urine through the Holes bored on purpose in the Planks, may convey it into some common Receptacle. The Ground behind him ought to be raised even with the Planks, that he may continually stand on a level; the Floor behind him well paved with Pebble, and that Part of the Stable where the Rack stands well wainscotted.

It would be very proper to place two Rings at each Side of the Horse's Stall, for his Halter to run through, which must have a light wooden Log at the Bottom of it to poise it perpendicularly, but not so heavy as to tire the Horse, or to hinder him from eating.—Instead of a fix'd Manger, a Laker or Drawer made in the Wainscot Partition, for him to eat his Corn out of, is far more convenient, because it may be taken in or out at Pleasure to be cleaned. Though it is usual to make Racks in Stables to hold the Hay; some prefer to it the giving the Hay to their Horse on the Ground upon the Litter, as the *Italians* do, or else nail some Boards in the Form of a Trough, in which they put his Hay, to prevent him from trampling and spoiling it. To which it may be objected, that this Manner of feeding him may spoil his Crest, and that the blowing upon his Hay will soon surfeit him, and make it nauseous to his Palate. To this they answer, that this Manner of feeding him, instead of spoiling his Crest rather strengthens it, and makes it firm, whereas on the contrary, to lift up his Head to the Rack, will make him withey-cragged; but that in the afore-mentioned Manner he will feed as he lies, which is more for his Ease and Satisfaction. That as to the Quantity of his Hay, it must be given to him in such small Proportions (though the oftner) that it may be eaten before his Breath can in the least have tainted it. This Manner besides, of giving it him upon the Ground, contributing much towards purging his Head from any Rheum or Dose, which he might have gotten by Negligence, or through Excess of Exercise; and induce him by sneezing, to throw out all manner of watry Humours that may annoy his Head.

If the Stable is to contain several Horses, it must be divided into as many Stalls or Stalls as it will contain Horses, raising each Partition, which is to be of Boards to that Height towards the Manger, that one Horse may not molest the other, and leaving to each Horse Room enough to turn about in, and lie down at Pleasure. One of the Stalls may be made close, which will serve for the Groom to lie in, in case of a Match, Sickness, &c. and where he may burn Candle without the Horse's discerning it.

The Stable should likewise have Presses with Pegs in them to hang up Saddles, Bridles, Housing-Cloaths, &c. and also Shelves to place Curry-Combs, Brushes, Dusting-Cloths, Ointments, Waters, or any other Necessaries.

To not incumber the Stable with Oat-bins, the best Way is to make use of the Invention of M. Farmer of Oxfordshire, which is to let the Oats down from a Loft above, out of a Vessel like the Hopper of a Mill, whence they fall into a square Pipe let into the Wall of about four Inches diagonal, which comes down into a Cupboard also set into the Wall, but with its Ends so near the Bottom, that there shall never be above a Gallon, or other necessary Quantity in the Cupboard at a Time, which being taken away and given to the Horses, another Gallon presently succeeds; so that in the lower Part of the Stable, where the Horses stand, there is not one Inch of Room taken up for the whole Provision of Oats; which Contrivance has also this further Convenience, that by this Motion the Oats are kept constantly sweet,

sweet, which laid up any otherwise in great Quantities grow frequently musty. The Stable must have a Ceiling that no Dust from above fall upon your Horses: It must likewise be fitted with a Dung-Yard, Pump, and a Conduit, and have if possible, a Pond, or running River near at hand. Never leaving the Front of the Stable without Litter, that by frequent Practice the Horses may learn to empty their Bladder when they come from airing.

Having fitted out our Stable with all that's necessary, except a Groom, which is one of the principal Utensils thereof, we must seek for one who should have the following good Qualities.—First, he must love his Horses, and endeavour by good Usage to make himself loved and obeyed by them. He must besides be patient, for nothing is more tractable than a Horse if used kindly. Keeping his Stable clean and in Order, and also his Saddles, Housing-Cloaths, Stirrups, Leathers, and Girths, but above all, his Horses by dressing and rubbing them often. Diligence is absolutely requisite in the Discharge of his Duty, and he must observe even the smallest Alteration, either in his Horse's Countenance, as Symptoms of Sickness, or in his Limbs and Gate, as Lameness, or in his Appetite, as forsaking his Meat, and immediately upon any such Discovery to seek out for Remedy. Thus far for the Duties of a Groom.

Having thus provided ourselves with a Stable and a Groom, we'll take up our Horse from the Grass about *Bartholomew-tide*, while his Coat lies smooth and sleek, because the Frost and cold Dews of that Season which weaken much the Strength of the Grass, turns it into raw Crudities, and the Coldness of the Night abates as much Flesh as he getteth in the Day-time. For the first Night we'll order the Groom to secure him in a spacious House, where he may evacuate his Body, and so be brought by degrees to warmer Keeping, in order to stable him the next Day. Some do not cloath or dress their Horses till two or three Days after their Stabling; and others do it as soon as they are stabled; in which every Body may follow his own Fancy, since neither of those two Methods proves prejudicial or advantageous to the Horse. But as to giving him Wheat-Straw to take up his Belly (a Custom generally used by Grooms at the Horse's first housing) some appear utterly averse to it. For the Nature of a Horse, say they, being hot and dry, if he should feed on Straw, which is also a very hot and dry Food, it would straiten his Guts, and cause an Inflammation of the Liver, and by that Means distemper the Blood, making besides, his Body so costive, as to cause a Retention of Nature, and make him dung with great Difficulty; whereas full Feeding will expell the Excrements according to the true Intention and Propensity of Nature. Therefore, conclude they, moderate Airing, warm Cloathing, good old Hay, and old Corn, must supply the Place of Wheat-Straw.

The first Business of the Groom, after the Horse is stabled, is in the Morning to water him, and then rub over his Body with a hard Whisp a little moistened, and afterwards with a woollen Cloth; then to clean his Sheath with his wet Hand from all the Dust it had contracted during his running, and to wash his Yard either with White-Wine or Water, then he may trim him according to the Manner other Horses are trimmed, except the Inside of his Ears, which ought not to be meddled with, for Fear of making him catch Cold.

This done, he must send for the Farrier, who is to get him a Set of Shoes fitted to the Shape of his Feet, without paring, leaving it well open between the Quarter and the Thrush, to prevent Hoof-binding, taking Care that the opening by strait and not Side-ways, for by that Means in two or three Shoeings his Heels, in which consists the Strength of his Feet, will be cut quite away. His Foot must be pared as hollow as possible, to hinder the Shoe from pressing upon it. The Shoes must come near the Heel, yet not be set so close as to bruise it, nor yet so open as to catch in his Shoe, if at any Time he happens to over-reach, and so hazard the pulling them off, the breaking of the Hoof, or the bruising of the Heel. The Webs of his Shoes must be neither too broad nor too narrow, but of a middle Size, about the Breadth of an Inch, with sloped Spunges, and even with his Foot; for though it would be for the Advantage of

the travelling Horse's Heel, to have the Shoe a little wider than the Hoof on both Sides, that the Shoe might bear his Weight, and not his Foot touch the Ground; yet the *Hunter* being often forced to gallop on rotten spungy Earth, to have them large would hazard laming, and pulling off his Shoes.

The Farrier must take a particular Care that he pricks not the Horse, but leave a Space at the Heel of the fore-feet, and a Space between the Nails at the Toe. When the Shoe is set according to this Direction, you'll find a great deal of his Hoof left to be cut off at his Toe. When that is cut off, and his Feet smoothen'd with a File, he will stand so firm, and his Feet will be so strong, that he'll tread as boldly on Stones as on Carpet-Ground.

Note, That there are several Sorts of Horseshoes, as the *planch Shoe*, or *Pancelet*, which is said to make a good Foot and a bad Leg; as causing the Foot to grow beyond the Measure of the Leg. It is chose for a weak Heel, and will last longer than any other Shoe, being borrowed from the Moil, which has weak Heels, and Frushes to keep the Feet from Stones and Gravel.

Shoes with Calkins, which, though intended to secure the Horse from sliding, yet are reputed by many to do him more Harm than Good, in that he cannot tread evenly upon the Ground, whereby many Times he wrenches his Foot, or strains some Sinew, especially upon stony Ways, where Stones will not suffer the Calkins to enter. *Double Calkins* are less hurtful, as he treads evener with them than on the single Calkins; but then they must not be over-long or sharp-pointed, but rather short and flat.

Shoes with Rings, first invented to make the Horse lift his Feet up high; though such Shoes are more painful than helpful, besides the Unhandsomeness of the Sight. This Defect is most incident to Horses that have not sound Hoofs; for tender Feet fear to touch the Ground that is hard: But what is intended for Remedy proves a Prejudice to the Horse, by adding high Calkins or Rings to his Shoes, as by that Means his Heels are made weaker than before.

Shoes with swelling Welts, or *Borders* round about them, are used in *Germany*, &c. which being higher than the Heads of the Nails, save them from wearing.—These are the best Sort of lasting Shoes, if made of well-temper'd Stuff, as they were equally in all Parts, and the Horse treads evenly upon them.—Others who use to pass Mountains, and Places where Smiths are not so easily met with, carry Shoes about them, with Vices, whereby they fasten them to the Horse's Hoofs, without the Help of the Hammer or Nail; yet this is more for Shew than Service; for though such Shoe may save a Horse's Feet from Stones, yet it so pinches his Hoof, that he goes with Pain, and perhaps injures it more than the Stones do.—On such emergent Occasions, therefore, it were better to make use of the

Joint Shoe, which is made of two Pieces, with a flat rivet Nail joining them together in the Toe, so that it may be taken both wide, or narrow, to serve any Foot.

Panton, or *Pantable Shoe*, which opens the Heels, and helps Hoof-binding.—To which may be added the *half panton Shoe*.

Patten Shoe, is used for a Horse that is burnt in the Hip, Stifle, or Shoulder, as it causes him to bear upon that Leg the Grief is on, and consequently makes him use it the better.

By that Time the Horse is shod, I presume 'twill be Time to water him, therefore he must be taken to the River, and suffered, after he has drank, to stand some Time in the Water, which, in the Opinion of some Horsemen, will close up the Holes made by the Nails. From whence he is gently brought to his Stable, where having tied him to the Rack, he must be rubbed all over, Body and Legs, with dry Straw; after which his Feet are to be stopped with Cow-Dung, and giving him a Quarter of a Peck of old Oats, well sifted; then littering him, and leaving him a sufficient Quantity of old Hay, to serve him all Night.

When the Horse has evacuated all his Grass, and his Shoes are so well settled to his Feet, that he may be fit to be rid abroad without Danger of subating, you must

visit him early in the Morning, that is to say, by five a Clock in Summer, and Six in Winter; and having put up his Litter under his Stall, and cleansed the Stable, the next Thing to be done is to feel his Ribs, his Chaul, and his Flank, whereby the good or bad State of his Body is discernible. If by laying your Hands on the lower Part of his short Ribs, near the Flank, you feel his Fat to be exceeding soft and tender, and to yield, as it were, under your Hand, you may be sure that it is not found, and that the least violent Labour or Travel will dissolve it; and when dissolved, before it be hardened by good Diet, if it be not then removed by scouring, the Fat or Grease belonging to the outward Parts of the Body will fall down into his Heels, and so cause Goutiness and Swelling; which Distempers are both to be prevented and cured. For, if by feeling his Ribs you have found his Fat soft, you must likewise feel his Chaul, and if you find any fleshy Substance, or big round Kernels, or Knots, you may be sure that as his outward Fat is not found, so inwardly he is full of Glut, and purfue, occasion'd by gross and tough Humours cleaving to the Concavities of the Lungs, and stopping his Wind-pipe in such a Manner, that his Wind cannot find a free Passage, nor his Body be capable of much Labour. These Distempers are remedied by feeding him with wholesome Food to harden his Fat, by moderate Exercise, warm Cloathing, and gentle Physick, to cleanse away his inward Glut, that his Wind and other Parts being freed from all gross Humours, his Courage, and Activity may be thereby heightened.

Till your Horse be thoroughly purged, his Flank will likewise feel thick to your Gripe; otherwise it feels but like two thin Skins.

These Remarks made, the Groom must sift his Horse a Handful or two of good old Oats for a Preservative against the cold Humours, which otherwise would perhaps seize his Stomach, if he was to drink fasting, and which will likewise make him drink the better. When he has eaten them, he must pull off his Collar, and rub his Head, Face, Ears, and Nape of the Neck with a clean rubbing Cloth, which helps towards dispersing all the Humours which often gather in those Parts: Then washing a small Snaffle in fair Water, he'll put it on his Head, drawing the Reins through the Headstall, to prevent slipping it over his Head. Then taking in his Right Hand a Curry-comb, suitable to the Skin of his Horse; (*i. e.* if the Coat of his Horse be short and smooth, the Curry-comb must be blunt; but if long and rough, then its Teeth must be long and sharp) he stands with his Face opposite to the Horse's Face, and holding the left Cheek of his Head-stall in his Left-Hand, curries him hard, from the Root of his Ears, all along his Neck to his Shoulders: Then goes over all his Body with a more moderate Hand, currying his Buttocks down to the lower Cambrel, with a hard Hand again: Then changing Hand, and laying his right Arm over his Back, he joins his right Side to the Left of the Horse, and curries him gently from the Top of his Withers to the lower Part of his Shoulder, every now and then fetching his Stroke over the left Side of his Breast, and so currying him down to the Knee, but no further; then he curries him all under his Belly near his fore-Bowels; and, in a Word, very well over, except his Legs under the Knees, and his Cambrels.

Note, That if your Horse, while you are currying him, keeps riggling up and down, biting the Rack-Staffs, and now and then offering to snap at you, or lifting up his Leg to strike you, it is a Sign that he is not pleased, either by reason of the Sharpness of the Comb, the Teeth whereof must on that Occasion be blunted, or through Wantonness, and the Pleasure he takes in the Friction; then he must be gently corrected with the Whip.

As this currying is only to raise the Dust, when it is over, the Groom must take either a Horse's Tail, or a clean Dusting-Cloth, and with it strike off the loose Dust raised by his Comb: Then dress him all over with the French Brush, both Head, Body, and Legs, to the very Fetlocks, observing always to clean the Brush from the Filth it gathers from the Bottom of the Hair, by rubbing it on the Curry-Comb; and dusting the Horse

a second Time. Which done, he dips his Hand in Water, and with it rubs his Horse's Body all over, leaving if possible no loose Hair behind him; and with the same wet Hand picking and cleaning his Eyes, Ears, Nostrils, Sheath, Cods, and Tuel; rubbing thus till he be as dry as he was at first, then he rubs his Body all over with a Hair-patch, but especially his fore-bowels under his Belly, his Flank, and between his hind Thighs; and lastly, wiping him over with a fine white Linnen Rubber.

When he has thus dressed him, he takes a large Saddle-Cloth, that may reach down to the spurring Place, and laps it about his Body, then claps on his Saddle, and throws a Cloth over him for Fear of his catching Cold. Which done, he rubs and chafes his Legs from the Knees and Cambrels downwards to the Ground, with two Ropes of Straw twisted hard together, picking his Fetlock-Joints from Dust, Filth, and Scabs; rubbing and dressing his Legs afterwards with another Hair-patch.

This done, his Feet must be picked clean with an Iron Picker, to hinder them from taking up Stones, and his Mane and Tail combed down with a wet Mane-Comb; and having spirted some Beer or Wine into his Mouth, and brought him out of the Stable, the Groom should mount him, in order to take or walk him to some running River, or fresh clear Spring, a Mile or two distant from the Stable, where he is suffered to drink half his Draught at first, bringing him afterwards calmly out of the Water, and riding him gently for awhile; for thrusting him then into a swift Gallop, not only hazards the breaking of his Wind, but endangers the uncording or bursting him, begets in him an ill Habit of running away as soon as he has done drinking; and the Foresight he has of such violent Exercise, makes him often refuse to quench his Thirst. When he has walked gently a little Way, he may be put into a gentle Gallop, for five or six Score, then take Wind. And after he has been raked a pretty Space, the Rider shews him the Water again, and lets him drink as much as he pleases, and then gallops him again; proceeding thus till he will drink no more, avoiding above all Things, to gallop him so much as either to chafe or sweat him.

Note, That in gallopping your Horse after Water, it is not improper to give him sometimes a watering Course sharply, or twelve or twenty Score, for then it will quicken his Spirits, cause him to gallop more pleasantly, teach him to manage his Limbs, and stretch forth his Body more largely.

When your Horse has done drinking, then take him to the Top of the next Hill, if there be any near the watering Place, or else to some such Place where he may gain more Benefit both from the Sun and Air, and there air him a Foot-pace an Hour, or so long as you'll think sufficient for the State of his Body, and afterwards ride him home.

Note, That Airing brings several Advantages to the Horse; first, it purifies the Blood, purges the Body from many gross and suffocating Humours, and so hardens and enscams the Horse's Fat, that it is not so liable to be dissolved by ordinary Exercise. Secondly, it teaches him how to let his Wind rake equally, and keep Time with the other Actions, or Motions of his Body. Thirdly, it sharpens the Appetite, and provokes the Stomach; which is of great Advantage both to Hunters and Galloppers, which are apt to lose their Stomach through Excess or Want of Exercise: For the Sharpness of the Air will drive the Horse's natural Heat, from the exterior to the interior Parts, which Heat, by helping the Digestion creates an Appetite. Lastly, it increases Lust and Courage in him, provided he be not too early aired; though *M. Markham's* Directions are different on this Article; for he will have a Horse aired before Sun-rising, and after Sun-setting; and the Gentleman's Jockey says, that nothing is wholesomer than early and late Airing, but Experience proves the contrary; for in this Art all Things that any ways weaken Nature, or hinder it from growing strong and courageous, are to be avoided; such as Cold, which is always greater early

in the Morning, and in the Evening, than it is in the other Parts of the Day ; which is evidently apparent in Horses that run abroad all the Winter, which however hardly bred, and kept with the best Care and Food, yet cannot by any Means be advanced to so good Case in Winter, as an indifferent Pasture will raise them to in Summer. And this holding true of the nocturnal Cold, must needs be verified in some Measure of the Morning and Evening Dew. Besides, that the Dews, and moist Rimes, do as much Injury to a Horse, as the sharpest Colds or Frosts ; since a Horse any Ways inclinable to Catarrhea's, Rheums, or any other cold Distempers, is apt to have the Humours augmented, and the Disease must sensibly increase by the early and late Airings. But if he be not brought forth to Air, till the Sun be risen, his Spirits will be cheared up and comforted. Horses, besides, naturally desiring to enjoy the Sun's Warmth, as well as almost all other Creatures. Besides the Benefit of the Sun, the Air is so mild and temperate, that it rather invigorates than preys upon his Spirits ; and rather increases his Strength, than impairs it.

Note also, That during the Time of your Horse's Airing, you will easily perceive several Marks of his Satisfaction, and the Pleasure he takes in this Exercise : For he will gape, yawn, and as it were, shrug his Body. If he offers to stand still to dung or startle, which his Airing will provoke, you must give him Leave, as likewise to stare about, neigh, or listen to any Noise.

When the Groom is return'd from Airing, and dismounted, he must lead his Horse on the Straw, which should always lie before the Stable-Door ; and there, by whistling, and stirring up the Litter under his Belly, will provoke him to stale, which a little Practice will bring him to, and is advantageous for the Horse's Health, and the keeping the Stable clean ; then leading him into his Stall (which should likewise be well littered) and having tied up his Head to the empty Rack, he takes off his Saddle, rubs his Body all over with the *French* Brush, then with the Hair-patch, and lastly with the woollen Cloth. This done, he cloaths him with a Linen Cloth next to his Body, and over that a Canvas Cloth, both made so fit as to cover his Breast, and to come pretty low down to his Legs ; which is the *Turkish* Way of Cloathing. Over these he must put a Body Cloth, of six or eight Straps, which is better than a Sircingle, and Pad stuffed with Wisps, to keep his Belly in Shape.

This Sort of Clothing is sufficient at his first Stabling, because being inured to the cold Air, he will not be so apt to catch Cold ; but when the sharp Weather approaches, and his Hair is perceived to rise about his outward Parts that are uncloathed, as Neck, Gaskins, &c. a woollen Cloth must be added to those above-mention'd ; and for any Horse bred under the Climate of *England*, and kept only for ordinary Hunting, this is Cloathing sufficient.

Note, That both the Temperature of the Climate, and the State of the Body, are to be considered in the Cloathing of a Horse ; and that all Horses are not to be cloathed alike ; for the *Barb*, *Turkish*, *Spanish*, &c. require more Cloathing than the *English* common Horses, that are bred in a colder Climate, and have naturally thicker Skins and a longer Coat. But however, take this for a general Rule, that a rough Coat shews Want of Cloaths, and a smooth one Cloathing sufficient ; observing, that if by the Countenance of your Horse, his Dung, and other outward Marks, he is known to be in Health, notwithstanding which his Coat stales still, you must add still more till it lies flat ; as on the other Hand, if it will lie with the Assistance of a single Linen Cloth, he wants no other. But if after your Horse has been in Keeping some Time, you find him apt to sweat in the Night, it is a Sign that he is over fed, and wants Exercise : And if he sweats at his first coming from Grass, the Cloathing allotted at his first Housing, must rather be increased than diminished ; for that Sweating proceeds

from the foul Humours which oppress Nature ; and when by Exercise they are evacuated, Nature will cease working, and he will continue in a temperate State of Body all the Year after.

The Horse cloathed, his Feet must be picked with the Iron Picker, and his Hoofs washed clean, with a Sponge dipped in fair Water, and then dried with Straw, or a Linen Cloth, washing, likewise, his Legs, if dirty, provided they be rubbed dry afterwards. Then the Horse is left on his Snaffle for an Hour or more, to sharpen his Appetite. The Hour expired, the Groom returns to the Stable, and taking a handful of Hay, let his Horse taste it out of his Hand, till he has eaten it ; then he pulls off his Bridle, and having rubbed his Head and Neck clean with a Cloth, as before, he pulls his Ears, and stops his Nostrils, to make him snore, which will help to bring away the moist Humours which oppress his Brain ; and then put on his Collar, and give him a Quarter of Oats well sifted. While he is eating his Corn, his Cloaths must be turn'd up, his Fillets, Buttocks, and Gaskins rubbed over with the Hair-patch ; and after that with a woollen Cloth : Then a clean Flannel Fillet-Cloth is spread over his Fillets and Buttock, to make his Coat lie smooth, and his Housing-Cloth turn'd down upon it ; anointing his Hoofs round, from the Cronet to the Toe, with an Ointment made for the Purpose ; picking his Feet with an Iron Picker, and covering them with Cow-Dung ; by which Time (if he be not a very slow Feeder) he will have eaten his Oats, which if he does with a good Appetite, he must have another Quart ; feeding him thus by little and little, whilst he eats with an Appetite ; but if he fumbles with his Corn, he must have no more.

This done, a sufficient Quantity of Hay, well dusted, must be thrown down to him on his Litter, and then shutting up the Windows and Stable-Door, he is left till One o'Clock in the Afternoon, at which Time the Groom returns to him, and having rubbed over his Head, Neck, Fillets, Buttocks, and Legs, as before, with the Hair-patch, and woollen Cloth, he'll feed him as before, leaving him afterwards till the Time of his Evening Watering, which should be about three in the Winter, and four in the Summer ; when he'll come to him, dress and saddle him as before, and having mounted him, shall rake him to the Water, and after drinking and galloping, shall air him along by the River Side, till he thinks it Time to go home ; then order him in all Points, as to rubbing, feeding, stopping his Feet, &c. as he did in the Morning ; and having fed him at six, he must feed him again about nine ; littering him then well, and throwing him Hay enough to serve him all Night, and leaving him till the next Morning. This Exercise of a Groom must be repeated every Day, and in the very same Manner : Though as to that of feeding him, he must sharpen his Stomach by Change of Meat ; giving him one Meal clean Oats, another Oats and split Beans ; and when he has brought him to eat Bread, he may give him another Meal of Bread, always observing to give him oftneft what he likes best. Some Horses are of so hot a Constitution, that without they may drink at every Bit, they cannot eat, and those Horses usually carry no Belly ; in this Case, a Pail of Water must stand continually before them, or at least, Water must be offer'd them at Noon, besides what they fetch abroad at their ordinary Time. The Habit of the Body of a Horse, is also discover'd by his Digestion ; whether he retains his Food long, which is the Sign of a bad Digestion ; or whether Nature expels the Dung oftner, which if it does, and his Dung be loose and bright, it is a Sign of a good Habit of Body ; but if he dungs hard and seldom, it is, on the contrary, a Sign of a dry Body ; and therefore, to remedy this, a handful or two of Oats, well washed in Ale, ought to be given him once a Day, whereby his Body will be loosen'd and kept moist, serving likewise to expel Winds.

Note, That during this Fortnight's Keeping, you are to make several Observations, as to the Nature and Dispositions of your Horse, Temper of his Body, &c. and order him accordingly. 1. If he be of a churlish Disposition, you must reclaim him by Severity ; if of a loving Temper, win him by Kindness. 2. You must

must observe whether he be a foul Feeder, or of a nice Stomach; if he be quick at his Meat, and retain a good Stomach, then four Times of full Feeding in the Space of a Day and Night, is sufficient; but if he be a slender Feeder, and slow at his Meat, then you must give but little at once, and often, as about every two Hours; for fresh Meat will draw on his Appetite; leaving always a little Meat in his Locker, for him to eat at his own Leisure, and when you find any left, you must sweep it away, give him fresh, and expose that to the Sun and Air, which will prevent its growing musty, and restore it to its former Sweetness.

By that Time the first Fortnight is expir'd, the Hunter will be in a pretty good State of Body, and fit for a moderate Hunting-Match; but how to proceed in this Exercise, meets with some Difficulties; for some would have a Horse which is designed either for a Buck-hunter or Fox-hunter, used from the Beginning to the Chase they are designed for. Others think those Chases too violent for a young Horse, and therefore chuse to train him for Harriers; which last Opinion, seems to be founded on Experience; and which may be confirmed by taking a slight View of the several Chases the most in Vogue here in *England*, viz. the Stag, Buck, Hind, Fox, Otter, and Hare.

There is very little Difference in the three fore-mention'd Chases, and the Inconveniencies of each of them, are, in a Manner, the same; for they are all, either in Covert, or at Force. Now if Deer be hunted in a Park, they usually chuse the most woody Part of it, as a Refuge from the Pursuit of their Enemies, which is both unpleasant to the Rider, and troublesome to the Horse to follow the Dogs through the thick Bushes; and besides, the Ground in Parks is usually full of Mole-Banks, Trenches, &c. which is dangerous for a young Horse to gallop on, till he has attained to some Perfection in his Stroke. But if they be turned out of the Park, and be hunted at Force, you'll find that as soon as you have unharboured, or rouzed them, they will immediately make out endways, before the Hounds, five or six, nay sometimes ten Miles, they following in full Cry so swiftly, that a Horse must be compelled to run up and down Hill without any Intermiſſion; leaping Hedge, Ditch, and Dale, nay often crossing Rivers, to the great Danger of the Rider, as well as of the Horse. So that it is altogether improper to put a young Horse to such violent Labour at first, till by Practice and Degrees he has been made acquainted with hard Service. Besides the Swiftneſs and Violence of this Chase, the Danger of cracking his Wind, and bursting his Belly, of straining his Limbs, and of creating in a young Horse a Loathsomeness to his Labour; the Season for these Chases beginning about *Midsummer*, and ending about *Holy-Rood-Tide*, during which the Heat of the Sun is excessive, and so scorches the Earth, a violent Chase would hazard the melting his Grease; and the Weight of the Rider, by Reason of the Hardness of the Ground, would occasion Foundering, Splints, and Wind-Galls, inſomuch that in a short Time, the Horse would prove altogether useless.

However, there is not the same Danger for all Sorts of Horses, without Distinction; but none should be employed in this Chase but those of stayed Years, and which by long Practice and Experience, have been trained to Hunting. Young Horses (as the Duke of *Newcastle* observes) being as subject to Diseases, as young Children, and therefore he advises any Man who would buy a Horse for his Use, either for a Journey, Hawking, and Hunting, never to buy him, till the Mark be out of his Mouth; for, if he be Sound of Wind, Limb, and Sight, he will last eight or nine Years with good Keeping, and never fails his Rider. An old Nag, in his Grace's Opinion, of some Huntsman, or Falconer, that is sound, is the best; for he gallops on all Grounds, leaps over Hedges and Ditches, and never fails his Rider in a Journey, nor any where else.

Fox-Hunting (which is a Chase much admired by the present *Mareschal de Villeroy*, and at which I have had the Honour to accompany him often) is not at all proper for the training of a young Horse, since it is swift without Respite, and of long Continuance, both which are

distasteful to him; but the greatest Inconveniency that happens to a Horse in this Chase, is this; that when a Fox is unkennelled, he seldom or never betakes himself to a champaign Country, but remains in the strongest Coverts, and in the thickest Woods; so that a Horse can but seldom enjoy the Pleasure of accompanying the Hounds, without hazarding being stubbed, or other Accidents equally dangerous. The fittest Horses for this Chase, are Horses of Strength and Hability; since it begins at *Christmas*, which is the worst Time for Riding; and ends at *Lady-Day*, when the Ground is fittest for it.

Neither is the Chase of the Otters convenient for a Horse; for he that will truly pursue this amphibious Sport, must often swim his Horse; which cannot be done without running some Danger.

The Chase of the Hare is not so contrary to the training of young Horses; because Hares, commonly running the champaign Country, and their Scent being not so hot as that of the Foxes, the Dogs are oftner at Default, the Horse has by that Means many Sobbs; whereby he recovers Wind, and regains new Strength.

The best Dogs to bring your Horse to Perfection of Wind and Speed, are the fleet northern Hounds; for they, by Means of their hard running, will draw him up to that extraordinary Speed, that he will not have Time to loiter; and by continual Practice will be so inured, and used to the Violence of their Speed; that, in a short Time, he will be able to ride on all Sorts of Ground, and be of such Command upon the Hand, that he will strike at what Rate you please, and three Quarters Speed will be less troublesome to him, than a *Canterbury* Gallop.

The Day being fixed for your Horse's first going abroad after the Dogs; the preceding Day he must be ordered after this Manner. In the Morning proceed in your usual Manner, as to dressing, feeding, watering; &c. only abstaining that Day from giving him Beans, because they are hard of Digestion, instead of which you'll give him most Bread, if he can eat it, because more nourishing than Oats; and after the Evening watering; which ought to be somewhat earlier than at other Times; give him only a little Hay out of your Hand, and no more till the next Day, at his Return from Hunting; and to prevent his eating his Litter, or any Thing else, but what you give him, you must, instead of a Muzzle, put on a Cavezone, join'd to a Head-stall of a Bridle, being lined with double Leather for fear of hurting him, and tying it so straight as to hinder his eating; and this will prevent Sickness in your Horse, incident to some Horses, when their Muzzle is set on, notwithstanding the Invention of the Lattice Window, at present so much in Use; but this Way your Horse's Nostrils are at full Liberty, and he will never prove sick. But as to his Corn, give him his Meals, both after his Watering, and at nine o'Clock; at which Time it ought to be litter'd very well, that he may the better take his Rest, and leave him for that Time.

About four o'Clock the next Morning, he must have a Quarter of a Peck of clean Oats, mixed with a Quart of strong Ale, and while he is eating it, his Litter and Dung must be put back, and the Stable cleansed. When he has done eating, he must be bridled and dressed; when dressed, saddle him, throwing afterwards his Cloaths over him, and letting him stand till the Hounds be ready to go forth, forbearing the drawing the Saddle Girt strait, till you are ready to mount, lest otherwise he should grow sick. But generally old Horses are so crafty, that when an ignorant Groom goes to gird them up hard, they will stretch out their Body to such a Bigness, by holding up their Wind (on Purpose to gain Ease after they are girt) that it will appear difficult to gird them; but afterwards they let go their Wind, and their Body falls again.

When the Hounds are unkennelled (which ought not to be till Sun-rising) you must go up and down the Field along with them, and rake your Horse up and down gently till a Hare be started, always observing to let him smell at other Horses Dung (if he wants to do it) which will provoke him to empty himself, and let him stand still while he does it. And if you meet with any dead Frog, Rushes, or the like, ride him upon them, and by whistling provoke him to empty his Bladder.

When

When the Hare is started, you are to follow the Hounds as the other Hunters do, only observing that this being the first Time of your Horse's hunting, he is not so well acquainted with the different Sorts of Ground, as to know how to gallop smoothly and with Ease on them: Therefore you are not to put him as yet to above half his Speed, that he may learn to carry a staid Body, and to manage his Legs both as to Fallow, and Greenf-worth; neither are you to gallop him often, nor any long Time together, for Fear of discouraging him, and breeding in him a Dislike to the Sport; but observing to cross the Field still to your best Advantage, you shall make into the Hounds at every Default, and still keep your Horse as much as possible within the Cry of the Dogs, that he may be used to it, and you'll find that in a very short Time he'll take such Delight and Pleasure in it as to be eager to follow them. If at any Time the Chase be led over a Carpet-Ground, or sandy Highway, on which your Horse may lay out his Body smoothly, you may there gallop him for a Quarter or half a Mile, to teach him to lay out his Body and to gather up his Legs, to enlarge and shorten his Stroke, according to the different Earths he gallops on, as if on a Green, Swarth, Meadow, Moor, Heath, &c. then to stoop and run more on the Shoulders: If among Mole-Hills, or over high Ridges and Furrows, then to gallop more roundly, and in less Compass, or according to the vulgar Phrase, two up and two down, that thereby he may strike his Furrow clear, and avoid setting his fore Feet in the Bottom of it, and by that Means fall over; but by this Way of galloping, though he should happen to set his Feet in a Furrow, yet carrying his Body so round, and resting on the Hand in his Gallop, would prevent his falling; and nothing but Use and such moderate Exercise can bring him to his Perfection.

About three o'Clock in the Afternoon you must have your Horse home in a Foot-pace, as you came out in the Morning, but he should be cool before he comes out of the Field, and if he has not sweated a little you must gallop him gently on some skelping Earth, till he sweats at the Root of his Ears, a little on his Neck, and in his Flank, which must be done of his own voluntary Motion, without the Compulsion of Whip and Spur; and then when he is cool, have him home and stable him, avoiding walking him in hand to cool him, lest he should cool too fast.

When set in his Stall, which should be well littered against his coming home, his Head must be tied up to the Ring, with the Bridle, rubbing him well afterwards with dry Straw, both Head, Neck, Fore-bowels, Belly, Flank, Buttocks, and Legs, and then his Body over with a dry Cloth, till there be not a wet Hair left about him. This done, his Saddle is taken off, and the Place where the Saddle stood rubbed dry, cloathing him immediately after with his ordinary Cloaths lest he should catch Cold, unless he be too hot, for then a spare Cloth must be thrown over him for Fear he should cool too fast; and leaving him afterwards to stand on his Snaffle two Hours or more, stirring him now and then, with the Whip, in his Stall, to keep his Legs and Joints from growing stiff.

When thoroughly cold he must be unbridled, have his Head rubbed, and his Feet picked from Dirt and Gravel, which he may have gathered abroad; and then his Collar is put on, and a Quart or three Pints of Oats mixed with a Handful of clean dusted Hempseed given him: After which the spare Cloth is removed for Fear of keeping him hot too long; and when he has eaten his Corn, he must be left to rest two or three Hours, with a sufficient Quantity of clean Hay before him.

Whilst you are absent from him, you shall prepare him a good Mash, made of half a Peck of Malt well ground, and boiling-hot Water, observing to put no more Water than your Malt will sweeten, and your Horse will drink, and having stirred them together with a Stick, you'll cover it over with a Cloth, till the Water has extracted the Strength of the Malt. Then when it is cold, that you can scarce perceive it to smook, offer it to your Horse, and when he has drank the Water, let him, if he will, eat the Malt also; but if he refuses to drink, yet you must give him no other Water that Night, but by placing it in one Corner at the Head of

the Stall, in such a Manner that he may not throw it down, let him stand by it all Night that he may drink at his Pleasure.

When he has eaten his Mash, strip him of his Cloaths, and run him over with your Curry-Comb, *French* Brush, Hair-patch, and Woollen Cloth, and cloath him up again, cleaning his Legs as well as his Body of all Dirt and Filth; then remove him into another Stall, and bathe his Legs all over from the Knees with a Quart of warm Urine, in which four Ounces of Salt-petre have been dissolved; then having rubbed his Legs dry, set him into his Stall, and give him a good Home-feeding of Oats, or Bread, or both, and having shook a good deal of Litter under him that he may rest the better, and thrown him Hay enough for all Night, shut up your Stable close, and leave him to his Rest till Morning; at which Time you must come to him betwixt six and seven o'Clock. If he be laid, disturb him not, but stay till he rises of his own Accord; but if he be risen then go to him, and begin by putting back his Dung from his Litter, then proceed to order him as in his Days of Rest, *i. e.* to give him a Handful or two of Oats before Water, then to dress, water, air, feed, &c.

The next Day after he has rested you shall hunt him again; hunting him thus three Times a Week, for a Fortnight together, observing to give him his full Feeding, and no other Scowring but Mash and Hempseed, which is equal in Virtue to any other, and only carries off superfluous Humours.

By this Time your Horse will be drawn so clean, his Flesh will be so unseamed, and his Wind so improved, that he will be able to ride a Chase of three or four Miles without much Blowing or Sweating, and you'll find by his Chaul and Flank, as well as by his Ribs, that he is in an indifferent State of Body; and therefore the next Fortnight following you must increase his Labour, by which Means you will come to a true Knowledge of what he is able to do; and whether or no he will ever be fit for Plates, or a Match.

When your Horse is set over Night, and fed early in the Morning, then go into the Field with him, and when he is empty, as he will be by that Time you have started your Game, you shall follow the Dogs at a good round Rate, as at half Speed, and so continue till you have killed or lost your first Hare. This will so rack your Horse's Mind, and by this Time he will have so emptied himself, that he will be fit to be rid the next Chase briskly: Which as soon as begun, you shall follow the Dogs, at three Quarters Speed, as near to them as is consistent with the Discretion of a good *Horseman*, and a true Huntsman, who will always take Care not to strain him.

During this Day's Riding you'll observe your Horse's Sweat under his Saddle and fore-Bowels; if it appears white like Froth or Soap-Suds, it is a Sign of inward Glut and Foulness, and that your Day's Sport was fully sufficient, and therefore you must have him home, and order him as before directed. But if your Sport has been so indifferent as not to sweat your Horse thoroughly, then make a Train-Scent of four Miles long, or thereabouts, and lay on your fleetest Dogs, ride it briskly, and then, having first cooled him in the Field, ride him home, and use him as aforesaid.

When you unbridle your Horse, give him instead of Hemp-seed and Oats, a handsome Quantity of Rye-bread, which being cold and moist, will assist in cooling his Body after his Labour, and prevent Costiveness, to which you'll find him addicted; then give him Hay, and afterwards a Mash, and afterwards order him in all Points as formely.

Note, That a *Train-Scent* is the trailing or dragging of a dead Cat or Fox, three or four Miles, and then laying the Dogs on the Scent; for which Purpose two or three Couple of the fleetest Hounds must be kept, not employing Harriers in it; for it would teach them to lie off the Line, and sling so wide, that they will never be worth any Thing.

The Day following you may hunt your Horse again, but not so severely as you did the Day before, till the Afternoon, but then ride him after the Hounds briskly, and if that does not make him sweat thoroughly, make another

another Train-Scent, and follow the Dogs three Quarters Speed that he may sweat heartily. When you have a little cooled him, have him home, and upon his first Entrance into the Stable, give him two or three Balls as big as Walnuts of the following Scowring.

Take Butter four Ounces, Lenitive Electuary two Ounces, Granwel Broom and Parsley-Seeds, of each one Ounce, Jallap an Ounce; put the Seeds into Powder, and stir them into a Paste, with the Electuary and the Butter, knead it well, and keep it close in a Pot for Use.

As soon as you have given your Horse these Balls rub him dry, then dress him, and cloath him up warm, and let him stand two or three Hours on the Snaffle; then give him two or three Handfuls of Rye-Bread, and order him as you did before, as to Hay, Provender, Malt, &c. and so leave him till the Morning. Then come to him, and first observe his Dung, whether it keeps the true Colour, or whether it appears dark or black, or red and high Colour; next, whether it be loose and thin, or hard and dry. If it be of the right Colour, I mean of pale Yellow, it is a Sign of Health, Strength, and Cleanness; if it be dark or black, then it is a Sign there is Grease and other ill Humours stirred up, which are not yet evacuated; if it be red and high-coloured, then it is a Token that his Blood is feverish and distempered through inward Heat; if it be loose and thin it is a Sign of Weakness, but if hard and dry, it shews the Horse to be hot inwardly, or else that he is a foul Feeder; but if his Dung carries a Medium betwixt hard and soft, and smell strong, it is a Sign of Health and Vigour.

These Observations made with regard to his Dung, he must be fed, dressed, watered, &c. as in his former Days of Rest; observing always to give Variety, and his Belly full of Corn and Bread. Next, have him abroad in the Fields again, but by no Means put him to any Labour further than to take him from Hill to Hill after the Dogs, to keep him within Sound of their Cry; for the Design of this Day's Exercise is only to keep him in Breath and get him an Appetite. Observe as you ride that you let him stand still to dung. When the Day is near spent, bring him home without the least Sweat, and order him as at other Times, abstaining only from giving him Scowrings, or Rye-Bread. You may, if you will, water your Horse this Day, both at your going into the Field, and at your coming home, observing to gallop after it, to warm the Water in his Belly.—The next is a Day of Rest.

Note, That in the same Manner in every Respect you have spent this Week, you must spend the next likewise without Alteration in any Point, and by that Time your Horse will be drawn clean enough for any ordinary Hunting; so that observing afterwards to hunt him moderately twice or thrice a Week, according to your own Pleasure, and the Constitution of his Body, you may be sure to have him in a good State of Health, without Danger of his Wind, Eyesight, Feet, or Body.

But perhaps we design to order our Horse for a Match or a Plate, and then there are several other necessary Rules to be observed.

The first Thing to be done in this Case, is to keep him for a whole Month carefully, and without any violent Exercise, in order to draw his Body perfectly clean, and to refine his Wind to that Degree of Perfection it can attain to; which to accomplish, we must observe whether our Horse be low or high in Flesh, or whether he be dull and heavy when abroad, and this occasioned through too much hard Riding, or through some Grease that has been dissolved by hunting, and has not been removed for Want of a Scowring. If he appears sluggish and melancholly from either of these Causes, we must give him half an Ounce of *Diapente* in a Pint of good old *Malaga* Sack, which will both cleanse his Body and revive his Spirits; and then feed him for the first Week continually with Bread, Oats, and split Beans, giving him sometimes one and sometimes the other, according as he likes, always leaving some in his Locker, to eat at his own Leisure; observing at the same Time, that the Oats must have been well dried in the Sun, and afterwards hulled, before they are given our Horse:

That the Beans must also be hulled, and that he must have none but the Crumb of the Bread, because the Crust is hard of Digestion; and apt to dry and heat his Body. This Bread must be made of an equal Quantity of Beans and Wheat, kneaded with new Ale-Barm, and the Whites of new-laid Eggs. Thus our Horse is to be fed till we have made him wanton and gamesome.

But if on the contrary our Horse be brisk and lively, we must abstain from giving him any Sort of Scowring whatsoever; for there being no foul Humours, or any other superfluous Matter left in his Body for the Physick to work upon, it will prey upon the Strength of his Body, and by that Means weaken it.

Besides the above-mentioned Directions, as to feeding our Horse, we must sweat him twice this first Week, not by hunting him after the Hare, as heretofore done, but by Train-Scents (*i. e.* if he be engaged in a hunting Match) since the former may prove deceitful on this Occasion; for though the Hounds be very swift, yet the Scent being cold, the Dogs will often be at fault, and by that Means the Horse will have many Sobs, so that when he comes to run Train-Scents in Earnest, our Horse will look for Ease, his Wind being not so perfect as it ought to be. Therefore we must lead our Train-Scents with a dead Cat, over such Grounds as we are likely to run upon, and best agree with our Horse's Humour, making Choice for that Purpose of the fleetest Hounds we can get; for then our Horse will be kept up to the height of his Speed. Order the Number of Train-Scents we are to ride at a Time, according to the Strength and Ability of our Horse in performing his Heats; for if we labour him beyond his Strength it will take him off his Speed, weaken his Limbs, and daunt his Spirits. Likewise if we give him too little Exercise it will breed Purfiveness and ill Humours, as Glut, &c. which will render him so lazy, that when he comes to be put to Labour, above his usual Rate, he will grow restive and settle like a Jade: Therefore if we are to run eight Train-Scents and a straight Course more or less, we must put him to such severe Labour not above twice in our Month's whole Keeping; and that should be in the first Fortnight, for then he will have another Fortnight to recover his Strength again; though he ought not to remain idle during that last Fortnight, but his Labour must be proportionable to his Strength and Wind, *i. e.* he should only perform then but half, or three Parts of his Task: Taking Care however, that his last Trial in the first Fortnight be a Train-Scent more than our Match, for we shall find thereby what he is able to do.

If we intend our Horse for a Plate, he should be kept near the Place where he is to run, that he may be acquainted with the Ground; regulating the Number of Heats according to the Articles stipulated for the Match, and the Sharpness of them according to the Temper of his Strength, and the Purity of his Wind; providing when we heat him, some Horses upon the Course to run at him, which will quicken his Spirits, and encourage him, when he finds he can command them at his Pleasure, abstaining always from giving our Horse a bloody Heat for ten Days or a Fortnight before the Day the Plate is to be run for; giving him his last Heat before the Day of Trial in all his Cloaths, only skelping it over, which will make him run the next Time much more vigorously, when he shall be stript naked, and feel the cold Air pierce him.

During this Month, both on his resting Days, and after his Sweats on heating Days, we are to observe the same Rules taught in the first Week of our third Fortnight's Keeping, omitting only all Scowrings but Rye-Bread and Maltes, since our Horse be in so perfect a State of Body as not to need any; only if we think there may be any Occasion, and our Horse proves thirsty, we may give him about eight or nine o'Clock at Night, to cool him, and quench his Thirst, two Quarts of Barley-Water, mixed with three Ounces of Syrup of Violets, and two Ounces of Syrup of Lemons. If he refuses this Mixture, it must be left to stand by him all Night.

During the last Fortnight, his Oats must not only be dried and hulled, but likewise half a Strike of it should be washed in the Whites of a Dozen or twenty Eggs, which must be left to soak spreading them in the Sun, the

the next Morning, till they be as dry as they were at first, and then be given to the Horse to strengthen his Wind.

If he will eat his Oats without Beans, there is no Necessity to give him any; and this Fortnight his Bread ought to be three Parts Wheat to one of Beans. If he be inclined to be covetous, we must relieve Nature, by giving him Oats washed in two or three Whites of Eggs, and all beat together.

During the last Week, instead of a Mash, he should have the Barley-Water heretofore described; giving him Hay, as much as he will eat, till a Day before he is to ride his Match, when we must be pretty sparing of it, that he may have Time to digest that he has eaten, muzzling him then with our Cavezone; and feeding him that Day, till the next Morning he is led out, as much as possible. That Morning, an Hour before we are to lead out, we'll give him a Toast or two of white Bread steeped in Sack, and so lead him in the Field.

But if we are to run for a Plate, which usually is not till three o'Clock in the Afternoon, our Horse must be had out early in the Morning to Air, that he may empty his Body; and at his Return from Airing, we'll feed him with Toasts in Sack. When he has eaten what we think fit to give him, we put on his Cavezone; then chafe his Legs soundly with Train-Oil and Brandy warmed together, shake up his Litter, shut up our Stable close, and leave him to his Rest, till the Hour of his going into the Field.

While our Horse is thus taking his Rest, I'll give some Instructions to the Person who is to ride him, who should always be the same that has trained him.

The first Thing requisite in a Rider, next to the Faithfulness in his Trust, is to have a good close Seat, keeping his Knees firm to his Saddle Skirts, his Toes turn'd inward, and his Spurs outward from the Horse's Sides; his Left-Hand governing his Mouth, and his Right commanding his Whip, taking Care throughout the whole Trial, to sit firm on his Saddle, without waving, or standing up in his Stirrups, which very much incommodates the Horse. When he spurs his Horse, he must not strike him hard with the Calf of his Legs, as if he would beat the Wind out of his Body, but just turn his Toes outwards, and bring the Spurs quick to his Sides; and such a sharp Stroke will be more serviceable to the Quickening of his Horse, and sooner draw Blood, never spurring his Horse but when there is occasion, and avoiding spurring him under the Fore-Bowels, between his Shoulders and his Girths, near the Heart, till the last Extremity. When he whips his Horse, it must be over the Shoulder on the near Side, except upon hard running; and when he is at all, then he must be struck in the Flank with a strong Jirk, for there the Skin is tenderest, and most sensible of the Lash. Taking Care when he whips, or spurs his Horse, and he is certain that he is at the Top of his Speed, if then he claps his Ears on his Pole, or whisks his Tail, to bear him hard, and to give him as much Comfort as ever he can, by shaking his Snaffle to and fro in his Mouth, and by that Means forcing him to open his Mouth, which will comfort him, and give him Wind.

If while he rides, there be any high Wind stirring, and that Wind be in his Face, he must suffer his Adversary to lead, and hold hard behind him, till he sees his Opportunity of giving a Loose; taking Care, notwithstanding, to ride so close to him, that his Horse may break the Wind from his own; and that he, by stooping low in his Seat, may shelter himself under him, which will assist the Strength of his Horse. But if the Wind be in his Back, he must ride exactly behind his Adversary, that his Horse may alone enjoy the Benefit of the Wind, by being as it were blown forward.

He must observe next, what Ground his Horse delights to run best on, bearing him, as much as his Adversary will give him Leave, on level Carpet-Ground; because his Horse naturally will be desirous to spend himself more freely thereon. But on deep Earth, &c. he must give him more Liberty, because he will naturally favour himself thereupon. In running up a Hill, he ought to favour his Horse, and bear him for fear of running him out of Wind; but down Hill (if his Horse's

Feet and Shoulders will endure it, and he dares venture his own Neck) he must always give him a Loose. Taking this for a general Rule, that if he finds his Horse to have the Heels of the other, he be careful to preserve his Speed till the last Train-Scout, if he is not to run a strait Course; but if he is, then till the Course, and so husband it then too, that he may be able to make a Push for it at the last Post.

He must next observe his Opposite's Horse, and if he be fiery, run just behind, or just Side by Side, and with his Whip make as much Noise as he can, to force him on faster than his Rider would have him, and thereby spend him the sooner. Or else keep just before him upon such a slow Gallop, that he may either over-reach, or by treading on his Horse's Heels, endanger falling over. He should likewise take Notice on what Ground the contrary Horse runs worst, and on that Ground give him a Loose, that the Adversary's being forc'd to follow, may hazard Stumbling, or clapping on the Back Sinews. Minding, besides, in his Riding, the Correction of the Hand, the Whip and the Spur of the opposite Rider, and when, and how often he makes Use of them; and when he perceives that his Horse begins to be blown, by any of the aforementioned Symptoms, as whisking his Tail, clapping down his Ears, holding out his Nose like a Pig, &c. he must take it for granted that he is at the Top of what he can do; therefore he ought to observe, in this Case, how his own rides, and if he runs cheerfully and strongly without spurring, he should keep his Adversary to the same Speed, without giving him Ease, and by that Means will soon bring him to give out, or distance him.

At the End of every Train-Scout, Notice should be taken of the Condition the other Horse is in, and how he holds in his Labour; which may be easily discovered by his Looks, the Working of his Flank, and the Slackness of his Girths. For if he looks dull, it is a Sign his Spirits fail him, as well as his Wind, if his Flanks beat much, and consequently his Strength. If his Wind fails him, his Body will grow thin, and appear tucked up, which will make his Girths appear slack to the Eye; which is the greatest Sign of a Horse's Weakness; and the surest that he'll lose the Wager.

When each Train-Scout is ended, or after every Heat for a Plate; the Groom must, with an old Piece of a Sword-Blade (called by the Duke of Newcastle, a *Knife of Heat*) scrape off all the Sweat from the Horse's Neck, Body, &c. rubbing him afterwards all over, first with Straw, and then with dry Cloaths, both Linen and Woollen (which have been steeped in Urine and Salt-petre a Day or two, and then dried in the Sun) while others are employ'd about his Legs; which after they have been rubbed dry, must be chafed with wet Cloaths, steeped likewise in Urine and Salt-petre, never giving over till the Horses are called by the Judges to start again.

The next Thing to be considered, is the Office of the Judges or Triers, which is to see that all Things are order'd according to the Articles, which to that End, are to be publicly read before the Horses start.

Therefore each Trier, on whose Side the Train is to be led, according to the Articles, gives Direction for its Leading, according to the Advice of the Rider, or his Knowledge of the Nature and Disposition of that Horse on whose Side he is chose. — Each Trier ought to be so advantageously mounted, as to ride up behind the Horses all Day; and to observe that the opposite Horse rides his true Ground, and keeps to the Articles in every Point, or else not permit him to proceed. — After each Train-Scout is ended, each Trier is to look to that Horse, against whom he is chosen, and take Care that he be no Ways relieved but with rubbing, except Liberty on both Sides be given to the contrary. As soon as the Time allowed for rubbing is expired, which is generally half an Hour, they shall command the Riders to mount, and if either Rider refuses, it may be lawful for the other to start without him, and having beat him the Distance agreed on, the Wager is to be adjudged on his Side.

The Triers must keep off all other Horses from crossing the Riders, or leading them; only they them-

elves may be allowed to instruct the Riders by Word of Mouth how to ride, whether slow or fast, according to the Advantages he perceives may be gain'd by his Directions. If there be any Weight agreed on, they shall see that both Horses bring their true Weight to the starting Place, and carry it to the End of the Train, on Penalty of losing the Wager. — The same Rules are to be observed, especially this last, by those who are chosen to be Judges at a Race for a Plate; only they usually stay in the Stand, that they may the better see which Horse wins the Heat.

Now for running for a Plate, there are not so many Observations to be made, nor more Directions requir'd than what have been already mention'd; only this, that if you know your Horse to be tough at Bottom, and that he will stick at Mark, to ride him each Heat, according to the best of his Performance, and avoid as much as possible either riding at any particular Horse, or staying for any, but to ride each Heat throughout with the best Speed you can. But if you have a fiery Horse to manage, or one that is hard-mouth'd, and difficult to be held, then start behind the rest of the Horses, with all the Coolness and Gentleness imaginable; and when you find your Horse to begin to ride at some Command, then put up to the other Horses, and if you find they ride at their Ease, and are hard held, then endeavour to draw them on faster; but if you find their Wind begins to rake hot, and that they want a Sob, if your own Horse be in Wind, and you have a Loose in your Hand, keep them up to their Speed, till you come within three Quarters of a Mile of the End of the Heat; and then give a Loose and a Push for it, and leave to Fortune, and your Horse's Goodness, the Event of your Success. Avoiding all foul Play, as crossing, hanging on the Posts, leaning on the other Horseman, yoking, &c. which are to be abhorred by all honest Horsemen.

When either your Hunting-Match, or your Trial for the Plate is ended, as soon as you have rubbed your Horse dry, you must cloath him up, and ride him Home, where you must give him first, a Pint and a half of sweet Milk, with three Yolks of Eggs beaten into it, which must be made lukewarm, adding to it afterwards, three-penny worth of Saffron, and three Spoonfuls of Sallad Oil; which Mixture ought to be given him in a Horn.

This done, dress him slightly over with your Curry-Comb, Brush, and woollen Cloath; and then bathe the Place where the Saddle stood with warm Sack to prevent Warbles, and wash the spurring Places with Piss and Salt, anointing them afterwards with Turpentine, and Powder of Jet mixed together, littering well the Stable, and then cloathing him up quickly. And after he has stood for two Hours, he must be fed with Rye-bread, after that with a very good Mash; then giving him his Belly full of Hay, and what Corn and Bread he'll eat. And lastly, bathing his Legs well with Urine and Salt-petre, leaving Corn in his Locker, without disturbing him any more till next Morning.

Horses employ'd in other Services, as in the Army, Coach-Horses, Pack-Horses, &c. need not so much Care and Attendance; and every Groom knows how to dress them, feed them, &c. to keep them in a good State of Body; and render them thereby capable of doing the Service they are design'd for. Though a Master should not entirely repose himself of their Care, on the Knowledge and Probity of his Groom, but should visit his Horses as often as his other Affairs will permit, and even sometimes make that Visit one of his principal Occupations, taking a particular Care that they should be very well fed, according to his Intention; for it happens but too often, that Grooms pocket Corn, and make Hay their only Diet; or if they give them Oats, it is, to make Use of the French Expression, *avec une fourche*, with a Fork, *i. e.* so sparingly, that it only serves to sharpen their Appetite for more. This Abuse is very common in Livery-Stables, and in those of Inns, where Gentlemen, Travellers, or others, pay but too often for Corn which has never been given to their Horses. Therefore it is not beneath any Gentleman, even of the first Rank, to repair to the Stable at that Time Corn is to be given to his Horses, and wait there till they have eat it

quite; otherwise, if he content himself with seeing it given to his Horses, he has no sooner his Back turned, but the Corn is taken from before his Horses; which I know by Experience. I have also seen here in England, Straw cut very small, and mixed with perhaps a quarter of the Quantity of Oats, and given to a Horse; and Travellers tying a Horse they have hired at the Door of a Tavern, or other Publick-House, for half a Day or more, and leaving him there to feed on the Air like a Cameleon, which is both unjust and barbarous. For my Part, I am of Opinion, that a Traveller ought to take as much Care of his Horse, as of himself, and that if one must be neglected, the Traveller should, and not his Horse, since if his Horse fails him through Want, he cannot proceed on his Journey; for which he can blame no Body but himself.

Horses are subject to an infinite Number of Diseases, or Infirmities, for which there are as many different Remedies, some good, some bad, some efficacious, or Specificks, and some of no Effect, since Empirism reigns as much among Horse-Doctors (as we are pleased to call them) as it does among those who have a far more noble Subject for Object of their Science.

As it would be endless to enumerate here all the Diseases a Horse is Subject to, I'll confine myself to the most dangerous; beginning by the *Farcy*.

The *Farcy*, *Farcin*, or *FASHIONS*, is a Disease in Horses, something of the Nature of Scabs or Mange.

The *Farcy* is infectious, and spreads a true Plague. *Vegetius* calls it *morbus farciminosus*. It consists in a Corruption of the Blood, which shews itself in Eruptions of hard Pustules, Knots or Strings along the Veins, and in Ulcers which are not cured without great Difficulty.

The *Farcy* is ordinarily occasioned by over Heats and Colds, sometimes by Spur-galling with rusty Spurs, Snaffle-Bit, or the like; or by the Bite of another Horse infected with it; or if in the Leg, by cutting or interfering.

This Disease is commonly divided into these Kinds, *viz.* *Button*, or *knotted Farcy*, the *running Farcy*, the *Water Farcy*, and the *Pockey Farcy*; which are all the same, only differing in Degrees of Malignity.

As we have observed, that this Disease proceeds from the Corruption of the Blood, the best Method of curing it is, by correcting and carrying off the Humours the Blood is vitiated with, in order to restore it to its pristine State, and this must be done soon; otherwise, if the *Farcy* be too far gone, and has seized the Horse's Lungs, or some other noble Parts, it is not to be attempted with any great Hope of Success.

The first Remedy to be administered, in this Case, is a purging Mash, to mitigate the Venom, and carry off a great deal of those Humours from the vital and noble Parts; repeating the same Remedy twice, thrice, or four Times, at due Intervals, *i. e.* as soon as his Strength will permit. — The following is an excellent Purge for this Purpose.

Take four Ounces of Aloes Sucotrina, reduced into Powder, and pour upon it half a Pint of Spring-Water, wherein has been dissolved, over a gentle Fire, an Ounce of *Spanish* Liquorice Juice; put them in an Earthen Pan, over a gentle Fire, stirring it continually, that the Aloes may not burn at the Bottom, and till about half the Water be evaporated. Which done, there must be added to it Julap, Colocynthus, Tartar, Agarick, all in Powder, of each half an Ounce; *Mercurius Dulcis* half an Ounce; and Oil of Aniseed one Drachm and a half, mixing well all together in a Mortar, to be formed into Balls. Of which one Ounce, or ten Drachms, is a Dose sufficient to purge any Horse, or at most one Ounce and a half.

After your Horse has done taking this Purge, you must give him at a Time, mixed in his Oats and Beans, three or four Ounces of the following digestive Powder.

Take one Pound of Antimony in Powder, half a Pound of *Lignum Vitæ* in Powder, three Ounces of Cinnabar of Antimony; Powder of Liquorice four Ounces; Powder of Elecampane four Ounces; Aniseed
three

three Ounces; all which must be mixed together, and kept in a Bottle well cork'd for Use.

While your Horse is under Cure, he must drink no Water without a Quart, three Pints, or more, of the following Diet-Drink, put in his Pail, adding to it as much cold Water as you think he will drink at a Time, and if he refuses at first, let him be without Water till he drinks it.

Take one Pound of Antimony in Powder, one Pound of Quicksilver, grind them well together in an Iron Mortar for about three or four Hours, then boil them in a new Iron Pot, being first tied up in a Piece of Cloth, with these following Ingredients tied up in a Rag likewise, *viz.* Raspings of Guajacum, three Pounds; the Bark of Guajacum bruised, two Pounds; Raisins slit, one Pound and a half; Figs slit, one Pound; Caraway-Seeds half a Pound; Fennel-Seeds, half a Pound; Liquorish cut and slit, half a Pound; boil all these in eight or ten Gallons of running Water, till it be reduced to half; to which add three Quarts of Lime-Water.

Lastly, if you perceive that any of the Knots or Swellings are ripened, you must open them with a Lancet to let out the Corruption, and then wash them with the following green Water.

Take one Ounce of Verdigrease, one Ounce and a half of Roch Allum, two Ounces of Copperas, one Ounce and a half of Roman Vitriol, all in Powder; put them into a Quart Bottle, upon which pour one Quart of the best and strongest White-Wine Vinegar; put this Bottle into a Kettle full of Water, on a Rowl of Hay, to hinder it from touching the Bottom of the Kettle, and make it stand upright, so that two or three Inches of its Neck may remain above the Water: The Bottle being corked, with a Cork with two or three Notches for Vents lest the Bottle should break, put the Kettle over a Fire, or let it boil till the Vinegar has dissolved the Powders, helping to do it, by often shaking the Bottle. When dissolved, take the Liquor from the Fire, and keep it in a Bottle well corked.—Half a Pint or more of this Vinegar is mixed with a Quart of old Chamber-Lye, when one wants to use it.

Note, That besides the knotted Farcy, which this green Water cures effectually, it cures likewise, at once or twice dressing the *Mellander*, the *Rat Tails*, *Scratches*, gourd or swell'd Legs and Heels; it prevents and cures the Grease fallen into the Legs and Heels, cleanses and heals all Ulcers and Wounds, prevents the breeding of *Worms* and *proud Flesh*, expelling besides or driving away any Flux of Humours from any Part; also *Clifts* and *Cracks* in the Heels, Pains, &c. preventing of Wind-Gales, &c. the green Water alone, without the Chamber-Lye, is the best Remedy to cure all Fistula's, Cankers, and galled Backs.

Horses are also subject to *Colds*, *Coughs*, &c. which to cure, especially *New Cold*, *Cough*, or *Grass Cold*, the following pectoral Drench is excellent.

Take one Pound of Raisins of the Sun, two Ounces of slic'd Liquorice, two Ounces of Sugar-candy, one Pound of Treacle, three Ounces of Sallad Oil, three Ounces of Horse Spice, two or three Heads of Garlick pounded with Raisins, two Spoonfuls of Honey, and three Quarts of Ale; boil it till it be reduced to two Quarts, and give about a Pint of it in the Morning, fasting one or two Hours after it; and repeating it every Morning as Occasion requires. Twice is enough for a Cold, and the whole will do in most of the other Cases.—It is good for a *Surfeit*, *short winded*, *Head-bound*, and to make a lean Horse thrive.

As Horses are very subject to *Swellings*, the following Poullice is very good to dissolve them.

Take of our Garden green Orris Roots, and white Lilly-Roots, of each an Ounce, Marsh Mallows, Pellitory, Pennyroyal, Origan, Calamint, Rue, of each a Handful, Camomile, Melilot, and Elder Flowers, of each half a Handful, green Anniseeds, common Fennel

and Cumineseeds, of each half an Ounce; boil them to a Mash in Water and White-Wine Vinegar, then bruise them into an even smooth Mash in a Stone-Mortar, adding to them of the Meal of Lupins and of Beans, of each one Ounce and a half, an Ounce and a half of Oil of Camomile, one Ounce and a half of Oil of Orris; mix them well in the Mortar, heating them again afterwards, and applying more or less of this Poullice hot on the Part affected.

But if the Swelling cannot be dissolved, they ought to be ripened as soon as possible, and the following Poullice is very proper for that Purpose.

Take white Lilly, and Marsh-Mallow Roots, of each four Ounces; the Leaves of common Mallows, Marsh-Mallows, Groundsel, Violet Plants, Brank Urfin, of every one a Handful; the Meal of Linseed and Fenugreek-Seeds, Goose Fat and Oil of Lillies, of each three Ounces. The Roots when washed and sliced, are to be boiled in Water, and the Leaves being added some Time after, the Boiling is to be continued till the whole Mash becomes perfectly tender and soft; when having strained the Decoction, you'll beat the remaining gross Substance in a Stone Mortar with a wooden Pestle to a Pulp; then let the Decoction and Pulp be put into a Skillet, and having mixed the Meals of Linseed and Fenugreek Seeds, Goose Fat and Oil of Lillies, let them boil together over a gentle Fire, stirring the Ingredients from Time to Time, till they all be sufficiently thickened for a Poullice.

Horses being also very subject to Worms, the following Remedy is accounted very good to kill them.

Take half a Pound of the best Antimony in Powder, and two Ounces of Quicksilver, boil them in four Pales of Water till they be reduced to three; of which mix half a Pailful with as much Water as your Horse will drink, having first strained it, and continue thus till it is all gone.

It sometimes happens that a Horse is bitten by a mad Dog, which if not immediately remedied, may be attended with very dangerous Consequences; and which to perform with Hopes of Success, all the bitten Parts must be seared as soon as possible with a hot Iron; with this Caution, that you fear not, nor let the hot Iron touch either Nerve or Tendon, the Eyes, or any Member whereby the Horse may receive any Damage from the Operation; applying afterwards a strong blistering Plaister, as well to every Part touched with the hot Iron, as to those which you could not attempt to sear, though bitten likewise.—That blistering Plaister must be composed in the following Manner.

Take an Ounce of Burgundy Pitch, Ship Pitch, and common Rosin, of each half an Ounce; of the common *Lapis Infernalis*, or Caustic Stone, one Drachm, Cantharides or *Spanish Flies* in Powder, six Drachms, or one Ounce. Putting first the *Burgundy Pitch*, Ship Pitch, and Rosin in a Pipkin, to melt over a slow Fire, stirring them to make them incorporated; when melted, put in the *Lapis Infernalis* in Powder, stirring it all the while that it may equally mix: Lastly, put in by degrees the Ounce of Cantharides in Powder, stirring them likewise as you have done the *Lapis Infernalis*, and for the same End; but if you perceive that the Powders make it too thick, you may at your Discretion, add a little of the rankest Oil you can get, taking Care that it should not boil after the *Spanish Flies* are in, nor remain long on the Fire, otherwise it would lose its Virtue: Therefore about a Minute or two after the Powder of the *Spanish Flies* is all stirred in, take it off the Fire and keep it for your Use; and when you use it spread it pretty thick upon Leather, and apply it to the Part, where it must remain ten or twelve Hours; then when you dress it, cut all the Blisters that are not broken, and wipe them clean, applying to the Parts the following Plaister.

Take four Heads of Garlick, one Ounce of Venice Treacle, half an Ounce of Venice-Turpentine, half an Ounce of the Filings of Pewter, and one Drachm of the Powder of *Spanish Flies*, half an Ounce of Honey, and two Drachms of Verdigrease in Powder, pound-

ing all these together in a Mortar; when you use it spread it on Leather and apply it, binding it on, by reason that it is not very apt to stick: But when the Bite is on a Part the Plaister cannot be conveniently bound on, then the Leather must be cut something broader than what is necessary for the Plaister, in order that the Margin may be spread with Burgundy-Pitch; then put the Plaister in the Middle of the Leather, and the Burgundy Pitch on the Margin will make it stick without binding. This Plaister must lie on twenty-four Hours, and then taken off, and the Part cleansed, and the Plaister renewed; keeping the Sores open as long as possible with this Plaister, in order to draw the Venom that it get not into the Blood, which would kill the Horse.

Besides these outward Applications for putting a Stop to the Venom; inward Remedies are also used to subdue and drive it out, in case it should have seized the Mass of the Blood, and also to prevent its getting there. The following Diet Drink is of great Efficacy in those Cases.

Take of the Leaves of Box, the Leaves of Rue, the Leaves and Roots of Primrose, the Leaves of Sage, of each two Handfuls; three Quarters of a Pound of fresh Roots of the Male Piony, three Ounces of the Powder of Crabs Claws, two Ounces of round Birthwort Roots in Powder, three Ounces of Venice Treacle: Bruise all these Things together in a Mortar, then put it in a Glass or Earthen Pot, and pour upon the Ingredients four Quarts of white Lisbon Wine, or for Want of it, of the best Cyder, or strong Beer, then stop the Glass or Pot slightly, putting it to infuse in a Kettle of hot Water for the Space of twelve or fourteen Hours, then keep it for Use. When you use it, you must strain off about a Pint, into which you must put about a Drachm of Balsam of Sulphur, and give it your Horse in a drenching Horn in the Morning, letting the Horse fast two Hours after, and repeating it thrice.

The Eyes of Horses are also subject to a Number of different Diseases, as *Pin* and *Web*, *Pearls*, *Clouds*, *Blood-shot*, *sore* and *running Eyes*, *salt*, *hot*, and *sharp Rheums*, *Ulcers*, *Fistula's*, *Bruises*, *Stripes*, &c. for all which the following Eye-Water is a sovereign Remedy.

Take a new Earthen Pipkin which will hold five Pints or three Quarts, put into it of the Stone called *Lapis Calaminaris* in Powder, of the best Bole Armonick, also in Powder, and of the best white Vitriol, of each an Ounce and a half; boil them over a gentle Fire till it be reduced to a Quart, then let it settle, and pour the clear from the *Faces*, adding to the Water three Drachms of Sugar of Saturn, three Drachms of Salt of Vitriol, half an Ounce of Camphire dissolved in Spirit of Wine, an Ounce of Tincture of Aloes, three Drachms of Tincture of Opium, one Quart of Rose-Water, and half an Ounce of prepared Tutty;

mix all together and keep it in a Bottle for Use.

If your Horse be troubled with any Dose in his Head, give him Mustard-Seed among his Provender, but if it be a worse Cold, which you will perceive by his Rattling, then give him the following Electuary.

Take Honey and Treacle, a Pound of each, having mixed these together, add to them Cumin-Seeds in Powder, Liquorice, Bay-Berries, Anniseeds, of each an Ounce; these likewise must be mixed together, and afterwards with the Honey and Treacle, which will make it of a thick Consistence. If your Horse has a Cold, instead of his Oats before Water, give him the Quantity of a Walnut of this Lambitive, at the End of a Stick or in a Spoon, and let him lick it off; doing the same after Airing, when first you come in, and your Horse will soon be cured.

The Lameness of a Horse is also worthy our Notice, which if it proceeds from old Strains you must make use of the following Ointment, with hope of Success.

Take fresh Butter, Oil of Bays, Dialthea and Turpentine, of each two Ounces, mix, and boil them together on a gentle Fire; and when they are well incorporated anoint the Horse twice a Day with it as hot as he can bear it, and give him Exercise, by airing him abroad Morning and Evening a Footpace; and you'll find it a sovereign Remedy for any Strain in the Shoulder, Clap on the Back Sinews, or any Grief whatsoever that proceeds from Strains.

But if you only fear *Lameness* from old Strains, then you must take Care that your Exercise be moderate, and always when you return from Water, and his Legs are rubbed dry, anoint them with such Ointments as are accounted good for the Limbs, as *Linseed*, *Train*, *Sheep's-foot*, *Neat's-foot*, *Nerve Oil*, and the like; all which may be used on his Days of Rest, but on his heating Days, Urine and Saltpetre. Some *Horsemen* use Brandy and Sallad Oil mixed, and bathe his Legs, and afterwards heat it in with a hot Iron, and commend it as the best Thing for the Limbs of an old stiff Horse.

But if your Horse through Negligence or any Casualty, happens to have the Grease fall into his Heels, you must endeavour to remove it by a good sound Heat, and a Scowring after it, applying to his Legs this Poultice.

Take a Pound of Honey, Turpentine, common Gum, Meal of Linseed and of Fenugreek, of each four Ounces, Bay-Berries in Powder, three Ounces: Mix and boil all these together, then take it off and add to it a Pint of White-Wine, boiling it over again till it be very thick; and with this as hot as the Horse can bear it, lap his Legs about, renewing it only once in three Days, if your Horse's Feet be bad, either surbated or founder'd, then instead of Cow-Dung, you may stop them with blue Clay and Vinegar tempered together.

HUNTING.

HUNTING, is the Art or Act of pursuing Beasts of Game.

In its general Sense, *Hunting* includes the Pursuit both of hairy and feathered Game; but in its more proper and restrained Signification, it is only applicable to Beasts of Venery and Chase.

Hunting is practised in a different Manner, and with a different Apparatus, according to the different Nature, Genius, and Address, of the particular Beast which is the Object thereof. These Beasts are, the *Hart*, *Elind*, *Hare*, *Boar*, *Wolf*, *Buck*, *Doc*, *Fox*, *Marten*, and *Roe*; the five first whereof are denominated Beasts of the Forest, or Venery, *Silvestres*; and the five latter Beasts of the Field, or of Chase, *Campestris*.

Note, That as this Diversion or Sport has a Set of Terms peculiar to itself, which may be called the *Hunting*
Vol. II.

Language; every Gentleman who wants to render himself perfect in this noble Exercise, must previously to it study those Terms or Language, and learn their true Signification; otherwise, if he had all the other Qualifications becoming the Art of *Hunting* without this, he would appear as disconcerted in a Forest, or in a Field among Huntsmen, as those who built the Tower of *Babel*, some of whom, as I suppose, invented this *Hunting Language*; which *Nimrod*, whom they followed in his Chases, appropriated to the new Profession he had embraced, becoming from a presumptuous Architect a mighty Hunter before the Lord.

Note, also, That these Terms are either appropriated to the Beasts which are hunted, or the Dogs employed in hunting them. We'll begin by learning those peculiar

culiar to the different Kinds of Beasts hunted; which are either to exprefs their *Names, Seasons, Degrees, and Ages of Forest, or Venerly, Chace, Warren, &c.* or to signify their different *Societies, their Lodging, Dislodging, their Noise at Rutting-Time, their Copulation, their Footing and Treading, the different Parts of their Bodies, the flying, stripping, and casing them, &c.* But to proceed in this with some Order, (referring the Terms proper for the Dogs of different Kinds to their proper Place) as almost every Kind of Beasts have Terms peculiar to themselves, and different from the others, I'll distinguish every Kind of Beast; and mention under every Kind the Terms peculiar to that Kind; beginning with the Terms used to exprefs the Age of the *Hart*, as the most noble, worthy, and stately Beast of all.

The *HART* is called the first Year a *Hind-Calf*, or *Calf*; the second Year, a *Knobber*; the third Year, a *Brock*; the fourth Year, a *Staggar*; the fifth Year, a *Stag*; the sixth Year a *Hart*.

Note, That if a *Hart* be hunted by the King or Queen, it is called *Hart Royal*; if he escapes, and Proclamation be made for his safe Return, without Lett, or Detriment, he is then called *Hart Royal proclaimed*.

Note also, That M. *Guillim* is of Opinion, that it is a vulgar Error to think, that a *Stag*, of what Age soever he be, shall not be called a *Hart* till he be hunted by the King or Queen, and thence shall derive his Title. M. *Tuberville* says positively, that he shall not obtain that Name, till he be hunted or killed by a Prince. But the late Huntsmen agree, that he may be called a *Hart*, at, and after the Age of six Years old.—If the King or Queen happen to chase him, and he escapes with his Life, he shall ever after be called a *Hart Royal*: But if he flies so far from the Forest or Chace, that it is unlikely he will ever return of his own Accord to his former Place, and that Proclamation be made in all Towns and Villages thereabouts, that none shall kill or offend him, and that he may safely return if he list; he is then called a *Hart Royal proclaimed*.

The *HIND* is called, the first Year, a *Calf*; the second Year, a *Hearse*; the third Year, a *Hind*.

The *HARE* is called, the first Year, a *Leveret*; the second Year, a *Hare*; the third Year, a *great Hare*.

The *WILD BOAR* is called, the first Year, a *Pig of the Sounder*; the second Year, a *Hog*; the third Year, a *Hog's Steer*; the fourth Year, a *Boar*; at which Age, if not before, he leaves the *Sounder*, and then he is called a *Singler*, or *Sanglier*.

Note, That as there are no *Wolves* in *England*, the *English* Huntsmen have thought it needless to keep a Register of their Age.—In *France*, where there is Abundance of them, especially in the Province of *Britanny*, we call a very young Wolf, *Louvetteau*; and an old one, *Loup*, *Lupus*.

Note also, That the above-mention'd Beasts are what we have called already *Beasts of Forest, or Venerly*; and that they make their Abode all the Day-time, in the great Coverts and secret Places in the Woods; and at Night repair to their Lawns, Meadows, Pastures, and pleasant feeding Places.

From these I'll pass to the Names of the other Sort of Beasts, called *Beasts of Chace*; likewise, according to their Ages; beginning by the *Buck*.

The *BUCK* is called the first Year a *Fawn*; the second Year a *Pricket*; the third Year a *Sorrel*; the fourth Year a *Sore*; the fifth Year a *Buck of the first Head*; the sixth Year a *great Buck*.

The *DOE* is called the first Year a *Fawn*; the second Year a *Tegg*; the third Year a *Doe*.

The *FOX* is called the first Year a *Cub*; the second Year a *Fox*, and afterwards an *old Fox*.

The *MARTEN* is called the first Year a *Cub*; the second Year a *Marten*.

The *ROE* is called the first Year a *Kid*; the second Year a *Girl*; the third Year a *Hemuse*; the fourth Year a *Roe-Buck of the first Head*; the fifth Year a *fair Roe-Buck*.

Note, That the Beasts of Chace reside all the Day-time in the Fields, or upon Hills and Mountains, where they may see round them afar off, to prevent Danger; but when Night approaches, they feed, as the rest, in Meadows, &c.

After the different Names for the Ages of Beasts, I propose to mention their Seasons. — Therefore I must observe, that,

A *HART*, or *BUCK*, begins 15 Days after *Midsummer-Day*, and lasts till *Holy-Rood Day*. — The *Fox* at *Christmas*, and lasts till the *Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin*. — The *Hind*, or *Doe*, begins at *Holy-Rood Day*, and lasts till *Candlemas*. — The *Roe-Buck* begins at *Easter*, and lasts till *Michaelmas*. — The *Hare* begins at *Michaelmas*, and lasts till the End of *February*. — The Season of the *Wolf*, is said to be from *Christmas* till the *Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin*. — Lastly, the *Boar* begins at *Christmas*, and continues to the *Purification of our Lady*.

The Terms used for Beasts of *Venerly* and *Chace*, as they are in *Company*, are these. — They say a *Herd of Harts*, and of all Manner of *Deer*. — A *Bewy of Roes*. A *Sounder of Swine*. — A *Rout of Wolves*. — A *Riches of Martens*. — A *Brace or Leash of Bucks, Foxes, or Hares*. — A *Couple of Rabbits*. — A *Couple of Conies*.

To exprefs their *Lodging*. — A *Hart* is said to *barbour*. A *Buck lodges*. — A *Roe beddeth*. — A *Hare sits or formeth*. — A *Coney sitteth*. — A *Fox kennelleth*. — A *Marten treeth*. — An *Otter watches*. — A *Badger eartheth*. — A *Boar couches*.

Terms for their *Dislodging*. — They say *unbarbour* the *Hart*. — *Rouse* the *Buck*. — *Start* the *Hare*. — *Bolt* the *Coney*. — *Unkennel* the *Fox*. — *Tree* the *Marten*. *Vent* the *Otter*. — *Dig* the *Badger*. — *Rear* the *Boar*.

The Terms for their *Noise at Rutting-Time*, are as follow. — A *Hart belleteth*. — A *Buck growneth*, or *troatch*. — A *Roe belloweth*. — A *Hare beateth* or *tappeth*. — An *Otter whineth*. — A *Boar freameth*. — A *Fox breeketh*. — A *Badger shrieketh*. — A *Wolf howleth*. A *Goat rattleth*.

Terms for their *Copulation*. — A *Hart*, or *Buck*, goes to *rut*. — A *Roe* goes to *turn*. — A *Boar* goes to *brim*. A *Hare* and *Coney* goes to *buck*. — A *Fox* goes to *clickitting*. — A *Wolf* goes to *match* or to *make*. — An *Otter hustles for his Kind*.

Terms for the *Footing and Treading*. — Of a *Hart* we say the *Slot*. — Of a *Buck*, and all *Fallow Deer*, the *View*. — Of all *Deer*, if on the *Grass*, and scarce visible, the *Foiling*. — Of a *Fox*, the *Print*; and of other like *Vermin*, the *Footing*. — Of an *Otter*, the *Marks*. — Of a *Boar*, the *Track*. — The *Hare*, when in open Field, is said to *fore*; when she winds about to deceive the *Hounds*, she *doubles*; when she beats on the hard Highway, and her *Footing* comes to be perceived, she *pricketh*; in *Snow*, it is called the *Trace of the Hare*.

Every Part of each Beast has always its different Name, expressed by a different Term, according to the different Kinds of Beasts.

Therefore the *Tail* of a *Hart*, *Buck*, or other *Deer*, is called the *Single*; that of a *Boar*, the *Wreath*; of a *Fox*, the *Brush* or *Drag*, and the *Tip* at the End is called the *Chape*; of a *Wolf*, the *Stern*; of a *Hare* and *Coney*, the *Scut*.

The Terms for the *Attire of Deer*. — Those of a *Stag*, if perfect, are the *Bur*, the *Pearls*, the *little Knobs* on it, the *Beam*, the *Gutter*, the *Antler*, the *Sur-antler*, *Royal*, *Sur-Royal*, and all a-top, the *Croches*.

Of a *Buck*, the *Bur*, the *Beam*, *Brow-Antler*, *Black-Antler*, *Advancer*, *Palm*, and *Spellers*.

If the *Croches* grow in the Form of a Man's Hand, it is called a *palm'd Head*. Head bearing not above three or four, and the *Croches* placed aloft, all of one Height, are called *crown'd Heads*. Heads having double *Croches*, are called *forked Heads*, because the *Croches* are planted on the Top of the *Beam* like Forks.

If you be asked what a *Stag* bears, you are only to reckon the *Croches* he bears, never expressing an odd Number: As if he has four *Croches* on his near Horn, and five on his far, you are to say he bears ten, a false *Right* on his near Horn (for all that the *Beam* bears, are called *Rights*.) If but four on the near Horn, and six

fix on the far Horn, you must say he bears twelve, a double false *Right* on the near Horn. For you ought not only to make the Number even, but also the Horns even, with that Distinction.

The very Ordure of the Beasts, is expressed by different Terms; for,

The *Excrement* of a Hart, and all Deer, is called *Fecumets*, or *Fewmishing*. — Of a Hare, *Crotiles*, or *Crotising*. — Of a Boar, *Lesses*. — Of a Fox, the *Billeting*; and of other the like Vermin, the *Fuants*. — Of an Otter, the *Spraints*.

All Kind of *Deers-Fat*, is called *Suet*. — Of a Boar, *Grease*. — Of a Roe, *Beavy-Grease*.

They say a *Litter* of Cubs, a *Nest* of Rabbits, a *Squirrel's Dray*.

The Terms for *slaying*, *stripping*, and *casing* all Manner of Chafes, are as follow. — The Hart, and all Sort of Deer, are *slain*. — The Hare *stripped*, or *cased*; and so is the Boar. — The Fox, the Badger, and all Manner of Vermin, are *cased*.

Note, That *Venison*, or *Venaifon*, is thus called from the Manner of taking the Beast by *Hunting*, called in the *Latin*, *Venatio*. — That no Beast of the Forest, that is *Solivagum* & *nocivum*, is *Venison*, as the Fox, the Wolf, the *Marten*, because they are not Meat. The Bear is no *Venison*, because he is not only *Animal nocivum* & *solivagum*, but likewise no Beast of the Forest, and whatsoever is *Venison* must be a Beast of the Forest; but every Beast of the Forest is not *Venison*. On the other Side, *Animalia gregalia non sunt nociva*, as the wild Boar; for the first three Years, he is *Animale gregale*, i. e. he goes in Company; and after trusteth to his own Strength, and becomes *solivagum*; he is then called *Sanglier*, because he is alone, but he is *Venison*, and very good too. The Hare is *Venison*, which *Martial* prefers before all others:

Inter Quadrupedes gloria prima Lepus.

So are the Red-Deer and Fallow-Deer *Venison*. From all this we must conclude, that whatsoever Beast of the Forest is for the Food of Man, is *Venison*; and that any Beast that is not for the Food of Man, is not *Venison*. Therefore the Roe being not a Beast of the Forest, is no *Venison*, unless hunted.

Being so far advanced in the Dialect of *Hunting*, we may venture to provide ourselves with Dogs, more properly called *Hounds*.

Hounds may be distinguished with Regard to their Manner of *Hunting*, into such as find out, and pursue the Game by Sight, and the Quickness and Swiftneſs of their Motion; of which Kind are the *Gaze-hound*, *Grey-hound*, the *Terrier*, &c. And those which find and pursue the Game by the Goodneſs of their Smell.

The Species of *Hunting Dogs* may be divided further into *Hounds*, simply so called, and *Blood-hounds*, each whereof admit of some Diversity.

1. As to the *Hounds*, simply thus called, those which are all of one Colour, as white, black, &c. are more valued than those spotted with red. Those spotted with dun are little priz'd, as wanting Courage and Boldneſs. Fallow *Hounds* are of good Scent and hardy, not fearing the Water. They keep the Chase well without Change; but not so swift as the white. They love the Hart above any other Chase, having little Stomach for the Hare, &c. whence they are not so fit for private Gentlemen, besides that, they are apt to run at tame Beasts.

The Dun *Hounds* are of a more general Use, being fit for all Chafes. Their Sagacity and Fidelity in knowing and sticking to their Master's Voice and Horn, and none else, are much admired: They also understand each other, and know which are Babblers, which Liars, &c. They are of different Sizes and Qualities in several Countries, &c. Mountainous and Woodland Parts breed a tall heavy Sort, called *Slow Hounds*. Moderate Soils, where the Champaign and Covert share equally, produce a middle Size *Hound*, of a more nimble Make.

The Marks of a good and fair *Hound*, are to be of a middle Proportion, rather long than round; the Nostrils wide; Back bowed; Fillets great; Haunches large; the Thighs well trussed; the Ham strait; Tail big near

the Reins, and the rest slender to the End; the Leg big; the Sole of the Foot dry, and form'd like a Fox; and large Claws.

Note, That to chuse a Dog and a Bitch for good Whelps, you must take a Bitch that comes of a good Kind; strong, and well proportioned in all Parts, with large Ribs and Flanks. — The Dog that lines her must be of a good Breed, and likewise young, if you'll have light and hot *Hounds*; for if the Dog be old, the Whelps will participate of his dull and heavy Nature. — If the Bitch does not grow naturally proud, so soon as you would have her, you may make her so by taking two Heads of Garlick, half a Castor's Stone, the Juice of Cresses, and about twelve *Spanish Flies*, or *Cantbarides*; boiling these together in a Pipkin which holds a Pint, with some Mutton to make Broth of it; and of this give to the Bitch twice or thrice, and will infallibly grow proud. The same Pottage given to the Dog, will make him desirous of Copulation. — When the Bitch is lined, and with Puppy, she must not hunt, otherwise she would cast her Whelps; but let her, without being confined, walk up and down the House and Court, and never lock her up in her Kennel; for she is then impatient of Food; and therefore you must make her some hot Broth once a Day. — If you would spay your Bitch, it must not be done before she ever had a Litter of Whelps; and in spaying her, take not away all the Roots or Strings of the Veins; for if you do, it will much Prejudice her Reins, and hinder her Swiftneſs ever after; but by leaving some behind, it will make her much the stronger and more hardy. Whatever you do, spay her not when she is proud; for that would endanger her Life; but you may do it 15 Days after. The best Time of all is when the Whelps are shaped within her.

To enter a young *Hound*, after having taught him to know the Hallow, and the Sound of the Horn, at about eighteen Months old he may be taken into the Field. The best Method to initiate him is, to take a live Hare, and trail her upon the Ground, this Way, then that; and at length hide her at a proper Distance. Then setting the *Hound* near the Trail, he will take Wind, and run to and fro about the Fields, Woods, Pastures, Pathways, and Hedges, till he finds which Way the Hare is gone, but with a soft and gentle Pace, till coming near the Place where she is lodged, he mends it, and at last leaps on his Prey, which he must be suffered to kill, and bringing it to his Master with Triumph, must be rewarded and encouraged. This done, he may be let run in a Pack of old *Hounds* to confirm and perfect him.

Note, That whatever young *Hounds* are first enter'd at, and rewarded with, they will ever after covet most; so that if they be intended, v. gr. for the Hart, they must not be enter'd at the Hind. And for the better hunting the Hart, young *Hounds* are not to be enter'd within a Toile; for there a Hart does nothing but turn and cast about, since he cannot run end-ways, and thus they are always in Sight of him. — Neither are the *Hounds* to be enter'd or taught in the Morning; otherwise they will give over in the Heat of the Day.

2. The *Grey-hound* might deserve the first Place, by Reason of his Swiftneſs, Strength, and Sagacity in pursuing his Game; such being the Nature of this Dog, that he is well scented to find out, speedy and quick of Foot to follow, fierce and strong to overcome, yet silent, coming upon his Prey unawares.

The Make and Proportions requir'd in a good *Grey-hound* are, that he have a lean and long Head, with a sharp Nose, rush grown from the Eye downwards; a full clear Eye, with long Eye-lids; a sharp Ear, short and close falling; a long Neck a little bending, with a loose hanging Wealand; a broad Breast, strait Forehead, hollow Side, strait Ribs, a square flat Back, short and strong Fillets, a broad Space between the Flips, a strong Stern or Tail, a round Foot, and good large Clefts.

Note, That for the Breeding of *Grey-hounds*, the best Dog upon an indifferent Bitch, will not get so good a Whelp, as an indifferent Dog upon the best Bitch.

That

That the Dogs and Bitches must be, as near as possible, of an equal Age, not exceeding four Years old; however, the best Means which can be used to produce excellent Whelps, is to breed with a young Dog and an old Bitch. That the Dieting of *Grey-hounds* consists in the Food, Exercise, Airing, and Kennelling. The common Food of *Grey-hounds* ought to be Chippings, Crufts of Bread, soft Bones, and Gristles. The Chippings to be scalded in Beef, Mutton, Veal, or Venison Broth; and when it is indifferently cold, then make your Bread only float with good Milk, and give it your *Grey-hounds* Morning and Evening; which will keep them in good State of Body. But if your Dog be poor, sickly, and weak, then take Sheep's Heads, Wool and all, clean washed, and having broken them to Pieces, put them into a Pot, scumming it when it boils, putting in it a good Quantity of Oatmeal; and making it boil till the Flesh be very tender, then with your Meat and Broth, feed your Dogs Morning and Evening; this will recover them. As to the Exercise of a *Grey-hound*, it consists in two Things, *viz.* in Coursing and Airing. As to the first, he ought to be practis'd twice a Week, in such a Manner that you usually reward him with Blood, which will animate and encourage him to pursue his Game; taking Care to give the Hare all reasonable Advantage, so that she may stand long before the *Grey-hound*, that thereby he may shew his utmost Strength and Skill before he reaps the Benefit of his Labour. If he kills, do not suffer him to brake the Hare, but take her from him, and having cleansed his Chaps of the Wool of the Hare, give him the Liver, Lights, and Heart, and so take him in your Leash, and having led him Home, wash his Feet with some Butter and Beer, and then put him in his Kennel, and feed him half an Hour afterwards.

The Huntsman is to lead these *Hounds* on his Left Hand, if he be on Foot; and on the Right, if on Horse-back. The best Time to try and train them to the Game, is at twelve Months old, though some begin sooner, with the Males at ten, and the Females at eight Months old, which last are generally more swift than the Dogs: They should be kept in a Slip while abroad, till they see their Course; neither should you loosen a young Dog till the Game has been a considerable Time on Foot, being apt, by Over-eagerness at the Prey, to strain his Limbs.

3. The *Gaze-hound*, or *Beagle*, is a Dog more beholden to the Sharpness of Sight, than to his Nose or Smelling, by Virtue whereof he makes excellent Sport with the Fox and Hare. He is also noted as Exquisite in chusing of one that is not lank or lean, but full, fat, and round, which, if it happens to return, and be mingled again with the Residue of the Herd, he will soon spy out, and leave the rest untouched, never ceasing after he has separated it from its Company, till he has worried it to Death.

These Dogs are much used in the North of *England*, and on champain Ground, rather than bushy and woody Places; and by Horsemen rather than Footmen. If at any Time he happens to take a wrong Way, upon the usual Sign made by his Master, he immediately returns, takes the right and ready Course, beginning his Chase afresh with a clear Voice and swift Foot, following the Game with as much Courage as at first.

4. There is in *Scotland* a Kind of hunting Dogs called *Sluth Hounds*, most of them of a brownish Colour, or sandy-spotted. Their Sense of Smelling is so quick, that they can follow the Foot-steps of Thieves, and pursue them with Violence till they overtake them; nay should the Thief take the Water, they are so eager in their Pursuit that they will swim after them, and are restless till they find the Thing they seek after.

5. The *Blood-Hound*, differs nothing in Quality from the *Scotch Sluth-Hound*, saving that it is longer sized, and not always of the same Colour; but sometimes red, fanded, black, white, spotted, &c. though most commonly either red or brown.

Their Nature is, that being set on by the Voice and Words of their Leader, to cast about for the setting of

the present Game, and having found it, they will never cease pursuing it with full Cry till it be tired, without changing for any other.

They seldom bark, except in their Chase, and are very obedient and attentive to the Voice of their Leader. Those that are really good, when they have found the Hare, make Shew thereof to the Huntsman, by running more speedily, and with Gesture of Head, Eyes, Ears, and Tail, winding to the Form or Hare's Muse, never giving over Prosecution with a gallant Noise.

They have good and hard Feet, and stately Stomachs, and are very properly denominated *Sanguinary* or *Blood-Hounds*, by reason of their extraordinary Scent; for if their Game be only wounded, so that it escapes the Huntsman's Hands, or if it be killed and never so cleanly carried away, these Dogs by their exquisite Smell will discover it, and not be wanting either by Nimbleness or Greediness to come at it, provided there be any Stains of Blood. Nay, though by all the Cunning and Foresight imaginable, a Beast be conveyed away without Spot or Blood, yet through the roughest and most crooked Ways and Meanders, will this Dog find out the Deer-stealer, and even in the thickest Throng, will by his Smell separate and pick him out.

The *Terrier* or *Harrier*, only hunts the Fox or Badger, being thus called, because after the Manner of Ferrets in searching for Conies, he leaps into the Ground and affrights and attacks the Beast, either tearing them in Pieces, or haling them out by Force, or at least driving them out of their Harbours, to be taken in a Net or otherwise.

The Huntsmen having commonly a couple of *Terriers* they may put in a fresh one, as Occasion requires, to relieve the other.

The Time of entring the *Terrier*, is when he is near a Twelvemonth old: If it be not done within that Time, they will hardly be brought to take the Earth; this entering and fleshing of them may be performed several Ways. First, when the Foxes and Badgers have young Cubs, take an old *Terrier*, set him into the Ground, and when he begins to bay, hold the young one at the Hole or Mouth of the Earth, that he may listen and hear the old one bay.

The old Fox or Badger being taken, so that nothing remains within but the Cubs, couple up the old ones and put in the young ones in their room, encouraging them by crying, *to him, to him*. If they take any Cub within, let them do with him what they will; not forgetting to give the old *Terriers* their Reward, which is Blood and Liver fried with Cheese and some of their Grease; shewing them Head and Skin to encourage them.

6. The *Leviner* or *Lyemmer*, is singular in his Smell, and in Swiftmess incomparable. He is a middle Kind between the *Terrier* and the *Grey-hound*, as well for his Kind as for the Shape of his Body. The *French* use it in hunting the Wolf.

Having thus provided ourselves with all the different Kinds of *hunting Dogs* or *Hounds*, we must next learn the Terms used in respect of them; therefore of *Grey-hounds* two make a *Brace*; of *Hounds* a *Couple*. Of *Grey-hounds* three make a *Leash*; of *Hounds* a *Couple and a Half*.—They say, *let slip* a *Grey-hound*, and *cast off* a *Hound*.—The String wherein a *Grey-hound* is led, is called a *Leash*, and that of a *Hound*, a *Lyom*. The *Grey-hound* has its *Collar*, and the *Hound* his *Couples*. They say, a *Kennel* of *Hounds*, and a *Pack* of *Beagles*.

When the *Hounds* or *Beagles* hit the Scent of their Chace contrary, as to hit it up the Wind when they should hit it down, we say, they *draw amiss*.

When the *Hounds* or *Beagles* take fresh Scent, hunting another Chase till they stick and hit it again, we say, they *bunt change*.

When the *Hounds* or *Beagles* hunt it by the Heels, we say, they *bunt counter*.

When the Chase goes off and comes on again, traversing the same Ground to deceive the *Hounds* or *Beagles*, we say, they *bunt the Foil*.

When we set *Hounds* in Readiness, where we expect the Deer will pass, and then cast them off, when the other *Hounds* are passed by, we account that a *Relay*.

When the *Hounds* or *Beagles* have finished their Chace, by the Death of what they pursued, and then in Requital,

are fed by the Hands of the Huntsman or others, we call that their *Reward*.

Huntmen, when they go drawing in their Springs at Hart's Hunting, usually make due Rounds, which we call *Ring-Walks*.

When any Deer is hard hunted, and then betakes himself to swimming in any River, &c. we say, he *takes Soil*.—When Deer cast their Horns, we say, *they mew*. The first Head of a Fallow Deer is called a *Prick*.

When Huntmen endeavour to find a Hart by the Slot, &c. and then mind his Steps, to know whether he be large and long, they say then, that they know him by his *Gate*.

When Deer rub, and push their Heads against Trees, to cause the Peel of their new Horns to come off, we say, *they fray*.—When after being hard run, they turn Head against the Hounds, we say, *they bay*.

When Hounds or Beagles run along without opening, or making any Cry, we say, *they run mute*.

When Hounds or Beagles at first finding the Scent of their Game, open and cry, we say, *they challenge*.—When Hounds run at a whole Herd of Deer, we say, *they run riot*.—When the Hounds touch the Scent, and draw on till they rouse or put up the Chace, we say, *they draw on the Slot*.

When a Roe crosses and doubles, it is called *Trajoining*.

When a Hare takes the Ground like a Coney, which seldom happens, we say, *she goes to the Vault*.

When we beat the Bushes, &c. after the Fox, we call it *drawing*.

When a Hare runs on rotten Ground, or in a Frost, which sticks to her Feet, we say, *she carrieth*.

When Beagles bark and cry at their Prey, we say, *they yearn*. A red Male Hart of a Year old, is called a *Spitter*.

A *Rein-Deer*, is a Beast like a Hart, but has his Head fuller of Antlers.

A *Pricker*, is a Huntsman on Horseback.

Engines to take Deer withal, are called *Wiles*.

When we set Hounds or Beagles in Readiness, expecting the Chace to come by, and then cast them off before the rest come in, we call it a *Vauntlay*.

When Hounds or Beagles find where the Chace has been, and made a Proffer to enter but returned, we say, *there is a Blemish*.

The *Call*, is a Lesson blowed on the Horn to comfort the Hounds.—A *Recheat*, is likewise a Lesson blown on the Horn.—The *Mort* or *Death*, is a Lesson blown at the Death of any Deer.

Note, That though we seem to be entirely accomplished, and fitted out for the noble Exercise of *Hunting* (for we must be supposed to be provided, besides the Implements above-mentioned, with one or more of those hunting Horses we have bred up in my Treatise of *Horsemanship*) yet there is something wanted before we take the Field, and that is, the knowing how to cure the different Maladies our Dogs are subject to, in case they should be afflicted with any; the most dangerous of which are *Madness* and the *Mange*.

A Dog is subject to seven Sorts of Madness, viz. the *hot burning Madness*, *running Madness*, *dumb Madness*, *falling Madness*, *lank Madness*, *sleeping Madness*, *rheumatick* or *flavering Madness*; and the *Mange*.

The two first of these *Madnesses* are incurable, viz. the *burning* and the *running Madness*.

The Symptoms of the *burning Madness* are these: When the Dogs run, they raise their Tails bolt upright, and run upon any Thing that stand before them, having no Regard where, nor which Way they run; also their Mouth will be very black, having no Foam in or about it. They will not continue thus above three Days, which expired, they die. All Dogs they have bitten and drew Blood from will be mad likewise.

The *running Madness* is less dangerous, though incurable. The Dogs afflicted therewith run not on Men, but on Dogs, and other Beasts. The Symptoms are, they will smell on other Dogs, and having smelt them will shake and bite them, yet shaking their Tails, and seeming to offer no Harm.

VOL. II.

The *dumb Madness* is curable, and is thus discovered; the Dog that is troubled with it will not feed, but continually hold his Mouth wide open, putting often his Feet to his Mouth, as if he had a Bone in his Throat. The Cure is this; put four Ounces of the Juice of *Spatula Putrida* into a Pot, taking the like Quantity of the Juice of black *Hellebore*, and as much of the Juice of *Rue*, straining them all well through a fine Cloth, and putting them into a Glass; then take two Drachms of Scammony unprepared, and having mixed it with the Juices, put it into a Horn or Funnel, and convey it down his Throat, keeping his Head up strait lest he cast it up again; then bleed him in the Mouth, cutting three or four Veins in his Gums, that he may bleed the better. Or you may only take eight Drachms of the Juice of an Herb called Hartshorn or Dog's-Tooth, and you'll find it a most excellent Receipt against any Madness whatever.

The *falling Madness* lies in their Heads, which makes them reel as they go, and then fall.—The Cure is this: Take four Ounces of the Juice of Piony, with the like Quantity of the Juice of Briony, the like of the Juice of *Cruciata*, and four Drachms of Stavesacre pulverized; mix these together, and give it your Dog or Hound as aforesaid, then let him Blood in the Ears, or the two Veins which come down the Shoulders; and if he be not cured at first, give him a second or third Dose.

The *lank Madness*, thus called by reason of the Leanness of their Bodies, is occasioned by *Skummering*—The Cure is thus performed: First purge your Dog with this Potion; take an Ounce and a half of *Cassia Fistularis* well cleaned, two Drachms and a half of Stavesacre pulverized, and the like Quantity of Scammony prepared in white-wine Vinegar, and four Ounces of Oil of Olive, temper these and warm them over the Fire, and give it your Dog. In the Morning put him into this Bath fasting; put into six Pails of Water ten Handfuls of Mugworth, of Rosemary, of red Sage, the Roots or Leaves of Marsh-Mallows, the Roots or Leaves of Wall-wort, the Roots or Stalks of Fennel, the Roots or Leaves of Elecampane, Balm and Rue, Sorrel, Buglos, and Melilot; let these boil together in two Thirds of Water, and the other of Wine, to the Consumption of one Third; the Bath being no hotter than your Dog can endure it, bathe him in it for the Space of an Hour, then taking him out, put him in some warm Place for Fear of catching Cold; which should be repeated four or five Times to perfect the Cure.

The *sleeping Madness*, is caused by some little Worms breeding in the Entrance of the Stomach from corrupt Humours, the Vapours and Fumes whereof ascending into the Head make the Dog sleep continually, sometimes till he dies sleeping. For the Cure, you must take five Ounces of the Juice of Wormwood, with two Ounces of burnt Hartshorn in Powder, and two Drachms of Agarick; mix them together, and if they be too thick add White-Wine, and give it your Dog to drink.

The *rheumatick* or *flavering Madness*, is thus called, because when a Dog is afflicted with it, his Head swelleth, his Eyes are very yellow, and he commonly flavereth at the Mouth. The Cure is performed thus; Take six Ounces of the Juice of Fennel-Roots, and the like Quantity of the Juice of Mistletoe, four Ounces of the Juice of Ivy, four Ounces of the Roots of Polipody in Powder; boil these in White-Wine, and give it your Dog to drink as hot as he can suffer it.

The *Mange* frequently proceeds from Want of fresh Water to drink, when a Dog desires it, and sometimes by foul Kennelling, sometimes likewise by soun-dering and melting his Grease. To cure this Distemper, take two Handfuls of wild Cresses, two Handfuls of Elecampane, as much of the Leaves and Roots of Rhubarb and Sorrel, and two Pounds of the Roots of Frodels, which must be all well boiled in Lye and Vinegar: Having strained the Decoction, put in it two Pounds of grey Soap, and when it is melted, rub your Dog with it four or five Days together, and it will cure him.

C c c

There

There are some other Terms and Descriptions, particularly those relating to Forest and Forest Laws, which we must also learn, before we can reckon ourselves perfectly well versed in the Art of *Hunting*.

Therefore we must be inform'd, that a Forest is a certain Territory of woody Grounds, and fruitful Pastures, privileged for wild Beasts, and Fowls of Forests, Chase, and Warren, to rest and abide in the same Protection of the King, for his princely Delight; bounded with unremoveable Marks and Meers, either known by Matter of Record or Prescription; replenished with wild Beasts of Venery and Chase, and with great Coverts of Vert, for Succour of the said Beasts; for Preservation and Continuance whereof, with the Vert and Venison, there are certain peculiar Laws, Privileges, and Officers.

All the Ground adjoining to Forests, is called a *Purlieu*, and a Purlieu-Man is he that hath Ground within the Purlieu, and 40 s. a Year Freehold, which entitles him to hunt, though with some Caution, within his own Purlieu.

The Officers of a Forest are, a Forester, Regarder, Ranger, Verderer, Agistor, &c.

A Forester is a sworn Officer of the Forest, appointed by the King's Letters Patent, to walk the Forest, and watch the Vert and Venison; as also to attach and present all Trespassers against both, within his Balliwick, or Walk, to the Forest Courts, to be punished according to their Offences.

A Regarder is an Officer sworn to take Care of the Vert and Venison, and to enquire into all Offences, committed within the Forest; and whether all the other Officers execute their Office or not.

In some Forests there are twelve Rangers, whose Office are to look after the Purlieu, and drive back the wild Beasts into the Forest again; to enquire of Offenders and to present them.

A Verderer is an Officer of the King's Forest, chosen by the Freeholders of the Country where the Forest is, by the King's Writ directed to the Sheriff for that Purpose. Their Office is chiefly to look after the Wood and Grass in the Forest.

An Agistor is an Officer of the Forest, that takes in to feed the Cattle of Strangers, and receives for the King's Use, all such Tack-Money as becomes due from those Strangers.

A CHASE is a Place appointed to receive Deer and Beasts of the Forests; in this it differs from a Forest, that it may be in the Hands of a Subject, and a Forest, properly speaking cannot; and from a Park, in that it is not inclosed like it, and has a larger Compass, a greater Store of Game, and more Keepers, and Overseers.

At present for the Terms peculiar to Forests, Chases, Parks, &c. — A *Woodgeld* is the gathering or cutting of Wood in the Forest, or the Money paid for it to the Use of the Foresters, or an Immunity for it by the King's Grant.

Expeditate, is the cutting off (according to Mr. *Manwood*) the three fore-Claws of the Foot of a great Dog, by the Skin; and that the Owner of every such Dog, unexpeditated in the Forest, shall forfeit 3 s. 4 d.

Fence-Month, hath 31 Days, begins 15 Days before *Midsummer* and ends 15 Days after; in which Time it is unlawful to hunt in the Forest, or to go among the Deer to disquiet them; because it is the Time of Fawning.

Frank Chase, is a Liberty of free Chase in a Circuit annexed to a Forest, whereby all those that have Ground within the Circuit, are forbidden to cut down Wood, or discover, &c. within the View of the Forester, though it is his own Demesne.

Green Hue, or *Vert*, signify both one Thing, it being every Thing that grows, and bears green Leaves within the Forest, that may cover and hide the Deer. *Over Vert*, is all Manner of high Wood. *Nether Vert*, is all Sorts of Under-Wood. — Brush-Wood is called *Cablish*.

Horngeld, is a Tax within the Forest for all Manner of horned Beasts. — *Footgeld*, is an Amercement on such as live within the Forest, for not expeditating their Dogs. And to be quit of *Footgeld*, is a Privilege to keep their Dogs unawed, without any Penalty.

Pawnage, is Money taken by the Agistors, for the

feeding of Hogs, with the Malt of the King's Forest, but (according to Mr. *Compton*) it is most properly the Malt, Woods, Lands, or hedged Rows, or Money due for it to the Owners of the same.

A *Scotale* is, where any Officer of the Forest keeps an Alehouse in the Forest, under Colour of his Office, causing Men to come to his House, and to spend their Money, for fear of being maltreated by him.

Perambulation, is the Admeasurement and setting down Bounds and Limits to the Forests.

Drift of the Forest, is an exact View taken at certain Times, as Occasion serves, of the Beasts that are in the Forest; that none should be there but such as have Right, lest the Forest should be overcharged with the Beasts of Foreigners.

An *Affart* is a great Offence committed in the Forest by grubbing up the Wood, Coverts, and Thickets, and making them as plain as arable Lands, or the like.

Minoverie, is a Trespass or Offence committed by some Engine set up in the Forest to catch Deer, or the like.

Tritis, is a Freedom that one hath from holding a Grey-hound in his Hand, when the Lord of the Forest is hunting there, or to be amerced for his Default.

Stable-stand, is when one is found standing in the Forest, with his Bow ready bent to shoot at any Deer; or with his Grey-hound in a Lease ready to slip.

Swainmore, or *Swanimore*, is a Court appointed to be held thrice in a Year within a Forest; the first 15 Days before *Michaelmas*; the second about *Martinmas*; and the third 15 Days before St. *John Baptist*.

Chiminage is taken by Foresters in Fee throughout their Balliwick for Bushes, Timber, &c. and signifies the same with Toll.

With these Instructions, most of them indispensably necessary, and provided with all the Implements of a profess'd Sportsman, we may venture to take the Field, mounted on one of those Hunters I have mention'd in my Treatise of *Horsemanship*; but as we cannot hunt all Sorts of Beasts at once, we'll begin by hunting the Hart, as the most noble Animal of our Forests, Chases, &c. the Season proper for that Sport, being from the End of Fence Month, which is a Fortnight after *Midsummer*, till *Holy-Rood-Day*, as we have already observ'd.

Note, That before we make any Attempt on the Hart, we must make the following Observations,

1. That a Hart is naturally an excellent Swimmer; there being Instances, when sore hunted, of his plunging into the Sea, and being killed by Fishermen 12 Miles from Land. When in going to rut, they have Occasion to cross a great River, or Arm of the Sea, it is said they assemble in great Herds; the strongest goes in first, and the next of Strength follows, and so one after the other, relieving themselves by staying their Heads on the Buttock of each other.

2. That the Hind commonly carries her Calf eight or nine Months, which usually falls in *May*, although some alter: Some have two at once; and they eat up the Skin wherein the Calf laid. As the Young grows up she teaches it to run, leap, and how to defend himself from the Hounds.

3. That the Hart is amaz'd at hearing any Call or Whistle in his Fist; if you cry *ware, ware*, or *take heed*, you will see him instantly turn Back, and make some little Stand. His Sense of Hearing is very perfect when his Ears and Head are erected; but very imperfect when he holds them down; hence when he pricks up his Ears, he is known to be apprehensive of Danger. When he is on Foot, and not afraid, he wanders, and takes Pleasure to gaze at every Thing he sees.

4. That the Hart is very long liv'd, commonly reaching to an hundred Years and upwards. The principal Marks of his Age, are taken from his Head, yet this is somewhat precarious, some having more Croches thereon, at the same Age, than others. Those are accounted to excel in Beauty of Horns, which bear them high. The Horns do not grow to the Bone or Scalp, but only to the Skin, branching into many Spears, and falling off, once a Year, in the Spring; though solid throughout as Stones

Stones; yet if they remain a while in the Air, they grow very light and friable, discovering themselves to be no other than an earthy Substance, concrete and harden'd with a strong Heat into the Form of Bones.

5. That the Horns being fallen, they retire and hide themselves in the Shade, to avoid the Annoyance of Flies; and only come out to feed in the Night. Their new Horns appear at first like Bunches, very soft and tender; but by the Increase of the Sun's Heat, at length grow harder, and are covered with a rough Skin, called a *Velvet Head*. As that Skin dries, they daily try the Strength of their new Heads upon Trees, which not only burnishes, and scrapes off the Roughness, but by the Pain they feel thereby, admonishes them how long to forbear the Company of their Fellows; for when the Horn grows insensible, they return to their former Condition.

6. That the taking of this Beast requires a deal of Art and Attention. 'The deceitful and subtle Hart,' says *Gesner*, by Windings and Turnings deceives his Hunters, no less than the Harts of *Meandros*, flying from the terrible Cries of *Diana's* Hounds. The prudent Hunter, therefore, must frame his Dogs, as *Pythagoras* did his Scholars, with Words of Art, 'to set them on, and take them off at Pleasure.'

According to this last Instruction of *Gesner*, the first Thing we'll do, when come to the Forest or Chase, &c. we'll encompass the Beast (*en son giste*) in her own Layer, and thus unharbour her in the View of the Dogs, that so they may never lose their Slot or Footing; avoiding from setting off upon every one, either of the Herd, or those that wander solitary: The young, the small, &c. are to be passed over; and partly by Sight, partly by their Footing, Fumets and Layers judging of our Game, singling out, for that Purpose, the largest Head in the whole Herd.

Note, That there are divers Means for knowing an old Hart, *viz.* by the Slot, the Entries, the Abatures and Foils, the Fumets, Gate and Walks, Fraying-Stocks, Head and Branches.

1. As to the Slot. — The Treadings of the Hart's Foot are to be carefully noted. If you find the Treadings of two, the one long, and the other round, yet both of one Bigness, the longest Slot declares the largest Hart: Add, that the old Hart's hind Foot, never over-reaches the fore Foot, as that of the young one does.

2. When you have found out the Slot of a Hart, mark what Manner of Footing it is, whether worn or sharp, and accordingly observe the Country, to judge thereby, whether either proceeds from thence: For Harts bred in Mountains and stony Countries, have their Toes and the Sides of their Feet worn, by Reason of their continual climbing, and resting themselves thereon, and not on the Heel; whereas, in other Places, they stay themselves more on the Heel, than the Toes; for in soft, or sandy Ground, they slip upon the Heel, because of their Weight; and thus by their frequent staying themselves thereon, it makes the Heel grow broader and greater.

3. The Fumet is chiefly to be judged of in *April* or *May*; if it be large and thick, it signifies the Hart to be old. In the Midst of *June* and *July*, they make their Fumets in great Croteys very soft; and from that Time to the End of *August*, they make them large, long, knotty, anointed and gilded, letting them fall but few and scatter'd. In *September* and *October* there is no longer judging, by Reason of the Rut.

4. To know the Height and Thickness of the Hart, observe his Entries and Galleries into the Thickets, and what Boughs he has over-stridden; marking from thence the Height of his Belly from the Ground; for a young Deer usually creeps low, as he passes to his Harbour, and goes through Places, which the old one being stiff and flatly, will not stoop to.

5. By his Gate, it may be known whether the Hart be large, and whether he will stand long before the Hounds; if he has a long Step, he will stand long; being swift, light, and long breathed; but if he leaves a great Slot, which is the Sign of an old Deer, he

will never stand long when he is chased.

6. As to his Fraying-Post. We must observe, that the older the Hart is, the sooner he goes to fray; and the greater is the Tree he chuses to fray upon, and such as he cannot bend with his Head. For all Stags; as they are burnished, beat their Head dry against some Tree or other, which is called their *Fraying-Post*. The younger Deer against weaker, lesser, and lower Trees; the elder against bigger, stronger, and higher; so that, accordingly, we confidently judge of their Age, and of the Proximity of their Harbour; since they use this last Ceremony before they enter it.

Note also, That to seek or find out a Hart in his Haunt or Feeding-Place, it is to be observed, that he changes his Manner of Feeding every Month. From the Conclusion of the Rutting-Time, which is in *November*, they feed in Heaths and broomy Places. In *December*, they herd together, and withdraw into the Strength of the Forest, to shelter themselves from cold Winds, Snows, and Frosts, and to feed on Elm-Trees, Elder-Trees, Brambles, &c. and if it snows they will skin the Tree like a Goat. The three following Months, they leave off herding, but keep four or five in a Company, and in the Corners of the Forest will feed on the Winter-Pasture, making sometimes their Incursions into the neighbouring Cornfields, if they can perceive the Blades of Wheat, Rye, or the like, appear above Ground. In *April* and *May*, they rest in their Thickets, and other shady Places, stirring very little till Rutting-Time, unless disturbed. There are some Harts so cunning, that they will have two several Layers to harbour in, a good Distance one from the other; and will frequently change for their greater Security, from the one to the other, taking still the Benefit of the Wind. The three succeeding Months they are in their Pride of Grease, and resort to Spring Copses, and Corn Fields. In *September* and *October*, they leave the Thickets, and go to rut; during which they have no certain Place either for Food or Harbour.

Having found out the Game we must decouple and cast off the Dogs; and some on Horseback, others on Foot, are to follow the Cry with the utmost Art, Observation, and Speed, remembering and preventing the subtil Turnings and Leadings of the Hart; standing with Dexterity to leap Hedge, Pale, Ditch, &c. and using our utmost Address and Circumspection to keep to the Beast first attempted, and prevent the Dogs from pursuing any other; which makes one of the principal Difficulties and Glories of the Chase, the Beast having a hundred Devices to put off some other Head for his own: Sometimes he will send some other little Deer in his Stead into the Dogs Way, lying close the while himself; on which Occasion our Huntsman is to sound a Retreat and break off the Dogs, and take in *Leam*, till the Game be recovered.

Sometimes he will purposely seek out for another Deer at Layer, and rouse him, to make the Hounds hunt Change, himself lying down flat in some of their Layers upon his Belly, to make the Hounds overshoot him; and that they may neither scent nor vent him, he will gather up his fore Feet under his Belly, and blow or breathe on some moist Place of the Ground, so that the Hounds shall pass within a Yard without apprehending him. He will break into one Thicket after another to find Deer, rousing, gathering them together, and herding with them, and even beating some of them into his Treads, that he may the more easily escape. Finding himself spent, he will break Herd and fall a doubling and crossing in some hard-beaten Highway; always running against the Wind, not only to cool himself, but the better to hear the Voice of his Pursuers.

The Soil is the last Refuge of a Hart sorely hunted, keeping in the Middle for Fear, lest by touching a Bough or the like, he may give Scent to the Hounds. He always swims against the Stream, whence the old Rule, *He that will his Chase find, let him try up the River and down the Wind*. In taking Soil he will sometimes cover himself under Water, so as to shew nothing but his Nose.

Where Opportunity of Water fails, he will fly into Herds

Herds of Cattle, as Cows, Sheep, &c. and sometimes leap on an Ox, Cow, or the like, laying the fore Part of his Body thereon, that so touching the Earth only with his hind Feet, he may leave a small or no Scent behind. What is further still, the chief Huntsman (in French *grand veneur*) to Louis XII. King of France, relates, that a *Hart* which they were in full Chase of, leaped into a great tall White-thorn, which grew in a shady Place, and there stood aloft, till he was thrust through by a Huntsman, rather than he would stir. Yet their Manner is, when they see themselves every where intercepted, to make Force at him with their Horns, who first comes to him, except prevented by Sword or Spear.

Note, That the *Hart* is known to be spent by his running stiff, high, and limping, by his Mouth being black and dry, without Foam on it, and his Tongue hanging out; though he will sometimes close his Mouth to deceive the Spectators; and by his *Slot*, for he will sometimes close his Claws together as if he went at Leisure, and strait again open them wide, making great Glidings, and hitting his Dew-legs upon the Ground, &c.

The *Hart* being killed, his Death is solemnized by the Huntsman, winding with his Horn the Fall of the Beast; and then every one approaches, luring with Triumph for such a Conquest; the most distinguished of whom who has not taken Say before, takes up the Knife and lays it cross the Belly of the Deer (some of the Assistants holding by the fore Legs, and at the same Time the Huntsman drawing down the Pizzle) and thus draws the Knife along the Middle of the Belly, beginning near the Brisket, cutting deep enough to discover how fat he is. Then the most skilful Person breaks up the Deer, by first flitting the Skin, from the cutting of the Throat downwards, making the Arber that the Ordure may not break forth, and then paunching him, and rewarding the Hounds therewith.

Lastly, the Person that took the *Say*, being presented with a drawn Hanger, is to cut off the Head; which done, and the Hounds rewarded therewith, the concluding Ceremony, if a Buck is a Double, if a Stag a Treble *Mort* blown by one, and a *Recheat*, in Confort, by all who have Horns, the whole concluding with a general *Woo Hoop*.

But notwithstanding all the Precautions imaginable, a Huntsman is not always sure of killing a *Hart*, and may fail doing it divers Ways; either by reason of great Heat, or of being overtaken by the Night, &c. and thus lose his Prey. When this happens, the first Thing to be done is, that they who followed the Hounds must mark the Place where they left the Chase, and at Break of Day bring their Blood-Hounds to it, with their Kennel after him. If any Hound vents, which he knows to be a *Lyer* or *Babler*, he shall put his Hound to it, whooping twice, or blowing two Notes with his Horn, to call all his Fellows about him; and if he finds that the *Hart* is got into some Covert or Grove, he must draw his Hounds about it, and beat cross to it. And if there he renews his *Slot* or *View*, let him first consider whether it be the right or not; if it be the right, he ought to blow his Horn. But perhaps he'll find five or six Layers, which must not appear strange to him; for *Harts* hunted and spent, frequently make many Layers together, because they cannot stand but lie and feed.

Harts which are hunted commonly run up the Wind (as we have already observed) and strait forwards as far as they are able, and when they find any Water on the Soil, stay a long while therein, whereby their Joints are so benumbed and stifled, that coming out they cannot go far, nor stand up long; and therefore are forced to take any Harbour they can find, which may be a present Covert to them.

If our Huntsman seeks his *Hart* in high Woods, he must have Regard to two Things, that is, the Thickets of the Forest, and the Season. If it be in very hot Weather, Gnats, Horse-Flies, and the like, drive the Deer out of the high Wood, and they disperse themselves into small Groves and Thickets near Places of good Feeding. According to the Thickets which are in the Forest, the Huntsman must make his Enquiry: For the *Harts* sometimes lie in Tufts of White-

thorns, sometimes under little Trees, sometimes under great Trees in the high Woods, and sometimes in the Skirts of the Forest, under the Shelter of little Groves and Copfes. Therefore the Huntsman should make a Ring-Walk great or small, according to the Bigness of those Harbours or Coverts.

Note, That though I have given some general Directions as to the unharbouring the *Hart*, I should notwithstanding have entered into the following particular ones; which are, that when the Relays are well set and placed, the Huntsman must walk with his Pole before the Kennel of Hounds, taking Notice, when arrived to the Blemishes of the *Slot*, and such other Marks as may be observed from the View of the Deer, to the Intent he may know whether the Hounds run Riot or not. Which done, he is to cast abroad about the Covert, to discover the *Hart* when he is unharboured, the better to distinguish him by his Head or otherwise. The *Hart* unharboured, all the Hounds shall be cast off, all the Company crying, *to him, to him, that's he, that's he*, or other such Words of Encouragement. If the Blood-Hound as he draweth, chances to overshoot, and draw wrong or counter, then the Huntsman must draw him back, and say, *back, back; soft, soft*, until he has set him right again: And if he perceives that the Hound has mended his Fault, by his kneeling down and observing the *Slot* or *Ports*, he must then cherish him, by clapping him on the Back, and giving him some encouraging Words. Thus let him draw on with his Hound till the Deer be described.

If the Huntsman have the *Hart* in View, he must still draw up the *Slot*, blowing and hollowing till the Hounds are come in. When he seeth they are in full Cry, and take it right, he may then mount, keeping under the Wind and Coast, to cross the Hounds that are in Chase to help them at Default.

The Huntsman is never to come nearer the Hounds in Cry, than 50 or 60 Paces, especially at the first Uncoupling, or at casting off their Relays. For if a *Hart* makes Doublings, wheels about, or crosses before the Hounds, which happens but seldom; if then he comes in too hastily he'll spoil the *Slot* or *View*, and so the Hounds for Want of Scent, will be apt to overshoot the Chase. But if after hunting an Hour, the Huntsman perceives that the *Hart* makes out Endways before the Hounds, and they follow in full Cry, taking in right, then he may come in nearer, and blow in a *Recheat* to the Hounds to encourage them.

If it happens that the Hounds are at a Default, and hunt in several Companies, it may be judged thereby, that the *Hart* has broken Herd from the fresh Deer, and that the fresh Deer have separated themselves also: Then the Huntsman must observe how the old Staunch-Hounds make, and the *Slot*; and where he sees any of the old Hounds challenge he must cherish and encourage him, halting the rest to him, by crying hark to such a Hound, calling him by his Name. Taking Notice, that they cannot make it so good in the hard High-ways as in other Places, because they cannot have there so perfect a Scent, either by reason of the Tracts or Footing of divers Sorts of Beasts, or by the Sun drying up the Moisture, so that the Dust covers the *Slot*: Now in such Places the *Hart* will make many Crosses and Doublings, holding them long together, to make the Hounds give over the Chase. In this Case the first Care of the Huntsman is, to make good the Head, and then draw round apace; first down the Wind, though usually Deer go up the Wind; and if the Way be too hard to *slot*, he must try far enough back, which expert Hounds will frequently do of themselves.

But if a *Hart* breaks out into the Champaigne Country in the Heat of the Day, then if the Huntsman perceives his Hounds out of Breath, he must not force them much but comfort them; and though they do not call upon the *Slot* or *View*, yet it is sufficient if they do but wag their Tails; for, being almost spent, it is painful for them to call.

Our next Chase will be to hunt a Buck, or *Fallow-Deer*, which is a Beast as corpulent as a *Hart*, but in most

most Things resembles more a Roe, except in Colour; which is various, but most commonly branded, or sandy on the Back, having a black List all along on the Ridge, and the Belly and Sides spotted with white.

The *Buck* is common in most Countries. The Male has Horns not much differing from a Hart, except in Largeness, and they grow out of the Head like Fingers out of the Hand; whence it is called *Cervus palmatus*: As for the other Parts, he much resembles a *Roe-Buck*. The Female has no Horns.

Less Art and Skill are required in lodging a *Buck*, than in harbouring a Hart, and less drawing after; but only we are to judge by the View, and mark what Grove or Cover he enters, for he does not wander and rove so often as a Hart, nor so frequently change his Layer.

He makes his Fewmets in divers Manners and Forms, as the Hart does, according to the Diversity of Food, and Time of the Day, Morning and Evening; but most commonly they are round.

When hard hunted, he takes to some strong Hole or Covert he is acquainted with; not flying far before the Hounds, nor crossing nor doubling, nor using any of the Subtilties the Hart is accustomed to.

The *Buck* will beat a Brook, but seldom a great River, as the Hart; nor can he keep so long at Stay; only he leaps lighter at Rut than the Hart; and groaneth, or throateth, as the Hart belloweth, but with a lower Voice, rattling in his Throat.

The *Bucks* don't love one another; nor will they come near each other's Layer. He herds more than the Hart, and lies in the driest Places: But if he be at large, unconfined within the liminary Precinct of a Park, he will herd but little, from May to August, because the Flies trouble him: He takes great Delight in hilly Places, but much more to feed in Dales.

The greatest Subtlety a Huntsman need use in hunting the *Buck* is, to beware in hunting Counter or Change, because of the Plenty of Fallow Deer, which us'd to come more directly upon the Hound than the red Deer do. Upon the breaking up of a *Buck*, the Hounds Reward is the same with that of the Hart.

Our next Chase should be the *Roe-Buck*, if there were any in *England*; but though there are none, and therefore we cannot hunt them, I'll notwithstanding give some Directions towards hunting them.

Note, That the *Roe-Buck* the first Year is called a *Hind*; the second a *Gyrle*; the third a *Hemuse*; the fourth a *Roe-Buck of the first Head*; the fifth a *Fair Roe-Buck*. The Herd of *Roe-Bucks* is called a *Bevy*.

The *Roe-Buck* is very easy to hunt, and goes to Rut, or most properly, to Tourn in *October*, which lasts fifteen Days, and never parts from the Doe till fawning Time. The Doe finding herself near her Time secretly departs from the *Buck*, fawneth as far from him and his Knowledge as she can; for could he find the Fawn he would kill it. When the Fawn grows big, and can run and feed, she then returns to the *Buck* again very lovingly; the Cause whereof is, that the *Roes* fawning Twins, which are commonly *Buck* and Doe, they are so accustomed together in their Youth, that they love to keep Company ever after.

Soon after Rutting the *Roe-Buck* casts his Horns; which are set with six or seven Branches, not palmed but branchy, yet shorter than Fallow-Deer. The Doe has no Horns.

The *Roe Bucks* keep commonly in the Mountains among the Rocks, being very swift, which Swiftness does not only appear upon the Earth, but also in the Water, which they cut when they swim, as with Oars: And therefore love Lakes and strong Streams, breaking the Floods to come at fresh Pastures, feeding deliciously on sweet Rushes and Bull-Rushes.

It is supposed by the Learned, that the *Roe* was called in Greek *Dorcus*, by reason of the Quickness of her Sight; and that she can see as perfectly in the Night as in the Day; never winking, not even when they sleep.

They make good Chace, stand long, and fly End-ways. When hunted they turn much and often, and come back upon the Dogs directly; when they can no longer endure, they then take Soil, as the Hart does,

and will hang by the Bow in such a Manner, that nothing shall appear of them above Water but their Snout, and will suffer the Dogs to come just upon them before they will stir.

There is another Sort of Deer, called *Rein-Deer*, which is not unlike a Hart, only his Head is fuller of Antlers, being bigger and wider in Compass; for he bears twenty-four Branches and more, according to his Age, having a great Palm on the Top as a Hart, and his fore Antlers being palmed also. He feeds like the Hart, and make his Fewmets sometimes long and sometimes flat; and as the Hart strikes with his Head, the *Rein-Deer* strikes with his Feet, against any one that comes to him to help the Dogs; never turning his Head, which is his chief Defence against the Dogs.

When the *Rein-Deer* is hunted he flies End-ways, by reason of the great Weight of his Head: When he has stood up a great while, doubled, crossed, and used other crafty Tricks to shun the Hounds, he makes a Tree his last Refuge; so planting himself, that nothing can assail him but just before, placing his Buttock and Haunches against the Tree, and hanging down his Head low to the Ground, whereby all his Body is covered.

But however the *Rein-Deer* is most commonly drawn after with the Blood-Hound, then hunted and intrapped with Nets and Engines, and that in the thick and greatest Holds; which is the best and speediest Way, by reason of his great and spreading Head.

The *Rein-Deer* bears fatter Venison when he is in Pride of Grease, than any other Deer does, and is very long-lived; but there are very few of them in *England*.

Note, That from this I'll pass to the most common, less dangerous either for the Huntsmen or Dogs, and most diverting Sport of this Kind, which is hunting the HARE, call'd in Hebrew *Arnebet*, in the Feminine Gender, which makes several imagine that *Hares* are all Females; by the *Greeks* *Aaryos*, for its immoderate Lust, and *ἰσχυρὸν*, for his Fear; and by the *Latins*, *Lepus*, *quasi levi-pes*, to denote her Swiftmess.

There are four Sorts of *Hares*; some live in the Mountains, some in the Fields, some in Marshes, some every where without any certain Place of Abode. Those of the Mountains are the most swift, and those of the Marshes the slowest: The wandering *Hares* are the most difficult and dangerous to follow; for by exercising themselves often through Vallies and Plains, they grow soon acquainted with the nearest Way to their Forms; which is the Reason why they put the Dogs so often to default.

Each Part and Member of the *Hare* is formed for Celerity; for the Head is round and short, of a convenient Length, the Ears long and lofty, to hear the Enemy at a Distance, and save itself in Time; the Lips continually move sleeping and waking, and the Eye is too big and round for the Lid to cover it, even when asleep, so that the Creature sleeps as it were on the Watch. The Breast is capacious, and fit to take more Breath than any other Beast.

They feed abroad to conceal their Forms, and never drink, but content themselves with the Dew: Her Ears lead the Way in her Chace; for with one of them she hearkeneth to the Cry of the Dogs, the other being stretched forth like a Sail to promote her Course.

Hares which frequent Bushes and Brakes are not able to endure Labour, nor very swift, as being tender-footed and growing fat, through Discontinuance of Exercise. The *Hare* of the Fields or Mountains, most commonly regulates her Pace by that of the Dogs which pursue her; for if she finds that the Dogs are slow and sluggish, she only walks gently before them, and yet safely from their Clutches, reserving her greatest Strength against she wants it most; knowing very well that she can out-run the Dogs at Pleasure, and therefore will not fatigue herself more than Need requires. But if one Dog follows her more swiftly than the rest, then she sets forth with all the Celerity she can; and when she has left the Dogs far behind, she goes to some Hill or rising Ground, where rearing on her hind Legs, she observes at what Distance her Pursuers are.

The younger *Hares* having their Members weaker, tread always heavier than the elder, and therefore leave a greater Scent behind them. At a Year old they run very swift, and the Scent is stronger in the Woods than in the plain Fields; and if they lie down upon the Earth in red Fallow-Ground, they are easily detected. In Winter Mornings the Scent does not lie till the Frost be a little thawed: And it may be added, that a Hare always leaves more Scent when she goes to relieve, than when she goes to Form.

Her Footsteps are more seen in Winter than Summer, because as the Nights are longer they travel further: Their Prints are very uncertain at the Full Moon; at which Time they leap and play together.

A *Buck* or *Male Hare*, is known by his beating the hard High-ways, feeding further out in the Plains, and making his Doublings of a greater Compass than the Female, who keeps close by some Covert-side, turning, winding, and crossing in the Bushes like a Coney, and rarely running out an End; whereas the *Buck* having made a Turn or two about his Form then farewell Hounds, for he will frequently lead them five or six Miles without once turning his Head: Add, that the *Buck* is known at his rising out of Form, by his hind Parts, which are more white, or his Shoulders redder than the *Doe*.

The *Hare* regulates her Conduct according to the Weather. In a moist Day she holds the Highways more than at any other Time, by reason the Scent is then most apt to lie; and if she comes at the Side of any young Grove or Spring she forbears to enter, but squats down on the Side thereof till the Hounds have overshot her; upon which she returns the same Way as she came, without turning into any Covert, for Fear of the Wet and Dew hanging on the Boughs.

The *Hare* observes likewise, some Order and Craft with Regard to her Manner of setting: For if she forms either upon the North or South Wind, she will not willingly run into the Wind, but aside or down the Wind: On the contrary, if she form in the Water, it is a Sign she is foul and meazled, and in the Course will make all her Doublings and Crossings about Brook-sides and near Plashe; for her Scent under this Condition being very strong, she needs a Place that will take but little. Sometimes when hunted down she will start a fresh *Hare* and squat in the same Form: Other times she will creep under the Door of a Sheep-coat and hide among the Sheep, or run among a Flock of Sheep; and cannot by any means be gotten from among them till the Hounds are coupled up, and the Sheep driven into their Pens. Some will take the Ground like a Coney, which is called *going to vault*. Some will go up one Side of the Hedge and come down the other, the Thickness of the Hedge being the only Distance between the Courses; and a *Hare* sorely hunted has been known to get upon a quick-set Hedge, and run a good Way upon it, and then leaped off upon the Ground. They will likewise frequently betake themselves to Fuz-Bushes, and leap from one to the other, whereby the Hounds are frequently in a Default.

A *Hare* does not live above seven Years at most, especially the *Buck*; and if he and the *Doe* keep one Quarter, they will not suffer any strange *Hare* to sit by them; hence the old Proverb, *The more you hunt, the more Hares you shall have*, because when you have killed one *Hare* another will come and possess his Form.

A *Hare* has great Scent, and is more eagerly hunted by the Hounds, when she feeds and relieveth upon green Corn, than at any other Time in the Year: And yet there are some *Hares* which naturally give greater Scent than other; as the great Wood-Flares, and such as are foul and meazled, and keep near to the Waters: But the little red *Hare*, which is not much bigger than a Coney, is neither of so strong a Scent, nor so eagerly hunted. Such as feed upon the small Branches of wild Thyme or the like, are commonly very swift, and will stand long up before the Hounds. There are besides, some *Hares* which have not been hunted, are foolish, and have neither Strength nor Cunning to use the Subtilties and Crafts of the

other *Hares*; but most commonly hold on End-ways before the Hounds, squat and start again sometimes, which much encourage the Hounds, and enters them better, than if the *Hare* flies End-ways.

The Females are more crafty and politick than the Bucks, for they double and turn shorter, which discomposes the Hounds; for it is troublesome for them to turn often, delighting more in an End-way Chase, and in running with all their Force.

Thus perfectly instructed in all the Particulars relating to the *Hare*, we'll take the Field for that Chase, accompanied by our Huntsman, who is to make his Hounds very well acquainted with him and his Voice; let him then understand the Horn, which is done by never blowing it, and never hollowing but when there is good Cause for it; taking Care besides to encourage well his Hounds.

Note, That if we design to enter a young Kennel of Hounds, Regard must be had to the Country and to the Quarry; for according to the Place where they are entered, and the Game first given them, they will prove ever after. Thus if they be first entered in the Plains, they will henceforwards delight more to hunt there than in any other Place, &c. notwithstanding what some Huntsmen say to the contrary, that all strange Countries that differ from that to which the Hounds are accustomed, cause them to be at a Loss at first; since good Hounds will soon be Masters of any Country; and therefore to have the best Hounds, they must be used to all Kinds of Hunting, and it is easy to bring Hounds to have a Scent, from a black down to a fresh Pasture; which is the Reason why some Huntsmen chuse to enter in the worst Countries. But however, the best Way to enter young Hounds, is by the Help of old staunch Hounds; since they will the better learn to cast for it, at a Doubling or Default.

The best Season for *Hare-Hunting*, is to begin about the Middle of *September*, and ends towards the latter End of *February*, for fear of destroying the young Brood of Leverets. This Season is much the properest for this Sport, as the Moistness and Coolness of the Earth is more agreeable to the Nature of the Hounds, than extreme Heats.

If there be any Hound which has found the Trail of a *Hare*, where she hath relieved that Night, the Huntsman should not be then over-hasty, but leave the Hounds to make it of themselves: And when he perceives that they begin to draw in together, and to call on anew, he must encourage them. Taking Notice that a *Hare* leaves better Scent when she goes to relieve, than when she goes towards her Form; for when she relieves in the Field, she coucheth her Body low upon the Ground, passing often upon a Piece of Ground, to find where lieth the best Food; and thus leaves the better Scent.

Having found where a *Hare* has relieved in some Pasture or Corn-Field; to find her Form, the Season of the Year, and the State of the Weather, are to be considered. In the Spring or Summer, a *Hare* will not sit in the Bushes, because frequently offended with Pishires, Snakes, and Adders, but will sit in Corn-Fields, and open Places. In Winter they chuse to sit near Towns and Villages, in Tufts of Thorns and Brambles, especially when the Wind is northerly, or southerly.

According to the Season and Nature of the Place where the *Hare* is accustom'd to sit, there beat with your Hounds and start her; which is better Sport than trailing of her from her Relief to her Form. Having started her, step in, and hallow in the Hounds till they have undertaken it, crying *that, that, or there, there*, and go on with full Cry; then recheat them, and follow at a Distance, taking Care not to forward them too much at first, as being apt, in the first Heat, to overshoot the Game. Above all Things mind the first doubling the *Hare* makes, which is to be a Key or Direction for the whole Day; all the other Doublings she afterwards makes, being like the first. According to the Policies you see her use, and the Place where you hunt make your Compass, to help the Default.

fault, great or little, long or short; always seeking the moistest and most commodious Places for the Hounds to scent in.

One of the most diverting Chases, is that of the *Fox*; because his having a very strong hot Scent, he makes an excellent Cry; and that Scent being hotter at Hand, it dies sooner than that of a Hare.

The Nature of a Fox, in many Respects, is like that of a Wolf. And both bring the same Number of Cubs at a Litter; with this Difference, that the Fox litters deep under Ground, which the Wolf does not.

A *Bitch Fox* is hard to take when bragged and with Cubs; for then she lies near her Burrow, into which she runs upon hearing the least Noise: Indeed it is not very easy to take her at any Time, she being a Beast of exceeding Subtilty. When she goes a clicketting, and seeks the Dog, she cries with a hollow Voice, not unlike the Howling of a mad Dog, and the like Noise she makes when she misses any of her Cubs; but never cries at all when she is killing, but defends herself in Silence to the last Gasps.

A Fox preys upon any Thing he can overcome, and feeds upon all Sorts of Carrion; but the Food they prefer to all other, is Poultry; for which Reason, they are accounted very destructive in the Country, especially in those Places where there are Warrens, and near Villages, &c.

The Fox chuses to earth in Ground hard to dig, as in Clay, and stony Grounds, or among the Roots of Trees; and his Earth has commonly but one Hole, which goes strait along in, before it comes at their Couch. He sometimes by Craft, possesses himself of a Badger's old Burrow, which has Variety of Chambers, Holes, and Angles. *Gesner* relates, that he frequently cheats the Badger of his Habitation, by laying his Excrement at the Hole of the other's Burrow: Add, that the Wolf being an Enemy to the Fox, this latter secures his Earth, by laying an Herb, called Sea-*Onion*, on the Mouth thereof, which the Wolf has a natural Aversion to, so that it never comes near the Place where it either lies or grows.

The Fox is taken with Hounds, Grey-hounds, Terriers, Nets, and Gins. — When coursed in a Plain by Grey-hounds, his last Refuge is to piss on his Tail, and slap it in their Faces as they come near him; sometimes squirting his thinner Excrements upon them, to make them give over the Course or Pursuit.

There are two Sorts of Terriers for Fox-hunting; the one is crook'd-legg'd, and commonly short-hair'd; which will take the Earth well, and lie very long at Fox or Badger. The other Sort is shagged and strait-legg'd; which will not only hunt above Ground as others, but also enter the Earth with much more Fury than the former; but cannot stay in so long, by Reason of their great Eagerness.

These Terriers must be enter'd when they are near 12 Months old, otherwise they'll never be brought to take the Earth. A young Terrier should be encouraged by putting an old one before him, that can better endure the Fury of the Fox or Badger; taking Care that neither of them be old, when you engage your young Terrier with him. This Entering may be done several Ways, either by entering the old Terriers into the Ground, when Foxes and Badgers have young Cubs; and when they begin to bay, holding every one of the Terriers at each Hole or Mouth of the Earth, that they may listen and hear the old ones bay. The old Fox or Badger being taken, and nothing remaining within but the young Cubs, then all the old Terriers must be coupled, and the young ones put in their Stead, encouraging them by crying *to him, to him*. And if they take any young Cub within the Ground, they must be suffer'd to do what they please with him; not forgetting to give the old Terriers their Reward, which is the Blood and Liver, fried with Cheese, and some of their own Grease, shewing them the Head and Skin to encourage them; before you reward them, they must be washed with Soap and warm Water, to clear their Skin from Earth and Clay that is clodded to the Hair, otherwise they are very apt to be mangy. Or the Terriers may be enter'd, by taking an old Fox or Badger, breaking all his Teeth, to prevent him from biting the Terriers; then digging an

Earth, in some convenient Place, large enough for two Terriers to enter, and turn therein; which Hole must be covered with Boards and Turf; and then thrusting the Fox or Badger into it, first, and afterwards the old and young Terriers, which are to be encouraged with Words appropriated to the Art. When they have bayed sufficiently, the Fox must be taken out through another Hole, dug for the Purpose, and kill'd before the Terriers to reward them with it.

When a good Terrier does once find the Fox, he then yearns, and defends himself very well, but not so vigorously as the Badger, nor is his biting half so dangerous.

Note, That there is not much Sport in *Hunting* a Fox under Ground; for as soon as he perceives the Terriers, if they bay hard, and lie near unto him, he will bolt out immediately, unless it be when the Bitch has young Cubs, for then she will sooner die than stir.

Fox-Hunting above Ground, is far more diverting; and those who design to take that Diversion, begin by stopping the Night before the Earths of the Fox, by laying two white Sticks a-cross before them, which will make him believe it is some Gin or Trap laid for him; or else they may be stopped close with Black-thorn and Earth together. This must be done about Midnight, for then the Fox goes out to seek his Prey.

The best Season for *Hunting* the Fox above Ground, is in *January*, *February*, and *March*, because his Earthings are found then with less Difficulty, and the Huntsman have a better Sight of their Hounds; which hunt best in cold Weather, the Fox leaving then a very strong Scent behind him; though at that Time it chills the fastest.

The Finders must be cast off first, and as the Drag mends, and those should be old staunch Hounds which are sure, never casting off too many at once, because Woods and Coverts being full of several different Chases, they would be engaged in too many at once. If you hear such a Hound call on merrily, you may cast off some other to him, and when they run it on the full Cry, cast off the rest.

The Hounds must be suffer'd to kill the Fox, and worry and hare them as much as they please. When he is dead, hang him at the End of a Pike-Staff, and hallow in your Hounds to bay him: But reward them not with any Thing belonging to the Fox; for it is not good, neither will they eat it.

Note, That since we have mention'd the *Badger*, under the Article of *Fox-Hunting*, we'll hunt it next.

Note also, That the *Badger* is called by several Names, viz. a *Grey-brock*, *Boreson* or *Bauson*, in *France*, *Taufson*. The Male is a Badger or Boar-Pig, and the Female a Sow. The Badgers are very common in *Naples*, *Sicily*, the *Alpine* and *Helvetian* Coasts, and not uncommon in *France* and *England*. There are two Kinds, the one resembling a Dog in his Feet, and the other a Hog by his cloven Hoof; they differ too in their Snout and Colour, the one resembling that of a Dog, the other of a Swine: The first has a greyer or whiter Coat than the other, and goes further out to seek his Prey. They differ also in their Meat, the one eating Flesh and Carrion like a Dog, the other Roots and Fruits like a Hog.

Mr. *Tuberville* mentions, likewise, two Sorts of Badgers, but in a different Manner; the one, according to him, casting his Faunts long like a Fox, having his Residence in Rocks, and making his Burrow very deep; whereas the Burrows of the other are made in light Ground, and have more Variety of Cells and Chambers: The one is called the *Badger-Pig*, and the other the *Badger-Help*: The first has his Nose, Throat, and Ears yellowish, and is much blacker, and higher Legs than the other. Both live on Flesh, hunting greedily after Carrion, and are pernicious to Warrens, especially when big with young. When the Badgers earth, after they have dug a good Depth, for to carry off the Earth, one of them lies down on his Back, and the rest lay the Earth on his Belly; thus taking his hind Feet in their Mouth, they draw

draw the belly-laden Badger out of the Hole or Cave, and having disburthen'd him, he re-enters, and repeats the Labour till the Work be compleated. It is very pleasant to see them when they gather Materials for their Couch, as Straw, Leaves, Moss, and the like; for with their Feet and Head they will wrap as much together, as a Man can well carry under his Arm, and will make shift to get it into their Cells and Couches.

The Badger is a very sleepy Beast, especially in the Day-time, seldom stirring abroad but in the Night, whence the Denomination *Lucifuga*, q. d. Avoider of the Light. He is a deep biting Beast, having very sharp Teeth; to guard against the Effects whereof, it is usual to put great broad Collars about the Dogs Necks. His Back is broad, and his Legs longer on the right Side than the left; whence he runs best on the Side of a Hill, or Cart-Road-Way. He fights on his Back, and by this Means is at Liberty to use both his Teeth and Nails: He has a Faculty of blowing up his Skin after a strange Manner, by which he defends himself against any Blow or Bite of the Dogs; so that you may thrash your Heart out on his Back; but a small Stroke on the Nose dispatches him presently. In *Italy* and *Germany* they eat the Flesh of Badgers, boiling it with Pears; but in *England* it is not liked, being of a sweet rankish Taste; it is best in *September*; and of the two Kinds, the *Swinish Badger* is the best Meat.

The Badgers love Hog's Flesh above any other; for if you take but a Piece of Pork, and train it over a Badger's Burrow, if he be within, it will entice him out immediately. They are very cold of their Nature; and when it snows they will not come out of their Holes for three or four Days together. They live long, and generally grow blind by mere Age; from which Time they never stir out of their Holes, but are fed by the rest.

The Badgers have this Subtily, that when they perceive the Terriers begin to yearn them, they will stop the Hole between the Terriers and them: If the Terriers continue baying, they will remove their Baggage with them into another Apartment or Chamber of the Burrow (their Houses having half a Dozen of Rooms at least) and thus will remove from one to the other, till they can go no further, barricading the Way as they go.

To hunt the Badger, you must seek the Earth and Burrows where he lies, and in a clear Moon-shine Night, go and stop all the Holes, except one or two, placing Sacks therein, fastened with drawing Springs, which may shut him in as soon as he strains the Bag. The Bags thus set, cast off your Hounds, and beat all the Groves, Hedges, or Tufts, within a Mile or two. What Badgers are abroad, being alarmed by the Dogs, will strait repair to their Earths, and so be taken. He that stays to watch the Sacks, must stand close, and upon a clear Wind; else the Badger will find him, and fly some other Way for Safety. If the Hounds either encounter him, or undertake the Chase, before he can get into his Earth, he will stand at bay like a Boar, and make excellent Sport.

Note, That our next Chase will be that of the Otter, which is an amphibious Creature, living both in the Water and on Land; and which some have imagined to be of the Castor or Beaver-Kind; its outward Form bearing a Similitude of that Beast, except the Tail, differing besides in Habitation; the Beaver frequenting both salt and fresh Water, and the Otter only the fresh.

Though the Otter lives much in the Water, he does not breathe like Fishes, but after the Manner of Quadrupeds; yet will remain a long while under Water without Respiration. If he wants Prey in the Water, he quits it for the Land; and if by much hunting a Shoar, he cannot have a full Refection, he will feed on Herbs, Snails, or Frogs; taking the same Pains in the Water to satisfy Hunger, and swimming two Miles together against the Stream, that he may, when his Belly is full, be carried by the Current down to his intended Lodging, which is near the Water, arti-

ficially built with Boughs, Sprigs, and Sticks, laid together in a marvellous Order, wherein he sets to keep himself from the Wet. He is web-footed like the Water-Fowl, and has an admirable Smell, whereby he will directly wind a Fish in the Water a Mile or two off; therefore he is a most pernicious Beast to a Fish-Pond, his Dexterity at Diving and Hunting under Water, being such, that scarce any Fish can escape him; taking always much more than he can dispense withal.

The Flesh of this Beast is cold and fishy, because he feeds on stinking Fish; for which Reason, it is not eaten among the *English*; though among the *German*s it is a pretty common Food; and the *Carthusian* Monks, who are forbidden to eat all Manner of Flesh, are allowed this.

The Otter is to be hunted with particular Dogs, called *Otter-Hounds*, and also with special Instruments, called *Otter-Spears*. To find them out, some are to go on one Side of the River, and some on the other, beating all the Way on the Banks, with the Dogs following. Thus it is soon found, if there be an Otter in that Quarter; for the Otter cannot endure long in the Water, but must come forth to make his Spraints, and in the Night sometimes to feed on Grass and other Herbs. If the Hounds find an Otter, look in the soft and moist Places to learn by the Prints, which Way he bent his Head. If the Prints make no Discovery, you may partly perceive it by the Spraints, and so follow the Hounds, and lodge him as a Hart or Deer. If you find not the Otter quickly, you may imagine then he is gone to couch somewhere farther off from the River; for sometimes he will seek his Food a Mile from his Place of Rest, chusing rather to go up the River than down, because upwards he meets with better Scent of Fish; and bearing his Nose into the Wind, he will the sooner find any Fault that is above him.

The Otter always endeavours to keep to the Water where he is Master. — In hunting him, therefore, you are to be ready with your Spears, to watch his Vents, for that is the chief Advantage; and if you perceive where the Otter swims under Water, then strive to get to a Stand before him, where you expect he will vent, and there endeavour to strike him with the Spear: If you miss, pursue him with the Hounds; which, if they be good, and well entered, will come chaunting and trailing along by the River Side, and beat every Tree, Root, every Oser Bed, and Tuft of Bulrushes; nay sometimes they will take the Water, and beat it like a Spaniel, by which Means the Otter can hardly escape.

If the Beast finds himself wounded with a Spear, he makes to Land, where he will maintain a furious Battle with the Dogs; and unless they be first wounded, they will not forsake the Water; for they are not ignorant how safe a Refuge the Waters are for them, and how unequal the Combat must be which they maintain on Land, with Men and Dogs; yet, because the cold Water annoys their green Wounds, they spin out their Lives to the Length of the Thread, chusing rather to die in Torments among Dogs, than to die in the Water.

An Otter and Ferret grow salt much about the same Time, and bring forth their Young much after the same Manner, neither having their constant Number.

Note, That besides the aforementioned Chases, which are the only ones practis'd here in *England*, there are others practis'd in other Countries, where there are several Sorts of Game, not to be met with in *England*, as the *Wolf*, *wild Goat*, *wild Boar*, *Bear*, *Beaver*, and *Elk*; and as my Work bears the Character of Universality, and as such, is calculated for the Instruction of the whole World; I must here take Notice of the Method of *Hunting* those different Sorts of Beasts, beginning by the *Wolf*.

The *Wolves* go a clicketting in *February*, and continue in that Manner ten or twelve Days. Where there are many Wolves, many will follow one Bitch; but the Bitch will be only lined by one; for after she has carried the Males after her, sometimes eight or ten Days, without Meat, Drink, or Rest; when they are tired that they can go no farther, she first lies down, the rest following her Example; when she perceives that

that they are all asleep, and snoring through Weariness, she rises, and awakes that *Wolf* she observ'd to follow her most, entices him with her, far from the rest, and suffers him to line her. The rest awaking, and finding how cunningly she has deluded them, fall instantly on her Companion, which has been beforehand with them, and revenge themselves upon him, by depriving him of his Life, whence the Proverb, *Never Wolf yet ever saw his Sire*.

Their Whelps are able to ingender at twelve Months old, and then part with their Dam, that is, when those Teeth are grown, which they cast the first half Year; and being grown, they never shed them again. And here see their Gratitude (for *Tuberville* will not believe the aforesaid Story) after they have preyed for themselves, if they chance to meet their Dam or Sire, (though bloody cruel Creatures) they will fawn upon them, and lick them, rejoicing at the Sight of them. The Dog will never bring any of his Prey to his Whelps, till he has filled his own Belly, whereas the Bitch will not eat a Bit, till she has served them first. They go nine Weeks with Whelps, sometimes a little longer, and grow salt but once a Year. They prey upon all Kinds of Things, and feed on Carrion, Vermin, &c. They will kill a Cow, or a Bullock, and as for a Sheep, Goat, &c. they carry him off in their Mouths, without touching the Ground with it; and run so fast away, notwithstanding the Load, that they are hardly to be stopp'd but by Mastiffs or Horse-Men. — No Beast runs faster than the Wolf, and holds very long. When he is hunted with Hounds, he flies not far before them; and unless he be coursed with Grey-hounds and Mastiffs, he keeps the Coverts like the Bear or Boar, and especially the beaten Ways. Night is the usual Time of his preying, though Hunger will force him to prey by Day. They are more subtle and crafty than the Fox or any other Beast: When hunted they take all the Advantage they can; at any other Time, they never run much, but keep themselves in Breath and Strength.

When a *Wolf* falls into a Flock of Sheep, he would, if he could, kill them all before he feeds on any. They bark and howl like Dogs; and if there be but two together, they make such a terrible hideous Noise, that one would think there could be no less than twenty in a Body.

To hunt a *Wolf*, the Huntsman must first look out some convenient Place, a Mile or more distant from some great Wood or Forest, where there is some Close standing, to place a Brace of good Grey-hounds, near a Pond of Water, if possible; there he must kill a Horse that is worth nothing, and take the four Legs thereof, and carry them into the Woods, and Forest adjoining; then four Men should take each one Leg of the Beast, and draw it at his Horse's Tail, all along the Paths and Ways in the Woods, till they come back to the Place where the Carcass of the Beast lies, where they must lay down their Trains. Now when the *Wolves* go out in the Night to prey, they'll follow the Scent of the Train till they come to the Carcass. Then the Sportsmen must come early and privately near the Place; and if the *Wolves* be discernible, while they are feeding, having first considered which Way will be the fairest Course for the Grey-hounds, they'll place them accordingly, forestalling, as near as they can, with their Grey-hounds, the same Way the *Wolves* did, or are flying, either at that Time or the Night before. But if the *Wolves* be in the Coverts, near the Carrion, Hewers must be set round those Coverts, to make a Noise on every Side, except on that where the Grey-hounds stand, keeping close together, and making what Noise they can to force them to the Grey-hounds. Then the Huntsman goes with his Leam-Hounds, and draws from the Carrion to the Thickets Sides, where the *Wolves* have gone in, casting there the third Part of his best Hounds; for the *Wolf* will hold a Covert a long Time before he comes out. He must hold near the Hounds, blowing hard, and encouraging them with his Voice: For several Hounds will strain Courtesie at this Chase, tho' they are strong and fit for all other Chases.

VOL. II.

When the *Wolf* comes to the Grey-hounds, they who hold them should suffer him to pass by the first Rank till he comes further, when the last Rank must let slip their Grey-hounds full in his Face, all the other Ranks letting slip also; so that the first Rank staying him but ever so little, he may be assaulted on all Sides at once; and thereby he'll be more easily taken.

A *Wolf* will stand a whole Day before a good Kennel of Hounds, unless Grey-hounds, or *Wolf* Dogs course him. If he stands at bay, have a Care of being bit by him; for as he is then mad, the Wound is desperate, and hard to be cured.

The Province of *Britanny* in *France*, where I was born, being a woody Country, full of large Forests, has Abundance of *Wolves*, which cause often great Ravages among the Flocks of all Sort of Cattle, they even attack Horses, when not on their Guard, seizing them by the Throat, which they do rather by Craft than open Force, otherwise a Horse would be too strong for a *Wolf*. The Gentlemen who have Estates on the Borders of Forests, assemble their Tenants, especially on a Sunday, to beat Part thereof, with a great Noise, to force out the *Wolves*, while others stand on the Cross-ways, to shoot them as they pass by, whereby a great Number of *Wolves* are destroy'd. Besides the Money allowed to every one who at any other Time shall kill a *Wolf*, the Reward increasing according to the Number of *Wolves* they kill. We commonly hunt them with *Leam-Hounds*; but this Chase is very fatiguing, and I have seen *Wolves* jumping over the Wall of a Park 20 Foot high, which the Dogs which followed them could not do, and therefore was left in Default. The Grandfather of the present King of *France*, was a great Admirer of *Wolf-Hunting*, and preferred it to any other Chase whatever.

Note, That it is best to enter the Hounds at young *Wolves*, which are not above half a Year or a Year old; for a Hound is more willing to hunt this than an old one; or you may take *Wolves* alive in Engines, and breaking their Teeth, enter your Hounds at them.

Note also, That you may know a Dog *Wolf* from a Bitch, by the Tracks of his Feet; for a Dog has a greater Heel, a greater Toe, greater Nails, and a rounder Foot. Besides, the Bitch commonly casts her Fiaunts in the Middle of the Highway, whereas the Dog casts them either on the one Side or the other of the Path.

Another dangerous Chase, both for Men and Dogs, but particularly the Dogs, is that of the *wild Boar*.

Note, That the *Boar* is always pigged with as many Teeth at first, as he shall have ever after, which only increase in Bigness, not in Number. Among the rest, they have four which are called *Tusbes* or *Tusks*, whereof the two biggest do not hurt when he strikes, but serve only to wet the two lowest, with which they frequently kill. They feed upon all Kind of Corn and Fruits they can come at; and also on Roots. In *April* and *May*, they feed on the Buds of Plumb-Trees, and Chestnut-Trees, and all other sweet Buds they can find, especially on the Buds of Broom and Juniper, and are never masted, as the tame Swine are. Near the Sea-Coast, they feed on all Manner of Shell-Fish. If it happens, that there is a *Sounder* of them together, if any of them break *Sounder*, the rest will run that Way; and if a *Boar* be hunted from a thick and strong Covert, he'll go back the same Way he came thither: And when he is reared he never slays, but flies continually, till he comes to the Place where he was farrowed and brought up. This Mr. *Tuberville* observ'd, while he was in *France*, and says, that he saw a *Boar* hunted from a Thicket, which returned the same Way he came, to the Place of his farrowing, which was seven *French* Leagues distant: And this was performed by the Track of his Feet.

If the *wild Boar* be hunted in a Forest or Hole where he was bred, he is hardly to be forced out of it. Sometimes he takes Head, seems to go out, and draws to the Outfides of the Wood, but it is only

E c c

to

to hearken to every Side; and if he hears the Noise of the Hounds, he then returns, and will not be compelled to go that Way till Night, but when he has broke out of a Forest, and took Head end-ways, he is not to be put out of his Way, either by Men, Dogs, Voice, or any other Stratagems. A *Boar*, especially a great one, will not cry when kill'd; though the Sows and young Swine will sometimes.

Note also, That there are Terns peculiar to this Chase, viz. a *Boar* of three Years old, is called a *young Boar*, which has lately left the *Sounder*. An old *Boar* is called a *Singular*, or *Sangler*. To say that the *Boar* fed the Night before, it is said, *he fed in the Corn*. If he feeds in the Fields or Meadows, it is called *rouling*; and *worming*, when he feeds on Roots; and *grazing*, when he feeds on any Thing else.

A *wild Boar* should never be hunted with Hounds and Force, before he be in his fourth Year; for if he be hunted when he is but three Years old, he will stand up as long, if not longer, than any young Deer, which bears but three in the Top.

As this Chase is very dangerous, the Huntsmen must never take the Field without being very well armed with *Boar-Spears*, and accompanied with a good Store of very strong and bold Hounds, and not to be discouraged by the Slaughter of their Comrades; for I have seen several *wild Boars*, making Head against both Men and Dogs, and slaughter several Dogs, tossing some of them into the Air, and rentng the Bellies of others with their Tusks, before they could be killed themselves.

In the Rearing of the *Boar*, you need not be afraid to come near him, for he values you not, and will lie still, and not be rear'd by you alone. — If he intends to abide in his Den, Couch, or Fort, he'll make some Crossings or Doublings at the Entry thereof, upon the Highway, or beaten Path; whereby a Huntsman being early in the Wood, may judge of the Subtilty of the *Boar*, and make Preparations accordingly.

If he be a great *Boar*, and one that hath lain long to rest, he must be hunted with a good Store of Hounds, and such as will stick close to him; the Huntsman being on Horse-back among them, to charge the *Boar* and discourage him; for such a *Boar* will not mind a Dozen Couple of Dogs; and when they have chased him, will take Courage, and keep them at bay, running at any Thing he seeth before him; but if he be charged home, and hard laid unto with the Hounds, he will turn Head and fly.

This Beast should be raised early in the Morning, before he has discharged his Bladder, for the Burning of it makes him soon weary. When first raised out of the Wood, he snuffles in the Wind, lifting up his Nose to smell what is with him, and what against him; and rarely strikes a Man before he be first wounded himself.

The Hunting-Spear must be very sharp and broad, branching forth into certain Forks, so that the *Boar* may not break through them upon the Huntsman. The best Places to wound the *wild Boar* in, are the Middle of his Forehead betwixt his Eye-lids, or else upon the Shoulder; either of those Wounds is mortal. For if he be not mortally wounded, he will run fiercely upon his Pursuers, and make Head against them; on which Occasion, the Huntsman must not fly, but rather meet him with his Spear, holding one Hand on the Middle of it, and the other at the End, standing one Foot before the other, and observing carefully which Way the Beast turns his Head; for the *Boar* is so daring, that, if he finds an Opportunity, he'll snatch the Spear out of the Hand of the Huntsman, or else recoil the Force back again upon him, whereby he is in great Danger of his Life: Whenever this happens, the sole Remedy is, that another Huntsman must charge the *Boar* with his Spear, and then to pretend to wound him, though he must not do it, for fear, in casting of his Dart, he should hurt the Huntsman who first engaged the *Boar*, which seeing this, forsakes the first Man, and rushes upon the second, who must be upon his Guard, and ready to defend himself with all the Dexterity he is Master of. In the mean Time, he that was overthrown must rise again, and run with his Spear to his Friend's Assistance.

When a *wild Boar* feels himself mortally wounded, were it not for the Forks of the *Boar-Spear*, he would press on the Huntsman, who has wounded him, to revenge his Death; for such is the Fury of this Beast, that he will endeavour to wound and kill, though he feels upon himself the Pangs of Death; and what Place soever he bites, whether Men or Dogs, the Heat of his Teeth causes an Inflammation in the Wound. — As for the other Devices, Diligence, Labour, Prosecution, and Observations used in Hunting the *wild Boar*, they are the same with those prescribed for the Chase of the *Hart*.

Note, That as there is a great Number of *wild Goats* in *Wales*, though none in *England*, it will not be improper to give Place here to some Observations on the *wild Goat*, and to some Rules for that Chase.

The *wild Goat* is as big as a *Hart*, but not quite so long in the Body, nor in the Legs, their Age is known by the Wreaths and Wrinkles they have on their Horns; for their Age is numbered according to the Quantity of those Wreaths, which he mews, but not his Beam, which, if an old Goat, may be as big as a Man's Leg. They have a long Beard, are of a brownish grey Colour, very shaggy, with a long black List down the Ridge of the Back; and their Track is bigger than the Slot of a *Hart*. They fawn in *May*, and have but one Fawn, which they suckle and bring up, as a tame Goat does her Kid. They feed like Deer, only they will eat besides, Ivy, Moss, and the like. In the Spring they make their Fawns round, and afterwards broad and flat, as the *Hart* when he comes to feed well. They go to rut about *Alballowtide*, and continue therein a Month or five Weeks. That Season over, they descend from the Mountains and Rocks, their Abode for the Summer Season, and herd themselves; not only to avoid the Snow, but because the Mountains and Rocks afford them Food no longer; and yet they come not very low, but keep at the Foot of the Mountains, feeding there till *Easter*; then they return again, every one chusing some strong Hole in the Rocks. About Fawning-Time; the Females separate from the Males till Rutting-Time: In this Interval, they will run at Man or Beast, and fight as *Harts* do, one against another. When he goes to rut, his Throat and Neck is much bigger than usual; he is very strong back'd, and (which is surprizing) tho' he should fall down from a high Place, he will receive no Harm; walking as secure on the sharp Tops of Rocks, as a Horseman does in a high Road.

The properest Season for Hunting the *wild Goat*, is *Alballowtide*, observing well, before you hunt, the Advantages of the Coasts, and the Rocks, and other Places, where the *Goats* lie. This previously done, you must set Nets and Toils towards the Rivers and Bottoms; since it is impossible the Hounds should follow a *Goat* down every Place of the Mountains. Tho' it is necessary that some of the Huntsmen should stand on the Top of the Rocks, and throw down Stones as they see occasion. Where the *Goat* goes down to the small Brooks or Waters in the Bottom, there place your Relays, and let them never tarry till the Hounds come in, which were cast off. And this is the best Help, for a Man can neither follow on Foot, nor on Horseback.

Note, That *Bear-Hunting* is as dangerous as that of the *wild Boar*; but it is seldom practised for Diversion, in the northern Climates of *Europe*; and in the *Helvetian Alps*, where they are so strong and courageous, that they can tear in Pieces, Oxen, Horses, &c. for which Reason, they are often hunted by the Inhabitants of those Countries.

The *Bear* is of an excessive lustful Disposition; for Night and Day, the Females provoke the Males to Copulation, at which Time they are more fierce and angry than at any other. They go to Mate in the Beginning of Winter, some sooner, some later, according to their Rest and Feeding. And their Heat lasts no longer than fifteen Days. They follow in their Copulation the Manner of Man, and continue so long in the Act, that if they were sat at their first

first Entrance, they disjoin not themselves again till they be lean. It is reported in History, that in the Mountains of *Savoy* a Bear carried a young Maid into his Den, where he had a carnal Use of her Body; and while he kept her went forth daily, and brought her the best Fruits he could get for her Food; but taking Care always when he went to Forage to rowl a large Stone to the Mouth of his Den, lest the young Woman should escape from him; who was found at last by her Parents, and delivered from her Captivity.

The Bears are naturally very cruel, and very strong on all the Parts of their Body, except their Head, where a small Blow proves mortal.

When the *She-Bear* perceives herself with Whelps, she withdraws into some Cave or hollow Rock, where she remains till she brings forth her Whelps, which grow fat, especially the Males, by only sucking their fore Feet. They enter their Den backwards, to steal their Foot-steps from the Sight of the Huntsman.

The Bears are naturally so chilly, that they hide themselves in Winter, chusing rather to starve than be exposed to the Rigour of the Season; lying commonly for three or four Months together, without so much as seeing the Light. When they come forth, they are so dazled by the Light, that they stagger and reel instead of walking; and to relax their Guts, straightned by their long Abstinence, they eat an Herb called *Arum*, in English *Wake-robin*, or *Calf's-Foot*.

They are whelped most commonly in *March*, some times two, and not above five in Number; most part of them are dead one whole Day after they are whelped; but the *Bear* licking them, warming them with her Breath, and hugging them in her Bosom, revives them again. They are littered blind, without Hair, the hind Legs not perfect, the fore Feet folded up like a Fist, and the other Members deformed, by reason of the immoderate Moisture in them. As soon as the Dam perceives her Cubs to grow strong, she suckles them no longer. Afterwards she preys abroad upon any Thing she can meet with, and which she casts up again to her young ones, and so feeds them till they can prey for themselves.

The Bears tumble and wallow in Water and Mire as Swines, and feed like a Dog. Some say, their Flesh is very good Food, I have eat none, but in an extream Want of Provisions at Sea, I have eat Bisket fried in Bear-Grease, which I found delicious then, because had nothing else on board, our Voyage having been much longer than could have been reasonably expected.

The Bear may be hunted with Hounds, Mastiffs, and Grey Hounds, and they are chased, and killed with Bows, Boar-Spears, Darts, and Swords.

The best Method to find a Bear, is with a Leam Hound; or with the same Sort of Trail we use after a Buck or Roe. The most expeditious Way to hunt him, is to mingle Mastiffs among Hounds; for they will pinch the Bear, and so provoke her to Anger, till at last they bring her to the Bay; or else she may be driven from the Plain into a Covert, where she is not to be left at Rest till she fights in her own Defence.

They naturally abide in Mountains; but when it snows, or in hard Weather, they descend into Valleys and Forests for Provision. They cast their *Leffes* sometimes in round Croteys, and sometimes flat like a Bullock, according to their Feeding. When they come from Feeding they commonly beat the High-ways and beaten Paths; and when they have quitted the High-ways, you may be sure they are gone to their Dens; for they use no Doublings nor Subtilties. They go sometimes a Gallop, and sometimes an Amble; but walk easier when they wallow. They have an excellent Scent, and smell further than any other Beast, except the Boar. When hunted, they are so heavy that they make no Speed, and so are always in Sight of the Dogs. They stand not at Bay as a Boar, but fly wallowing; but if the Hounds stick in, they will fight valiantly in their own Defence; sometimes they stand upright on their hind Feet, which must be taken as a Sign of Fear and Cowardice; for they fight stoutest and strongest on all

four. While hunted they'll follow a Man, but not run upon him, unless they are wounded. They are so strong in their Paws, that they will hug a Man or Dog till they have broke his Back, or squeeze his Intrails out of his Belly: With a single Paw they will pull a lusty Dog to their Mouth. They bite so severely that they will bite a Man's Head to the Brains, and crush an Arm or Leg as a Dog does a small Bone.

The Bears may be taken in Snares, Caves, Pits, &c.

Note, That the Chase of the *Beavers* is not practised in Europe, though there be some bred in Spain, few in France, Germany, Poland, Lithuania, Sclavonia, Russia, and Prussia. But there is Abundance of them in North America; their Skins being one of the principal Commodities of those Countries.

The Beaver differs from the Otter but in the Tail; his Colour is somewhat yellow and white, aspersed with Ash-colour, which stands out between the shorter Hairs, double their Length, and neat and soft like an Otter's.

These Beasts are amphibious, living both on Land, and in fresh and salt Water, keeping the salt Water in Day-time, and the fresh in the Night; without Water they cannot live, for they participate much of the Nature of Fish. They are about the Bigness of a Country Cur, their Head short, their Ears small and round, their Teeth very long, their under Teeth standing out beyond their Lips three Fingers Breadth, and the upper about half a Finger, being very broad, crooked, strong, and sharp, standing very deep in their Mouths, wherewith they defend themselves against Beasts, take Fishes, as it were upon Hooks, and will gnaw asunder Trees as big as a Man's Thigh. Their fore Feet are like those of a Dog, and their hind like those of a Goose, made on purpose to go on Land, and swim in the Water. Their Tail is without Hair, and covered over with a Skin like that of a Seal, and six Fingers broad, and half a Foot long. They are accounted a delicate Dish, and eat like Barbels.

The *Beavers* are hunted in several different Manners. First, when their Caves are found (in which are several Chambers built over one another by the Water-side, to ascend or descend, according as the Water rises or falls) they make a Breach therein, wherein is thrust a little Dog, which the Beaver perceiving, she flies instantly to the End of her Cave, and there defends herself with her Teeth, till her Building be raised and she laid open to her Enemies, who kills her with Instruments for that Purpose.

The *Beavers* cannot live long under Water, but must put up their Head for Breath; which being seen by those who are hunting them, they kill them with Gun-shot, or Otter-Spears. His Nature is, if he hears any Noise, to put up his Head above Water, whereby he is discovered, and so loses his Life.—Those Skins are best which are blackest.

Note, That the Chase of the *Elk*, which is the last I'll take Notice of, is also very rare. This Beast is twice as big as a Hart; and has his upper Lip so large, that it hangs over the nether so far, as to hinder him from eating going forwards; so that as he eats he is obliged to go backwards. His Mane is different both on the Top of his Neck, and underneath his Throat, which bunches like a Beard or curled Lock of Hair, his Neck is so short, that it is not at all proportionable to the rest of his Body. Both Males and Females have two large Horns bending backwards in a plain Edge, the Spikes standing forwards: Those Horns are solid at the Root, and round, but afterwards branched, broader than a Hart's Horns, and very heavy, being not above two Foot long; they mew them every Year. The Colour of the *Elk* is much like that of a Hart; he has cloven Feet, but without Joints in his fore Legs, and therefore sleeps leaning on Posts or Trees, and fights not with his Horns, but with his fore Feet. It is a very timorous Creature, which does not care to stir much, unless provoked to it by Hunting; which may be done without Danger, provided the Huntsman avoids coming right before him; for

for if this Beast fasten his fore Feet upon him, he cannot escape alive; but if the *Elk* receives any small Wound it instantly dies.

The *Elks* are taken by Nets and Toils, or in the same Manner the Elephants are taken; for when those who hunt them have found the Trees whereunto the *Elk* leans, they cut or saw them in such a Manner, that when the *Elk* comes to lean against it, the Tree falls and the *Elk* with it, and being not able to rise is thus taken alive. When they are chased eagerly, and can find no Place to rest themselves, and lie secret, they run to the Water where they stand, taking up some of it into their Mouths, where in a short Time it grows so hot, that squirting it upon the Dogs, it scalds them in such a Manner, that they do not dare approach the *Elk* any more.

Note, That the *Hunting* used by the Antients, was much like that now practised for the Rein-Deer, which is seldom hunted at Force or with Hounds, but only drawn with a Blood-Hound, and forstalled with Nets and Engines. Thus did they with all the Beasts; whence a Dog is never commended by them for opening, before he has discovered where the Beast lies; hence they were not in any Manner curious as to the Musick of their Hounds, or the Composition of their Kennel of Pack, either for Deepness, Loudness, or Sweetness of Cry, which is the principal Point in the *Hunting* of our Days. Their Huntsmen indeed were accustomed to shout and make a great Noise, as *Virgil* observes in the third of his *Georgics*; — *Ingentem Clamore preme ad retia cervum*. But that Confusion was only to bring the Deer to the Nets laid for him.

The *Sicilian* Manner of *Hunting* had something in it very extraordinary. The Nobles or Gentry being informed which Way a Herd of Deer passed, gave Notice to one another, and appointed a Meeting; every one bringing with him a Cross-Bow or Long-Bow, and a Bundle of Staves shod with Iron, the Heads bored with a Cord passing through them all: Thus provided, they came to the Herd, and casting themselves about in a large Ring, surrounded the Deer. Then each taking his Stand, unbound his Faggot, set up his Stake, and tied the End of the Cord to that of his next Neighbour, at the Distance of ten Foot from one another: Then taking Feathers died in Crimson, and fastened on a Thread, they tied them to the Cord; so that with the least Breath of Wind they would whirl round. This done, the Persons who kept the Stands, withdraw, and hide themselves in the next Covert. Then the chief Ranger entering within the Line with Hounds to draw after the Herd, roused the Game with their Cry; which flying towards the Line were turned off, and still gazing on the shaking and shining Feathers, wandered about as if kept in with a real Wall or Pale. The Ranger still pursued, and calling every Person by Name as he passed by their Stands, commanded him to shoot the first, third, or sixth, as he pleased, and if any of them missed, or singled out another than that assigned him, it was accounted a great Disgrace. By such Means, as they passed by the several Stations, the whole Herd was killed by the several Hands.

Note, also, That from those Words of God to *Adam*, *Gen. i. 26, 28.* and to *Noah*, *Gen. ix. 2, 3.* *Hunting* was considered as a Right devolved, or made over to Man; and the following Ages appear to have been of the same Sentiment. Accordingly we find that among the more civilized Nations, as the *Persians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, it made one of their genteeler Diversions; and as to the wilder and more barbarous, it served them with Food and Necessaries. The *Roman Jurisprudence*, which was formed on the Manners of the first Ages, made a Law of it, and established it as a Maxim, that as the natural Right of Things which have no Master, belongs to the first Possessor; wild Beasts, Birds, and Fishes, are the Property of whoever can take them first. But the northern Nations of *Barbarians* who over-run the *Roman Empire*, bringing with them a stronger Taste for the Diversion; and the People being now possessed of other

and more easy Means of Subsistence, from the Lands and Possessions of those they had vanquished; their Chiefs and Leaders began to appropriate the Right of *Hunting*, and instead of a natural Right, to make it a royal one. Thus it continues to this Day; the Right of *Hunting* among us belonging only to the King, and those who derive it from him.

In *France*, none but the Nobility has a Right of *Hunting*, and among them none but those who are Lords of Fiefs, who can only hunt as far as the Extent of those Fiefs, and no further; the Transgression whereof, has often been, and is still the Occasion of long and vexatious Law-Suits. The Lord of a Fief, is not so much as permitted to bring his Pack of Hounds to cross over his next Neighbour's Fief, nor when they are cast off on his own, to suffer him to enter that Fief without exposing them to the Danger of being shot; therefore when the Hounds approach the Borders of another's Fief they must be called back, though in a full Cry after a Beast, which has been raised on their own Fief. It is true, that all Noblemen are not so very litigious to take always Advantage of those Irruptions of his Neighbour's Hounds; but they have a Right to do it, and some of them do it; therefore a discreet Nobleman chuses rather to confine himself within the Limits of his Fief, than to be exposed to the Inconveniencies which commonly attend those Irruptions; or if they be made unawares, some Excuses made in a polite Manner to the Lord of the Fief, on which they have been made, is a competent Satisfaction, provided that happens but seldom. In the whole Kingdom of *France* none are more jealous of the Right of *Hunting* than my Countrymen the *Brittons*; Disputes occasioned thereby have often been decided by the Sword; and such a Dispute was the fatal Origin of all my Misfortunes.

The *English* have also Laws and Charters of the Forest, and Laws and Regulations for the Preservation of the Game, &c.

By a Statute in 33 *Henry VIII.* it is enacted, that no Person shoot with, or keep in his House any Cross-Bow, or Stone-Bow, Hand-Gun or Hagbut, under the Length of one Yard; unless he have Lands of the yearly Value of 100 *l.* on Pain of a Forfeiture of 10 *l.* for every Offence; nor shall any Person travel with a Cross-Bow bent, or Gun charged; or shoot within a Quarter of a Mile of a City or Town, except at a dead Mark, or in Defence of his House, under the like Forfeiture, to be divided between the King and the Prosecutor. None under the Degree of a Baron shall shoot with a Hand-Gun within a City or Town; or shoot at any Fowl whatever with Hail-Shot; on the same Forfeiture. *Id. Stat.*

Any Person shooting in the Night-time, or disguised, shall be deemed a Felon, if he deny; if he confess, he is fineable at the next general Session, 1 *Hen. VII.*

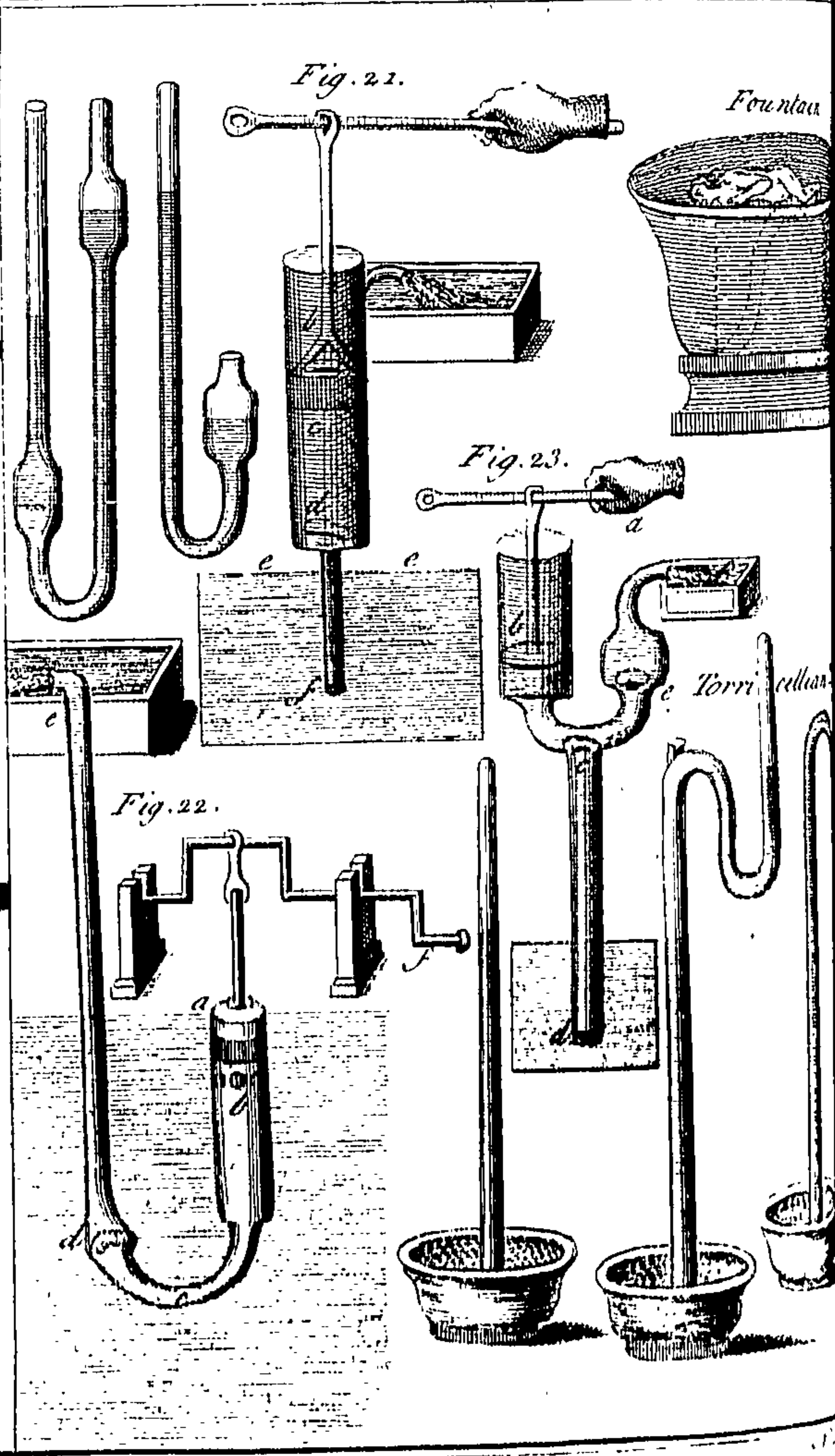
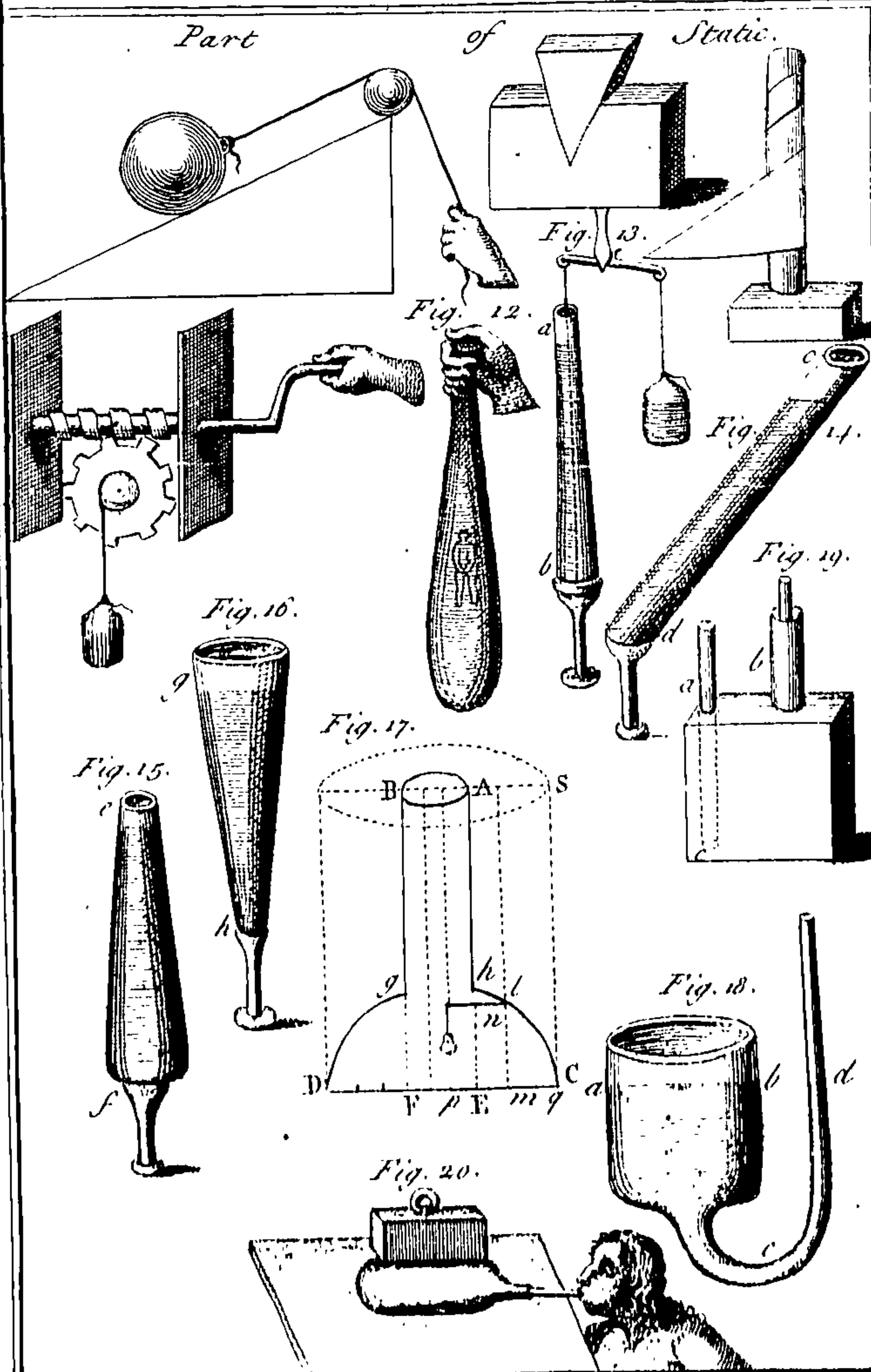
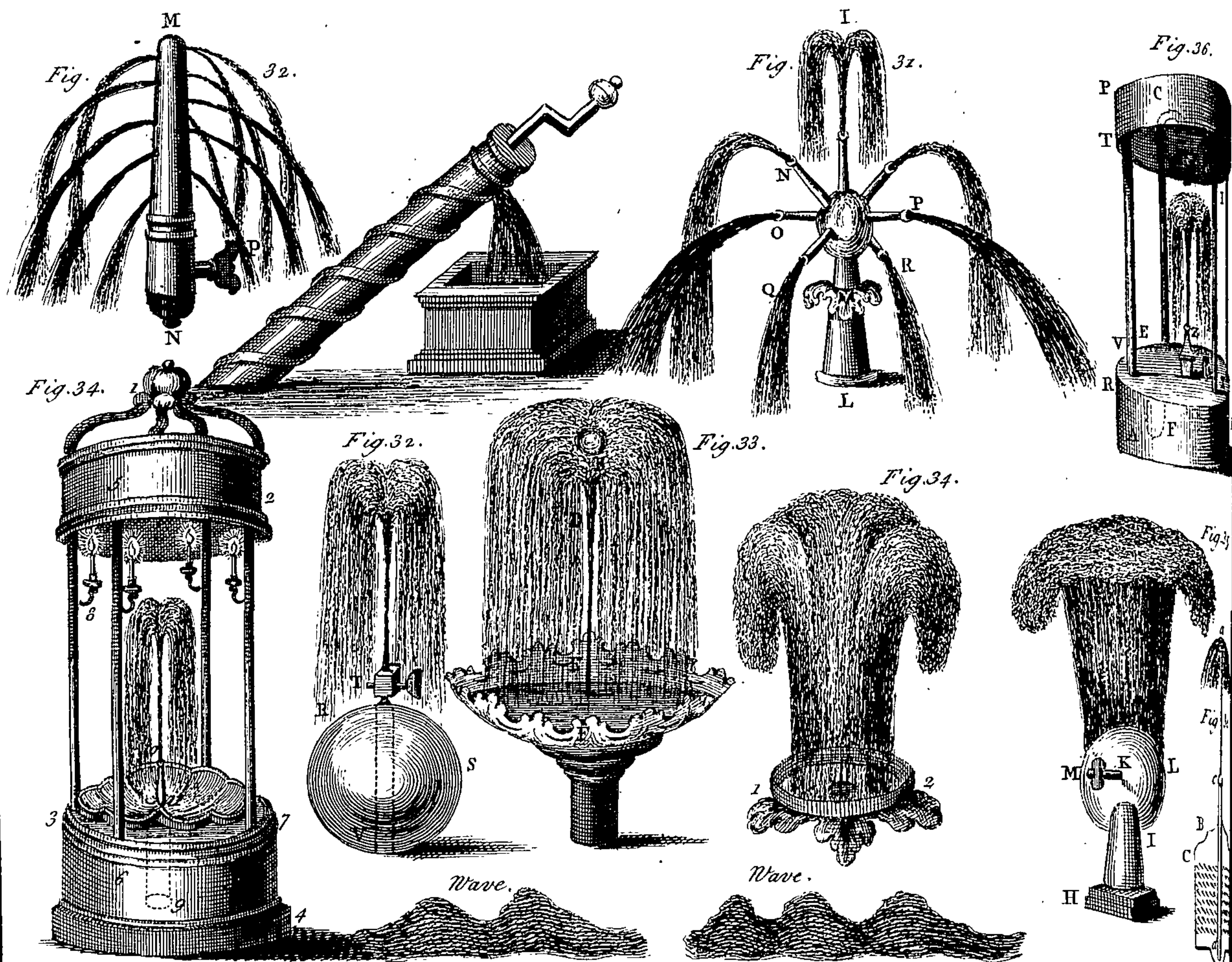
None shall kill or take Pheasants or Partridges, with any Net or Engine in the Night-time, on Forfeiture of 20 *s.* for every Pheasant, and 10 *s.* for every Partridge, 33 *Eliz.*

None shall hunt or hawk with Spaniels in standing Corn, or before it be shocked, unless on his own Ground; on the Penalty of 40 *s.* Half to the King, and the other Half to the Proprietor of the Ground.

He that is convicted of killing or taking a Pheasant, Partridge, Duck, Heron, Hare, or other Game; or of taking or destroying the Eggs of Swans, Pheasants, or Partridges, shall pay 20 *s.* for every such Fowl, Hare, &c. to the Use of the Poor, 1 *Jac. I.*

Every Person convicted to have kept a Grey-hound Dog, or Net, to kill, or take Deer, Hare, Pheasant, or Partridge, unless he have Inheritance of 10 *l. per Annum*, a Lease for Life of 31 *l. per Annum*, or be worth 200 *l.* in Goods, or be the Son of a Knight, or Heir apparent of an Esquire, shall pay 40 *s.* for the Use aforesaid. Nor shall any sell, or buy to sell again, any Deer, Hare, Pheasant, or Partridge, on Pain of 40 *s.* *Idem. Stat.*

The Lord of a Manor, or one having Inheritance of 40 *l. per Ann.* Freehold of 10 *l.* or Goods worth 400 *l.* or their Servants licensed by them, may take Pheasants



Pheasants or Partridges, within their own Lands, or Precincts, in the Day-time, between *Michaelmas* and *Christmas*, 7 *Jac.* I.

No Layman, who has no Lands of 40 *s.* *per Annum*; nor Clerk, who has not 10 *l.* Revenue, shall keep any Grey-hound, Hound, Ferret, Net, or Engine, to destroy Deer, Hare, Conies, or other Gentleman's Game; on Pain of a Year's Imprisonment, 13 *Jac.* I.

They that kill and take away Red, or Fallow Deer, without Consent of the Owner, shall forfeit 20 *l.* to be taken by Distress; one half to the Owner, and the other to the Informer; or for Want of such Distress, suffer a Year's Imprisonment, 13 *Car.* II.

Lords of Manors, or other Royalties, not under the Degree of Esquire, may Commission one or more Game-Keepers, who may seize all Dogs, Guns, Bows, &c. of Persons not having Estates of 100 *l.* *per Annum*, Freehold, or 150 *l.* Leasehold, or are not Sons and Heirs of Esquires; and destroy, or convert such Guns, &c. to the Use of the Lord, 22 *Car.* II.

If any enter a Coney-Warren, though not inclosed, and chase or kill Conies, he shall forfeit treble Damages, and be imprisoned three Months: And they that kill Conies in the Night-time, upon the Borders of Warrens, or Grounds used for keeping Conies, shall be amerced at the Discretion of the Justice of Peace, in any Sum, not exceeding 10 *s.* *Id. Stat.*

He who unlawfully hunts, takes in Toils, kills, or takes away any Deer, in any Forest, Chase, Park, Purlieu, or other inclosed Ground, or shall be aiding or assisting therein, shall forfeit 30 *l.* for every Deer killed, taken, or even wounded; and 20 *l.* tho' none shall be wounded or taken, to be levied by Distress, 3 *Will.* and *Mary.* And if the Keeper of the Forest, &c. be an Offender herein, or be aiding thereto, he shall forfeit 50 *l.* 5 *Geo.* I.

In Case any Hare, Partridge, Pheasant, Fish, Fowl, or other Game, shall be found in any Offender's House, he shall forfeit a Sum not less than 5 *s.* nor more than 20, to be levied by Distress; or in Want thereof, be committed to the House of Correction, for a Space of Time not greater than a Month, nor less than ten Days. And not qualified by Law, shall keep, or use any Bows, Grey-hounds, Setting-Dogs, Ferrets, Tumblers, Snares, &c. he shall be subject to the same Penalties.

If any Higler, Chapman, Carrier, Inn-keeper, or Victualler, shall have in his Keeping, any Hare, Pheasant, Partridge, Heath Game, or Growse, not put in his Hands by Persons qualified by Law, he shall forfeit 5 *l.* for every such Hare, &c. half to the Informer, and half to the Poor, levied by Distress;

or for Want thereof, be sent to the House of Correction for three Months, 5 *Annæ.*

Persons not qualified for keeping Grey-hounds, Lurchers, Setting-Dogs, or Engines to destroy Game; or Game-Keepers, who under Colour of their Office, kill, and sell Game, without their Master's Knowledge, are liable to the like Penalty, *Id. Stat.*

No Lord of a Manor to appoint more than one Game-Keeper, and his Name to be enter'd with the Clerk of the Peace, who is to give a Certificate thereof; otherwise he is liable to the Penalties against Higlers, 5 *Annæ.*

If any Hare, Pheasant, &c. be found in the Possession of a Person not qualified; unless he be entitled to it by some Person that is qualified; the same shall be adjudged an exposing it to Sale. — Persons destroying a Hare in the Night, shall incur the Forfeiture of 5 *l.* 5 *Annæ.*

No Lord of a Manor shall appoint a Game-Keeper, with Power to kill or destroy Game, unless he be truly a Servant of such Lord, or be immediately employed to kill Game for the sole Use of such Lord: Nor shall any Lord authorize a Person not qualified, to keep or use Guns, Grey-hounds, &c. and such Persons as shall be found offending in either of these Points, shall for every Offence, fine 5 *l.* 3 *Geo.* I.

Lastly, if any Person enter a Park, Paddock, or other inclosed Ground, where Deer are usually kept, and wilfully wound or kill any Red or Fallow Deer, he shall be transported to the Plantations for seven Years, 5 *Geo.* I.

The Laws of the *Norman Kings of England*, were still more severe than all the aforementioned. For *William the Conqueror* decreed, the Eyes of any Person to be pulled out, who took either a Buck or Boar. *William Rufus* makes the stealing of a Doe a hanging Matter: The taking of a Hare was fined at 20 *s.* and a Coney at 10 *s.* *Eadmer* adds, that fifty Persons of Fortune being apprehended by that last Prince, for killing his Bucks, were forced to purge themselves by the Fire of *Ordeal*, &c.

Henry I. made no Distinction between him who killed a Man, and a Buck; and punished those who destroyed the Game, tho' not in the Forest, either by Forfeiture of their Goods, or Loss of Limbs; though *Henry II.* remitted it for a temporal Imprisonment.

Richard I. revived the old Discipline of Gelding, and pulling out the Eyes of those convicted of Hunting in the Forest: But he afterwards relaxed a little, and was contented to make such Convicts abjure the Realm, or be committed, or pay a Fine.

HYDRAULICKS and HYDROSTATICKS.

HYDRAULICKS (from the *Greek*, *υδραυλικός*, founding Water) is that Part of Staticks, which considers the Motion of Fluids, and particularly Water; with the Application thereof in artificial Water-works. To *Hydraulicks* belong not only the conducting and raising of Water, with the constructing of Engines for those Purposes; but also the Laws of Motion of fluid Bodies.

HYDROSTATICKS explain the Equilibrium of Fluids, or the Gravitation of Fluids at rest; upon removing that Equilibrium, Motion ensues; and here *Hydraulicks* commence.

Hydraulicks, therefore, suppose *Hydrostaticks*; which induces me to begin this Treatise by *Hydrostaticks*; and *Hydrostaticks*, by proving against the vulgar Opinion of the Schools, that all the sensible Elements, *viz.* the Air, the Water, and the Earth, and all heavy Bodies, are ponderous in their proper Places, *i. e.* the Water of the Sea, in its Bed; and a Stone, or any other heavy Body, placed on the Earth, have a gravitating Force, or Gravity. And such are called proper or natural Places of all heavy Bodies, which have been assigned to them by Nature, according to their Manner of Gra-

Vol. II.

vity in that elementary Region; which *Aristotle*, *Lib. 4. de Caelo*, c. 4. seems to insinuate; and which I prove in the following Manner.

Those Bodies have a gravitating Force in their proper Places, which being compressed by the subtile Matter, can scarce be removed from that Place, in which the Ratio of Gravity seems to be placed. But the sensible Elements, and all heavy Bodies, compressed by the subtile Matter, can scarce be removed from their Place; as it appears in Water, Earth, &c. which cannot be raised upward without Difficulty: — Therefore the sensible Elements, and all other heavy Bodies, have a gravitating Force in their proper Place. For the Water of the Sea, by its Gravity, does no less compress its Bed, than Water contained in a Vessel, compresses by its Gravity, the Bottom of that Vessel; but it is confirmed by repeated Experiments, that Water contained in a Vessel, gravitates on its Bottom; and that the Water which occupies that Bottom, is pressed by the other Water over it. Whence if the Side of a Vessel full of Water be perforated near its Base, the greater is the Quantity of the Water contained in that Vase, the further will it

I f f

flow

flow through that Hole; therefore, &c.

To this it will be objected, first, that a heavy Body, as Lead, has less Weight in Water than in the Air; since Water diminishes very near a twelfth Part of the Weight of the Lead; and takes off, likewise, very near a ninth Part of the Weight of Copper; so that if the Weight of the Body, and that of the Water, be equal; that Body will be found to have no Gravity in the Water: And therefore Water has no Gravity in its proper Place.

I answer, that what has deceived most Philosophers, on this Point, is, that they made no Distinction between an *absolute* and *relative Gravity*.

We call *absolute Gravity*, that whereby a Body is heavy in itself, or tends downwards: And a *relative* one, that whereby a Body is heavy with Respect to our Senses; therefore Lead loses a twelfth Part of its *relative Gravity* in the Water, because we feel it lighter of a twelfth Part; but it loses nothing of its *absolute Gravity*.

If I be asked why Lead loses almost a twelfth Part of its Gravity in the Water? I'll answer, that the Reason of this Phenomenon is very easy, *viz.* that a Mass of Lead is almost twelve Times heavier than a Mass of Water of the same Volume, or Magnitude; whence that the Water may be in an Equilibrium with the Lead, its Volume must be twelve Times greater than that of the Lead. — Hence if a wooden Beam be as ponderous as an equal Volume of Water, in whatever Place it shall be put in the Water, there it will remain, without rising higher, or descending lower; and will have the Effect of a Volume of Water, which are in an Equilibrium, with Parts equal and semblable to it.

But if that Wood be much lighter than the Water, *v. gr.* twice, thrice, four Times, five Times, six Times, &c. lighter than the Water, it will take up half, a third, a fourth, a fifth, or a sixth Part of its Weight of the Water. The same as a Boat only full of Air, scarce penetrates a sixth Part of its Weight of Water; but if it be loaded with Sand, Stones, or Men, together with the Air, so that the whole Mass of the Boat, Men, Air, and Sand, approaches the Gravity of an equal Volume of Water, the Boat will be depressed lower; but if, at last, it be too much loaded, and grows heavier than an equal Mass of Water, it will be ready to sink.

The same may be said of a Glass Bottle full of Air, which represents sometimes a human Figure (fig. 12.) for that Bottle being put in a Tube or Pipe of Glass, full of Water, as it is somewhat lighter than a semblable Volume of Water, some Part thereof is seen above the Water. But its having a very small Hole on the Side; if while it is in the Water, some of the Air be pumped out, to make Room for as much Water; then, by the single Compression of the Finger on the Orifice of the Pipe, it will happen that more Water shall enter the Bottle through the Hole on the Side, and depress it more down towards the Bottom of the Tube: But if the Finger be removed, the Air left in the Figure, will, by its elastick Virtue, thrust out the little Quantity of Water, which had enter'd through the Hole, and the Figure being again render'd thereby lighter than an equal Volume of Water, will return upwards. But if so much Air be pumped from it, as to make Room for a greater Quantity of Water, then it will descend of its own proper Weight to the Bottom of the Tube, and not ascend to the Top but by pumping.

There are also other Glass Bottles, from which a greater or less Quantity of Air has been taken out, which being likewise inclosed in a Tube full of Water, where the Water grows thicker, by Cold, ascend and descend, if the Water, thro' Heat, be rarified; whereby the Degree of Heat may be known at any Time. But I'll speak of the *Thermometer*, or Instrument proper to measure the Degrees of Heat, in another Place. Therefore, so often as a Body is much more heavy, as often it is precipitated downwards; but it only loses as much of its relative Gravity, as the like Volume of Water is suspended over it, *v. g.* Copper, which is nine Times heavier than Water, loses a ninth Part of its Weight, as Gold loses a nineteenth Part. Therefore, if you suspend Gold in open Air, and afterwards put it into Water, while it remains of the same Weight

suspended in the Air, you may observe, that a ninth Part of the Equality of Weight, must be taken off, to make of it an Equilibrium with the Water.

In this Manner you'll easily discover, how much all Sorts of Bodies are heavier than Water. For Gold is nineteen Times heavier than the same Volume of the Water of the River *Seine* at *Paris*, Quicksilver almost fourteen Times; Lead almost twelve; Silver ten Times, and a thirtieth; Copper nine Times; Tin almost seven Times and a half; white Marble almost three Times; common Stone almost twice; but Wine a fifteenth Part; Wax a twentieth; and lastly, Oil a twelfth Part less ponderous than Water.

From all these it appears, why those Bodies, which were of equal Weight, while in the Air, lose their Equilibrium when weighed in Water. For if Lead and Copper, while suspended in the Air, are equal in Weight; as the Volume of the Lead must be less than that of the Copper, since Lead is heavier than Copper, if they be put into Water, the Lead shall occupy a lesser Space than Copper of the same Weight; whence it will be ballanced by a lesser Mass of Water; and thereby be heavier than Copper; tho' while in the Air it was in an Equilibrium with it.

It may be objected, that a Diver does not feel the Weight of the superincumbent Water; and that a Pail full of Water, can be easily moved here and there, while it remains in the Well; tho' out of it, it feels very heavy; and therefore, that Water does not gravitate in its proper Place.

I answer this Objection, by observing, that a Diver does not feel the Weight of the superincumbent Water, because all the Parts of the Water, sustain mutually one another in an Equilibrium, not only according to their perpendicular Lines, but likewise according to their oblique ones. For, 1. Who would deny, that they are in an Equilibrium, according to their perpendicular Lines? Since it is the Nature of Liquids, that if they be divided by our Imagination into several equal Columns, all those Columns, by Reason of the Fluidity of their Parts, will mutually counterpoise one another; for if one of them descends, the neighbouring, and adjacent ones must ascend; as when a Weight put in one Side of a Ballance descends, that in the other Side of the same Ballance must ascend; for there is no greater Reason that a Column should conquer another, than of its being conquer'd by it. 2. By Reason of the same Fluidity of the Water, those Parts which are superincumbent on the Head of the Diver, are counterpoised, according to the oblique Lines, by those which are on his Sides: Likewise those which environ his Body, are supported by others placed round them. Whence it happens, that their Weight is felt neither on the Head of the Diver, nor on his Sides.

For the same Reason, a Pail full of Water is easily rais'd from the Bottom of a Well, as far as the Superficies of the Water of the Well, because it is supported by an equal Volume of Water, as by a Counterpoise placed in another equal Column; and not because Water has no Gravity, otherwise it would not be ponderous in a Vessel, because when a Hand is plunged into it, it feels no Gravity, which, notwithstanding, a daily Experience proves to be false.

But what is more surprizing in this Place, and which no Body would believe, if it was not demonstrated by certain and evident Experiments, and is, notwithstanding, the whole Foundation of *Hydrostaticks*, is, that Fluids press upon subject Bodies, according to their perpendicular Altitude, and according to their Latitude or Breadth; having, notwithstanding Regard to the Base; which I prove in the Manner following.

The Gravity of Fluids, is to be estimated according to their Altitude, Regard being had to their Base, if they press more or less the Bottom of the Vessel in which they are contain'd, according to their greater or lesser perpendicular Altitude, whatever the Figure of the Vessel be; which is the Case of Fluids: For if several Vessels or Tubes of the same Altitude (fig. 13, 14, 15, 16.) be filled with Water, and in the Bottom of every one of them should be made an equal Aperture, and every Aperture stopp'd in the same Manner; all the Corks which stop those Apertures must be equally strong,

strong, whether the Tubes be placed in a perpendicular Manner (as *ab* fig. 13.) or inclined (as *cd*, fig. 14.) or equally wide in the Form of a Column or Cylinder, as *ab* and *cd*; or broader at one End like a Cone or Funnel (as *ef*, fig. 15. or *gb*, fig. 16.) So that if there be wanted an hundred Pound Weight to support the Water contained in the greater Tubes, 14, or 15, or 16, the same Force or Weight must be fixed at the Beam of a Ballance, to support with an Iron-wire or small Cord, the Cork of the narrower Tube *ab*, fig. 13. which Cork serves as a Base, which is pressed by the Water:—Therefore Fluids are ponderous according to their Altitude.

My Proof is confirmed by this Experiment: Let the Tube, *ABCD*, fig. 17. be wider at Bottom, and narrower at top, I say, that the Bottom *CD* is no less pressed by the Water contained in that Tube, than if the Vessel was equally wide every where, as *STDC*, of the same Figure. Which to demonstrate, the Sides *AB* *Bg*, must be carried into *E* and *F*; and afterwards, the Part of the Base *EC* is to be divided into the equal Parts *Em*, *npq* *c*. but in such a Manner, that the Latitude or Breadth of every one should not exceed half the Altitude of the Tube *BA*, or *EF*. Which done, if *Ep* be taken equal to the first Part *Em*, it may be shewn that the Column *Ei* presses equally the Bottom of the Vessel, as the Column *pA*; for if you conceive the Line *li*, as a Ballance of equal Members, *n* being the Fulcrum thereof in the right Line *AE*; and at one of its Extremities, *l*, be suspended the Weight *v*, kept in Equilibrium by the Point *i* of the Side of the Vessel, which is the other Extremitie of the Ballance, certainly the Fulcrum *n* will sustain both the Weight *v*, and the Resistance of the Point *i* equal to the Weight *v*, and consequently will carry twice the Weight of *v*.

Then let it be imagined that the Water of the Column *Ap*, has the same Effect on the Bottom *pE*, the Weight *r* has on the Arm *ul*; therefore, as the Point *i* of the Side of the Vase hinders the Weight *r* from descending, likewise the Part *bi* hinders the Water of the Column *Ap*, from forcing upwards the Water of the Column *Ei*, and therefore that Column *Ei* will by its Resistance press as much the Bottom, as the Column *Ap* presses *pE* in gravitating.

In the same Manner the Part of the Base *mq*, is as much pressed by the Column *iq*, as the Part *Em* by the Column *Ei*, i. e. as much as the Part *pE* is pressed by the Column *pA*: And thus the whole Base is as much pressed by the Water contained in the Vase *DBAC*, as it should be pressed by the Water filling up the whole Vessel *STDC*, which was to be demonstrated.

Note, That the Fluidity of the Water, is the Cause that the Column *Ap* exercises its Strength on the Column *Ei*; for if the Water should be frozen, those Columns should have no Power over one another; therefore what we say of the Water cannot be applied to Ice.

To confirm and illustrate this Doctrine of the Pressure of the Fluids, in the ratio of the Base and Altitude, provide a metallick Vessel, so contrived as that the Bottom may be moveable, and to that End fitted in the Cavity of the Vessel with a Rim of wet Leather, to slide without letting any Water pass: Then through a Hole in the Top apply successively several Tubes of equal Altitudes, but different Diameters. Lastly, fastening a String to the Beam of a Ballance, and fixing the other End by a little Ring to the moveable Bottom; put Weights in the other Scale, till they be sufficient to raise the Bottom: Then will you not only find that the same Weight is required, what Diameter or Magnitude soever the Tube be of; but even that the Weight which will raise the Bottom, when pressed by the smallest Tube, will raise it when pressed by the whole Cylinder.

The most solid and ponderous Body, which near the Surface of the Water would sink with great Velocity, yet if placed at a greater Depth than twenty Times its own Thickness will not sink, unless assisted by the Weight of the incumbent Water.

Thus immerse the lower End of a slender Glass Tube, in a Vessel of Mercury; then stopping the upper End with your Finger, you will by that Means keep about

half an Inch of that ponderous Fluid suspended in the Tube. Lastly, keeping the Finger thus, immerse the Tube in a long Glass of Water, till the little Column of Mercury be more than thirteen or fourteen Times its Length under Water; then removing the Finger, you will find that the Mercury will be kept suspended in the Tube by the Pressure of the Water upwards: But if you raise the Tube very little above the former Station, the Mercury will immediately run out; whereof, if before you had removed the Finger from the Top, you had sunk the Pipe so low, as that the Mercury were twelve or fourteen Inches, &c. below the Surface of the Water, the Mercury would be violently forced up, and make several Ascents and Descents in the Tube, till it had gained its former Station, according to the Laws of specific Gravity.

We may also make use in this Place, of the Experiment of a Siphon; for if Water be put in a Siphon or inflexed Tube (*abedc*, fig. 18.) though one Limb, viz. *ab*, be an hundred Times larger than the other, viz. *cd*, the Water will notwithstanding remain suspended in both Limbs at the same Altitude; which could not happen unless Water was ponderous according to its Altitude, or should press the Point *e*. For as there is a greater Volume of Water in the larger Limb, it should force upwards that contained in the slenderer Limb, which is contrary to Experience. Therefore Water and other Liquors gravitate in the ratio of their Altitude.

Now what has been observed in the Equilibrium of Solids, the same is found in Fluids. For then the Water must be in an Equilibrium, since on one Part its Volume, and on the other the Ratio of its Velocity is reciprocal; which is the Case of the aforesaid Experiment of the Siphon, where the Volume of the Water contained in both Limbs, and the Ratio of its Velocity are reciprocal: For when you'll have poured a hundred Times more Water into the Tube *ab*, than into *cd*, when that will be depressed towards *e* to the Height of an Ounce or Inch, then that which is in the slenderer Tube, or the Limb *cd*, will rise to the Altitude of an hundred Ounces: So that the greater is the Volume of Water in the larger Tube, the greater is its Velocity in the lesser, by reason of the Amplitude of each Tube. Therefore it is necessary that the Water should be in an Equilibrium in both, and gravitate equally every Way on the Point *e*.

This is so very true, that if there be Water in a large Vessel (fig. 19.) and the two Tubes *a* and *b* be adapted to it, of which *b* be an hundred Times thicker than *a*; Water put in the Tube *a* of a Pound, will be equivalent to the Weight of an hundred Pounds put in the Tube *b*. For the Force or Power is no less in the Weight of one Pound, for it to raise the other Weight of a hundred Pounds of Water in the Space of one Ounce, as it should happen here, than it is in the hundred Pounds, to raise one Pound in the Space of one Ounce.

Hence, if a small Tube or Pipe be adapted to the Orifice of a Hog's Bladder (fig. 20.) which is an hundred Times narrower than the Circumference of the Bladder, as the Wind blows through that small Tube into the Bladder, has an hundred Times a greater Velocity of Motion, in the small Tube than in the Bladder, for though the Wind or Breath considered in itself, has only the Force of one Pound, it is notwithstanding a Weight equivalent to a Weight of a hundred Pounds; and if the Bladder be pressed by a ninety-nine Pounds Weight, that Weight will be lifted up by the single Breath of the Mouth introduced through that Pipe into the Bladder. Notwithstanding that several imagine, that the Water contained in the Tube *a*, fig. 19, and which has the Force of one Pound, is only ponderous on the Part which is immediately under it. For the Propriety of *Liquids* inclosed in Vessels is such, that if they be compressed in any Place, the Force of the Compression inclines on every Part of the Vessel wherein they are contained; whence if any of those Parts cannot bear that Force either upwards or downwards, or on the Sides, it will presently break. Hence it is, what we have already mentioned, that Liquids are not only ponderous according to their perpendicular Lines only, but likewise according to their oblique ones, by reason of the Fluidity of their Parts. Therefore the Water of the Tube *a* is said to act,

not only on the Part *c* of the Vase subject to it, but likewise on the Orifice of the Tube *b*; the same as the Water of the lesser Tube in the Siphon *a b e d c*, fig. 18. supports in an Equilibrium, the other Water contained in the larger Limbs.

It may be objected to this, that in the Siphon, one Limb whereof is very narrow, and the other very wide, the Water in the narrower Limb is sustained higher than that contained in the broader; and therefore Fluids do not always gravitate according to their Altitude.

I answer, that the Water being raised higher in the narrower Tube than in the broader, is first to be attributed to the Texture of the Parts, whereby the small Fibres of the Water being inserted into the Meats of the Glass of the narrower Tube, adhere to its Parieties or Sides, and are raised higher. Besides, there is no doubt that the Air super-incumbent on the Orifice of the narrower Tube, presses with a far less Force the Water inclosed in it, than that contained in the larger Limb, having a much more free Access into the larger Tube than into the narrower.

So far I have explained the Laws of *Hydrostaticks*, at present I'll pass to those of *Hydraulicks*; proceeding afterwards to the Application thereof to Practice, as to conducting and raising of Water, with the constructing of Engines for that Purpose.

The first of the *Hydraulick Laws of Fluids*, is, that the Velocity of a Fluid, as Water moved by the Pressure of a superincumbent Fluid, as Air, is equal at equal Depths, and unequal at unequal Depths. For the Pressure being equal at equal Depths, the Velocity arising thence must be so too, and *vice versa*; yet the Velocity does not follow the same Proportion as the Depth; notwithstanding, that the Pressure whence the Velocity arises, does increase in the Proportion of the Depth. But here the Quantity of the Matter is concerned; and the Quantity of Motion which is compounded of the Ratio of the Quantity and Velocity of the Matter increased in equal Times as the Squares of the Velocities.

The second Law is, that the Velocity of a Fluid, arising from the Pressure of a super-incumbent Fluid, at any Depth, is the same as that which a Body would acquire in falling from a Height equal to the Depth.

The third Law is, that if two Tubes of equal Diameters full of any Fluid, be placed any how, either erect or inclined, provided they be of the same Altitude, they will discharge equal Quantities of the Fluid in equal Times. That Tubes every Way equal, should under the same Circumstances empty themselves equally is evident; and that the Bottom of a perpendicular Tube is pressed with the same Force as that of an inclined one, when their Altitudes are equal, has already been shewn; whence it easily follows, that they must yield equal Quantities of Water, &c.

The fourth is, that if two Tubes of equal Altitudes, but unequal Apertures, be kept full of Water; the Quantities of Water they yield in the same Time will be as the Diameters; and this whether they be erect or any how inclined. Hence if the Apertures be circular, the Quantity of Water emptied in the same Time, are in a duplicate Ratio of the Diameters.

This Law, *Mariotte* observes, is not perfectly agreeable to Experiment. If one Diameter be double the other, the Water flowing out of the least, is found more than a Fourth of what flows out of the greatest. But this must be owing to some accidental Irregularities in making the Experiments. *Wolffius* ascribes it principally to this, that the Column of Water directly over the Aperture, is shorter than that next the Sides or Parieties of the Vessel; for the Water in its Efflux, forms a Kind of Cavity over the Aperture, that Part immediately over it being evacuated first, and the other Water not running fast enough from the Sides to supply it. Now this Cavity or Diminution of Altitude, being greater in the greater Tube than the less; hence the Pressure endeavouring to pass out, becomes proportionably less in the greater Tube than in the less.

The fifth Law is, that if the Apertures of two Tubes be equal, the Quantity of Water discharged in the same Time will be as the Velocities.

The sixth is, that if two Tubes have equal Apertures, and unequal Altitudes, the Quantity of Water discharged

from the greater Tube, will be to that discharged from the lesser in the same Time in a subduplicate Ratio of their Altitudes. Hence, 1. The Altitudes of Water discharged through equal Apertures, will be in a duplicate Ratio of the Waters discharged in the same Time: And as the Quantities of Water are as the Velocities; the Velocities are likewise in a subduplicate Ratio of their Altitudes. Hence, 2. The Ratio of the Waters discharged by two Tubes, together with the Altitude of one of them being given; we have a Method of finding the Altitude of the other, *viz.* by finding a fourth Proportional to the three given Quantities; which Proportional, multiplied by itself, gives the Altitude required. Hence also, 3. The Ratio of the Altitude of two Tubes of equal Apertures being given, as also the Quantity of Water discharged by one of them; we have a Method of determining the Quantity the other shall discharge in the same Time. Thus to the given Altitudes, and the Squares of the Quantity of Water discharged at one Aperture, find a fourth Proportional. The square Root of this will be the Quantity of Water required.

Suppose, *e. gr.* the Height of the Tubes, as 9 to 25, and the Quantity of Water discharged at one of them three Inches; that discharged by the other will be $\sqrt{9 \cdot 25 : 9} = \sqrt{25} = 5$.

The seventh Law is, that if the Altitudes of two Tubes be unequal, and the Apertures likewise unequal, the Quantities of Water discharged in the same Time, will be a Ratio compounded of the simple Ratio of the Apertures, and the Subduplicate one of the Altitudes. And hence if the Quantities of Water discharged in the same Time by two Tubes, whose Apertures and Altitudes are unequal, be equal; the Apertures are reciprocally as the Roots of the Altitudes, and the Altitudes in a reciprocal Ratio of the Squares of the Apertures.

The eighth is, that if the Altitudes of two Tubes be equal, the Water will flow out with equal Velocity, however unequal the Apertures be.

The ninth, if the Altitudes of two Tubes, and also their Apertures be unequal, the Velocity of the Waters discharged are in a subduplicate Ratio of their Altitudes. And hence, 1. As the Velocities of Waters flowing out at equal Apertures, when the Altitudes are unequal, are also in a subduplicate Ratio of the Altitudes, and, as this Ratio is equal, if the Altitudes be equal; it appears in the general, that the Velocities of Water flowing out of Tubes, are in a subduplicate Ratio of the Altitudes. Hence also, 2. The Squares of the Velocities are as the Altitudes.

Mariotte found from repeated Experiments, that if a Vessel has a Tube fitted to it, there will be more Water evacuated through the Tube, than there could have been in the same Time, through the Aperture of the Vessel without the Tube: And that the Motion of the Fluid is accelerated so much the more, as the Tube is the longer, *e. gr.* the Altitude of a Vessel being one Foot, that of the Tube three Feet, and the Diameter of the Aperture three Lines; $6\frac{1}{2}$ Septiers of Water were discharged in the Space of one Minute, whereof, upon taking off the Tube, only four Septiers were discharged. Again, when the Length of the Tube was six Feet, and the Diameter of the Aperture an Inch, the whole Quantity of Water run out in thirty-seven Seconds; but cutting off half the Tube, the Vessel was not evacuated in less than forty-five Seconds; and taking it quite away, in less than ninety-five Seconds.

The tenth Law is, that the Altitudes and Apertures of two Cylinders full of Water being the same; one of them will discharge double the Quantity of Water discharged in the same Time by the other; if the first be kept continually full, while the other runs itself empty. For the Velocity of the full Vessel will be equable, and that of the other continually retarded. Now it is demonstrated, that if two Bodies be impelled by the same Force, and the one proceeds equably, and the second is equably retarded; by that Time they have lost all their Motion, the one has moved double the Space of the other.

The eleventh, if two Tubes have the same Altitudes and equal Apertures, the Time wherein they will empty themselves will be in the Ratio of their Cases.

The twelfth, cylindrick and prismatick Vessels empty themselves

themselves by this Law, that the Quantities of Water discharged in equal Times, decrease according to the uneven Numbers, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, &c. taken backwards. For the Velocity of the descending Level, is continually decreasing in the sub-duplicate Ratio of the decreasing Altitudes: But the Velocity of a heavy Body descending, increases in the sub-duplicate Ratio of the increasing Altitudes.

The thirteenth is, that if Water descending through a Tube, spouts up on an Aperture, whose Direction is vertical; it will rise to the same Altitude, at which the Level of the Water in the Vessel does stand; for since the Direction of the Aperture is vertical, the Direction of the Water spouting through it will be so too; consequently the Water must rise to the Height of the Level of the Water in the Vessel.

The fourteenth Law is, that Water descending through an inclin'd Tube, or a Tube bent in any Manner, will spout up through a perpendicular Aperture to the Height at which the Level of the Water in the Vessel stands.

The fifteenth Law is, that the Length or Distances, to which Water will spout, either through an inclined, or a horizontal Aperture, are in a sub-duplicate Ratio of the Altitudes in the Vessel or Tube. For since Water spouted out through the Aperture, endeavours to proceed in an horizontal Line; and at the same Time by the Power of Gravity, tends downwards in Lines perpendicular to the same; nor can the one Power hinder the other, inasmuch as the Directions are not contrary: It follows, that the Water will arrive at the Line proposed, in the same Time wherein it would have arrived at it, had there been no horizontal Impulse at all. Hence, as every Body projected, either horizontally, or obliquely, in an unresisting Medium, describes a Parabola; Water projected either through a vertical or inclin'd Spout, will describe a Parabola. Hence we have a Way of making a delightful Kind of Water Arbours or Arches, viz. by placing several inclined Tubes in the same right Lines.

On these Principles, we'll form several *Hydraulick Engines*, for the Raising, &c. of Fluids, as *Pumps*, *Siphons*, *Fountains*, or *Jets d'eau*, &c. beginning by *Pumps*.

A *Pump*, *Antlia*, is a Machine formed on the Model of a Syringe, for the Raising of Water.

Pumps are distinguished into several Kinds, with Regard to the several Manners of their acting, as the *Common*, or *Sucking Pump*, *Forcing Pump*, *Ctesebes's Pump*, *Chain Pump*, *Bare Pump*, *Bur Pump*, &c.

The *Common* or *Sucking Pump*, (fig. 23.) is that which acts by the Pressure of the Air, and whereby Water is raised out of a lower into a higher Place, not exceeding 32 Feet. This *Pump* is made of a hollow Cylinder, or Barrel, provided of any solid Matter, usually Wood, and erected perpendicularly in a Spring, or other Source of Water; the lower Part of the Cylinder being first fitted with a Valve *d*, which opens upwards. — A Piston, or Embolus *b*, called the Sucker, furnish'd with a Valve *c*, which likewise opens upwards, is let down the Cylinder; and for the more easy working upwards and downwards, furnished with a Lever or Handle *a*. Now the Embolus being drawn up, will leave a Space void of Air, at least in a great Measure so: The Pressure, therefore, of the Air on the Surface of the stagnant Water, prevailing, will, by the Laws of *Hydrostaticks*, lift up the Valve *d*, first mention'd, and raise it to fill the Cavity supposed void of Air. — If then the Embolus be again let down, the lower Valve being now fast closed with the Weight of the incumbent Water, upon pressing the Piston, the Water must open the upper Valve *c*, and get into the Embolus, by which it is raised up and discharged out of the Spout. — Thus is the Embolus alternately raised and depressed.

This Ascent of the Water, the Antients, who supposed a *Plenum*, attributed to Nature, abhorrent of a *Vacuum*; but the Moderns, more reasonably, as well as more intelligibly, attribute it to the Pressure of the Atmosphere, on the Surface of the Fluid. For, by drawing up the Embolus, the Air left in the Cavity of the Cylinder, must be exceedingly rarified; so that being no longer a

Counter-balance to the Air incumbent on the Surface of the Fluid; that prevails and forces the Water thro' the little Tube, into the Body of the *Pump*.

Note, That a Valve in *Hydraulicks*, is a Kind of Lid, or Cover, of a Tube or Vessel, so contrived, as to open one Way; but which, the more forcibly it is pressed the other Way, the closer it shuts the Aperture. So that it either admits the Entrance of a Fluid into the Tube, or Vessel, and prevents its Return; or admits it to escape, and prevents its Re-entrance. In *Hydraulick Engines*, they are frequently of Leather; their Figure round; and are fitted to the Bottom, or other Parts of the Barrel, &c. to shut the Apertures. Sometimes they are made of two round Pieces of Leather, inclosed between two others of Brass, having divers Perforations, which are covered with another Piece of Brass, moveable upwards and downwards, on a Kind of Axis, which goes thro' the Middle of them all. — Sometimes they are made of Brass, covered with Leather, and furnished with a fine Spring, which gives Way upon a Force applied against it: But upon the ceasing of that, returns the Valve over the Aperture.

The *Piston* or *Embolus*, is a short Cylinder of Metal, fitted exactly to the Cavity of the Barrel or Body of the *Pump*; and which being worked up and down alternately therein, raises the Water; and when raised, presses it again, so as to make it force up the Valve wherewith it is furnished, and so escape through the Nose of the *Pump*.

The *Forcing Pump* (fig. 24.) acts by mere Impulse or Protrusion, and raises Water to any Height at Pleasure. This *Pump* is made in this Manner: A Cylinder is divided by a Diaphragm, or transverse Piece, fitted with a Valve, opening upwards *d*, and thus immersed in Water: An Embolus *b*, furnished with a Valve, is so fitted to an Iron Rod *f*, moveable on a Hinge at each End, as that it may be conveniently raised, and depressed by the Hand. Now, upon pressing the Embolus, the Water will open the Valve, and thus ascend into the Cavity of the Cylinder. But upon raising it again, the Valve is shut, so that there is no Passage for it that Way; the other Valve therefore becomes open'd, and the Water mounts through it; and by repeating the Agitation of the Embolus, is at length driven out thro' the Spout.

The great Difficulty of rectifying this *Pump*, when out of Order, on Account of the chief Seat of Action being under Water, makes People decline the Use of it when they can do well without it, notwithstanding its Advantage of raising the Water to any given Height.

Ctesebes's Pump (fig. 25.) is the first and finest of all the Kinds, and acts both by Friction and Pulsion. Its Structure and Action is as follows. A Brass Cylinder furnished with a Valve *c*, is placed in the Water. In this is fitted the Embolus *b*, made of green Wood, which will not swell in the Water, and adjusted to the Aperture of the Cylinder, with a Covering of Leather; but without any Valve. Another Tube *e*, is fitted on with a Valve that opens upwards. Now the Embolus being raised, the Water opens the first Valve *c*, and rises into the Cavity of the Cylinder: And when the same Embolus is again depressed, the last Valve is opened *c*, and the Water driven out thro' the Tube.

This is the *Pump* used among the Antients, and that from which both the others are deduced. Sir S. Morland has endeavoured to increase its Force, by lessening the Friction, which he has done to good Effect, inasmuch as to make it work without almost any Friction at all.

Note, That the other *Pumps* I have mention'd, are only used in Ships; and therefore I'll give the Description thereof in my *Treatise of Naval Architecture*, under the Letter N.

Galileus was the first who discovered that this Ascent of Water into the *Pump* was not to be attributed to Nature's Abhorrence of a *Vacuum*.

In the Year 1643, *Torrellius* made an Experiment which

which supported *Gallileus's* System, *That the Ascent of the Water was to be attributed to the superincumbent Air.* He caused to be made, for that Purpose, a Glass-Tube, four Feet long, and open only at one End, which he filled with Quick-silver, and stopping the Aperture with his Finger, he inverted the Tube into a Vase where there was Quick-silver likewise; and then the Quick-silver remain'd suspended in the Tube, to the Altitude of 27 Ounces or Inches, and more.

This same Experiment was often repeated in the Year 1644, by *F. Marinus Marsene*, a Cordelier of the Convent of *Paris*. And it was afterwards agreed by all Philosophers, that such Phœnomenon was to be attributed to the Weight of the super-incumbent Air.

But we are more indebted for this curious Discovery, to the Industry and Labours of *Mr. Paschal*, than to any Body else. For this excellent Man spent the whole Year 1646, in revising and perfecting this Experiment of *Torrellius*. And having been informed in 1647, that the same *Torrellius* suspected that the Air was ponderous, he presently thought that he was very well founded in his Suspicion, which he endeavour'd to confirm by a very curious Experiment. Therefore, towards the End of the same Year, he wrote to *Francis Perier*, on that important Subject; and the Year following, 1648, made that famous Experiment, known at present throughout the whole learned World, on the highest Mountain of *Auvergne*, called *Le Puy de domme*.

He took two Glass-Tubes of the same Bigness, and about four Foot long, which having filled with Quick-silver, and inverted into a Vessel, where there was likewise Quick-silver; he observed that the Quick-silver at the Foot of the Mountain, remain'd suspended at the Altitude of 26 Ounces or Inches, and 3 Lines, in one of those Tubes; and that in the other, which was placed at the Top of the said Mountain, the Quick-silver remained suspended at the Altitude of 23 Ounces 2 Lines; whereby he discovered that the Air was less ponderous on the Top, than at the Foot of the Mountain. Whence it is concluded, that the Air gravitates; and that by his Gravitation, may be explained the Phœnomena of the *Pumps* heretofore mentioned.

From the *Pump* I'll pass to the *SIPHON*; which is a crooked Tube, one Branch or Leg whereof is longer than the other; used in the raising of Fluids, emptying of Vessels, and in various *hydrostatical* Experiments.

Note, That the Word in the Original *Greek* σίφων, signifies simply Tube; whence some apply it to common Tubes or Pipes. *Wolfius* particularly describes two Vessels, under the Name of *Siphons*; the one cylindrical in the Middle, and conical at the two Extremes; the other globular in the Middle, with two narrow Tubes fitted to it, axis-wise; both serving to take up a Quantity of Water, &c. and to retain it when up.

There is not a more useful and celebrated *Siphon* than this. A crooked Tube is provided of such a Length, and with such an Angle, that as when the Orifice is placed on an horizontal Plane, the Height may not exceed 30 Foot. For common Uses, a Foot, or half a Foot high suffices. If now the lesser Arm be immersed in Water, or any other Liquid, and the Air be sucked out of it by an Aperture made for that Purpose, till the Liquor follow; the Liquor will continue to flow out of the Vessel, through the Tube, as long as the Aperture is under the Surface of the Liquor. Instead of sucking out the Air, the Event will be the same, if the *Siphon* be at first filled with the Fluid, and the upper Aperture stopped with the Finger, till the lower be immersed.

The Truth of the Phœnomenon is known by Abundance of Experiments; nor is the Reason of Part of it far to seek. In sucking, the Air in the Tube is rarified, and the Equilibrium destroy'd, consequently the Water must be raised into the lesser Leg, by the perponderating Pressure of the Atmosphere.

The *Siphon* being thus filled, the Atmosphere presses equally on each Extremity thereof; so as to sustain an equal Quantity of Water in each Leg; But the Air not being able to sustain all the Water in the longer Leg, unless it exceeds 32 Foot in Height; it will be more than able to sustain that in the shorter Leg: With the Excess

of Force, therefore, it will raise new Water into the shorter Leg; which new Water cannot make its Way, but by protruding the first before it. By this Means the Water is continually driven out at the longer Leg, as it is continually raised by the shorter.

But *Wolfius*, and some other Authors assert, that the Water continues to flow through the *Siphon*, even when placed under a Receiver, and the Air exhausted from it. The Reason of this, if it be true, is very difficult to account for. Some will have it, that there is still Air enough left in the evacuated Receiver, to raise the Water to an Inch or two; but as both Mercury and Water, are found to fall entirely out of the *Torricellian* Tube, *in vacuo*; the Pressure of the thin remaining Air, can never be the Cause of the Ascent, both of Mercury and Water, in the less Leg of the *Siphon*.

Hence as the Height of the *Siphon* is limited to 31 Foot; for this only Reason, that Air cannot raise Water higher; it does not appear, whether or no we are in the Right in rejecting *Hero's* Method of carrying Water, by Means of a *Siphon*, over the Tops of Mountains into an opposite Valley. For *Hero* only orders the Aperture of the *Siphon* to be stopped, and Water to be poured through a Funnel into the Angle, or Meeting of the Legs, till the *Siphon* be full; when shutting the Aperture in the Angle, and opening the other two, the Water will continue to flow. Now if only there needs Air, for the first Rise of the Water into the less Leg, not for the Continuance of the Motion; it were possible to raise the Water much higher than the Height of the Atmosphere would carry it.

The real Cause, therefore, of this extraordinary, though very well known Phœnomenon, needs some further Disquisition. This is certain, that a *Siphon* once set a running, will persist in its Motion, tho' removed into the most perfect *Vacuum* our Air-Pumps will make; or if the lower Orifice of a full *Siphon* be shut, and the whole be thus placed in a Receiver, with a Contrivance for opening the Orifice when the Air is exhausted; the Water will be all emptied out of the Vessel, as if it had been in open Air.

This too is remarkable enough, that the Figure of the *Siphon* may be varied at Pleasure, provided only the lower Orifice be below the Level of the Water to be drawn up; but still, the further it is distant from it, the faster the Fluid will be carried off. And if, in the Course of the Flux, the higher Orifice be drawn out of the Fluid; all the Liquor in the *Siphon* will go out at the lower Orifice; that in the longer Leg, dragging, as it were, that in the shorter Leg after it.

If a filled *Siphon* be so disposed, as that both Orifices be in the same horizontal Line, the Fluid will remain pendant in each Leg, how unequal soever the Length of the Legs may be. Fluids, therefore, in *Siphons*, seem, as it were to form one continued Body; so that the heavier Part descending like a Chain, pulls the lighter after it. Observing, besides, that the Water will flow out, even thro' a *Siphon* that is interrupted, by having the Legs join'd together, by a much bigger Tube full of Air.

The most extraordinary Machine of this Kind, is the Machine of *Wirtemberg*, because it performs divers Kinds which the common *Siphon* will not reach; *e. gr.* in this, tho' the Legs be in the same Level, yet the Water rises up in the one, and descends through the other: The Water rises, even tho' the Aperture of the less Leg be only half immersed: The *Siphon* has its Effect after continuing dry a long Time: Either of the Apertures being open'd, the other remaining shut for a whole Day, and then open'd, the Water flows out as usually. Lastly, the Water rises and falls indifferently, thro' either Leg.

The Project of this *Siphon*, was laid by *Jordanus Pelletier*, and executed at the Expence of Prince *Friedrick Charles*, Administrator of *Wirtemberg*, by his Mathematician *Shabackar*, who made each Branch 20 Foot long, and 18 Foot apart: The Distinction thereof was described by *Reiselinus*, the Duke's Physician. This gave Occasion to *M. Papin* to invent another, that did the same Things, described in the Philosophical Transactions; and which *Reiselinus*, in another Paper in the

Transactions, ingenuously owns to be the very same with that of *Wirtemberg*.

The most considerable Machine of *Hydraulicks*; the most agreeable to the Sight, and most diverting, is the *artificial Fountain*.

The *artificial FOUNTAIN*, is a Machine, or Contrivance, whereby Water is spouted or darted up, called also *Jet d'eau*.

Note, That M. *Mariotte* shews, that a *Jet d'eau* will never raise Water so high as its Reservoir, but always fall short of it by a Space, which is a subduplicate Ratio of that Height. He shews, likewise, that if a greater *Jet* branch out into many smaller ones, or be distributed thro' several *Jets*, the Square of the Diameter of the main Pipe, must be proportion'd to the Sum of all the Expences of its Branches; and that if the Reservoir be 52 Foot high, and the Adjutage half an Inch in Diameter, the Pipe ought to be three Inches in Diameter.

There are divers Kinds of *artificial Fountains*, some founded on the Spring, or Elasticity of the Air; and others on the Pressure or Weight of the Water, &c. the Structure of each hereof, being entertaining and curious, and affording a good Illustration of the Doctrine of *Hydraulicks*, shall be here explained; beginning by the Construction of an *artificial Fountain, playing by the Spring or Elasticity of the Air*.

For the Construction of that Kind of *artificial Fountain*, a Vessel proper for a Reservoir as A B, of Metal, Glass, or the like, is provided; ending in a small Neck *c* a-top. Through this Neck a Tube is put *c a*, traversing the Neck of the Vessel, till its lower Orifice *d*, nearly, but not absolutely, reach the Bottom of the Vessel; the Vessel being first half filled with Water. The Neck is so contrived, as that a Syringe, or condensing Pipe may be screwed upon the Tube; by Means whereof a large Quantity of Air may be intruded through the Tube into the Water; out of which it will disengage itself, and emerge into the vacant Part of the Vessel, and lie over the Surface of the Water C D.

Now the Water here contain'd, being thus pressed by the Air, which is, *e. gr.* twice as dense as the external Air; and the elastick Force of Air being equal to its gravitating Force, the Effect will be the same as if the Weight of the Column of Air over the Surface of the Water, were double that of the Column pressing in the Tube; so that the Water must of Necessity spout up through the Tube, with a Force equal to the Excess of Pressure of the included, above that of the external Air.

But if our *artificial Fountain* is to play by the Pressure of the Water, we must search a Reservoir of Water in a Place considerably higher than that where the Fountain is to be (whether that Reservoir have been placed there by Nature; or whether it have been raised for the Purpose by a proper Engine, as a Pump, Siphon, spiral Screw, or the like) having found such Reservoir, we'll lay vertical Tubes for the Water to descend through; and to these vertical Tubes, fit other horizontal ones under Ground, to carry the Water to the Place where the Fountain is to play. Lastly, from these horizontal Tubes, we'll erect other vertical ones, by Way of Adjutages, Jets, or Spouts; their Altitude being much less than that of the Tubes whereby the Water was carried to the horizontal ones. Then will the Water, by the Pressure of the superincumbent Column, be spouted up at these Jets; and that to the Height or Level of the Water in the Reservoir; and thus howsoever any of the Tubes be bent or incurvated.

Thus may Water be spouted to any given Height at Pleasure: The Tubes may be so proportioned, as to yield any given Quantity of Water, in a given Time; or several Tubes of the same *Fountain*, may be made to yield Water in any given Ratio; or lastly, different Tubes may project the Water to different Altitudes.

Note, That these aerial or aquatick *Fountains*, may be applied in various Manners; so as to exhibit various Appearances; and from these alone arises the greatest Part of our artificial Water-works, which so agreeably

strike the Sight, that the Description of some of them, must be very entertaining; therefore,

I'll begin by the Description of an *artificial Fountain, which spouts the Water in various Directions*; supposing, first, the vertical Tube or Spout in which the Water raises, to be I L (fig. 31.) into this are to be fitted several other Tubes; some horizontal, others oblique; some inclining, others reclining, as M N, O P, Q R, &c. Then all the Water will retain the Direction of the Aperture through which it is spouted, that issuing through I, will rise perpendicularly; and that through M N, O P, Q R, will describe Arches of different Magnitudes, and tending different Ways.

Or thus; suppose the vertical Tube M N (fig. 32.) through which the Water rises, to be stopped a-top, as in M; and instead of Pipes or Jets, let it be only perforated with little Holes all round, or only half its Surface, then will the Water spin forth in all Directions, through the little Apertures, and to a Distance proportional to the Height of the Fall of the Water: And hence if the Tube M N, be supposed the Height of a Man, and be furnished with an Epistonium, or Cock, at P; upon opening the Cock, the Spectators dreaming of no such Matter, will be covered with a Shower, observing, however, that the Diameter of the Apertures, through which the Water is emitted, must be considerably less than those Tubes in which the Water is brought; lest the Resistance of the Air, and other Impediments, break the Force of the Water.

We'll exhibit next, a *Fountain playing by the Draught of the Breath*; in supposing R S (fig. 32.) to be a Glass, or metalline Sphere, wherein is fitted a Tube T V, having a little Orifice in T, and reaching almost to V, the Bottom of the Sphere; if now the Air be sucked out of the Tube T V, and the Orifice T be immediately immersed under cold Water, the Water will ascend thro' the Tube into the Sphere. Thus proceeding by repeated Exsuctions, till the Vessel be above half full of Water, and then applying the Mouth to T, and blowing Air into the Tube; upon removing the Mouth, the Water will spout forth. Or, if the Sphere be put into Water, the Air being thereby rarified, will make the Water spout as before. This Fountain is called *Pila Heronis*, or *Hero's Ball*, from the Name of its Inventor.

To make a *Fountain, the Stream whereof rises, and plays thro' a Brass Ball*; we must provide a hollow Brass Ball B (fig. 33.) made of thin Plate, that its Weight may not be too great for the Force of the Water; and make the Tube D E, through which the Water rises, exactly perpendicular to the Horizon. Then the Ball being laid in the Bottom of the Cup or Basin F, will be taken up in the Stream, and sustain'd at a considerable Height, as B; alternately vibrating, or playing up and down. Hence as the Figure of the Ball contributes nothing to its reciprocal Rise and Fall; any other Body, not too heavy, may be substituted in lieu thereof, *e. gr.* a Bird with its Wings stretched forth.

Note, That it is necessary the Ball, when on the Descent, should keep the same precise Perpendicular, wherein it rose (since otherwise it would miss the Stream, and fall downright) and that such a *Fountain* should only be played in a Place free from Wind.

For the Construction of a *Fountain, which spouts Water in Form of a Shower*; to the Tube wherein the Water is to rise, we must fit a spherical, or lenticular Head 1, 2, (fig. 34.) made of a Plate of Metal, and perforated a-top with a great Number of little Holes: The Water rising with Vehemence towards 1, 2, will be there divided into innumerable little Threads, and afterwards break, and disperse into the finest Drops.

To make a *Fountain, which spreads the Water in Form of a Table Cloth*; we must solder to the Tube H I, (fig. 35.) two spherical Segments K L, almost touching each other; with a Screw M, to contract or amplify the Interstice or Chink at Pleasure. Others chuse to make a smooth, even Cleft, in a spherical or lenticular Head fitted upon the Tube. The Water spouting through

through the Chink, or Cleft, will expand itself in Manner of a Cloth.

Since Water may be derived or conveyed by Tubes in any Situation, and always retains the Direction of the Apertures, *artificial Fountains* may be made wherein the *Water spouts out of the Figures of Men and other Animals*; by inclosing Tubes within the Figures of Men or other Animals, having their Orifices in those Parts, whence the Waters are to spout forth. From the Principles hitherto laid down, it will be very easy to deduce whatever relates to the Furniture of *Fountains*; and the various Forms Water may be put into by their Means; all depending on the Magnitude, Figure, and Direction of the Adjutages or Apertures.

To make a *Fountain*, which when it has done spouting, may be turned like an *Hour Glass*; we must provide two Vessels, P Q and R S (fig. 36.) which should be so much the bigger, as the *Fountain* is to play the longer; and placed at so much the greater Distance from each other T V, as the Water is desired to spout the higher. Then X Y Z, which is a crooked Tube, must be furnished with a Cock in Z; and A B C, another bent Tube, furnished with a Cock in B. In F G, are to be other lesser Tubes, open at both Ends, and reaching near the Bottom of the Vessel R S, and P Q, to which the Tubes T V and Q S, are likewise to reach. If now the Vessel P Q be filled with Water, it will descend through the Tube I X, and upon opening the Cock Z, will spout up near to the Height of G: And after its fall again, will sink through the little Tube F, into the Vessel R S, and expel the Air through the Tube E D. At length, when all the Water is emptied out of the Vessel P Q; by turning the Machine upside down, the Vessel R D will be the Reservoir, and make the Water spout up thro' the Cock Z. Hence if the Vessel P Q and R S, contain just as much Water as will be spouted up in an Hour's Time; we shall have a spouting Clepsydra, or Water Clock, which may be divided or graduated into Quarters, Minutes, &c.

An *artificial Fountain* may also be constructed, which begins to play upon the lighting of Candles, and ceases as they go out; by providing two cylindrical Vessels 1 2, 3 4, (fig. 37.) and connecting them by Tubes, open at both Ends 5 6, 2 7, &c. so that the Air may descend out of the higher into the lower. To the Tubes soldering Candlesticks 8, &c. and to the hollow Cover of the lower Vessel 3 4, fitting a little Tube or Jet 9 10, furnished with a Cock, and reaching almost to the Bottom of the Vessels. In 11 we'll make an Aperture, furnished with a Screw, whereby Water may be pour'd into 3 4. Then upon lighting the Candles 8, &c. the Air in the contiguous Tubes becoming rarified thereby; the Water will begin to spout thro' 9 10.

By the same Contrivance, a Statue can be made to shed Tears upon the Presence of the Sun, or the lighting of a Candle, &c. All here requir'd being to lay Tubes, from the Cavity wherein the Air is rarified, to some other Cavities near the Eyes, and full of Water.

Note, That an *Hydraulick Machine* has been invented to spout Water plentifully, on Purpose to extinguish Fire, and Conflagrations of Houses; which Machine is called *Hydronasterium*. We have several Contrivances to this Effect. The first, and which is, as it were, the Basis of the rest, is a Pump inclosed in a Cistula, or wooden Vehicle filled with Water, and mounted on Wheels; the Pump being wrought with long Levers, which come out of the Cistula; and the Water it raises, directed to the Place, by Means of a jointed Tube. The *Dutch*, and others, use a long flexible Tube of Leather, Sail Cloth, or the like, which they carry or conduct in the Hand, from one Room to another, as Occasion requires; so that the Engine may be applied where the Danger is only within Side, and does not burst out, to expose it to its external Action. To improve on this original Fire-Engine, they have since contrived to make it yield a continual Stream; by substituting a forcing or pressing Pump, in lieu of a sucking Pump.

Note also, That the modern Philosophers have made the Laws of the Motion of Fluids, by their own Gravity, along open Channels, as Rivers, &c. a Part of *Hydraulicks* and *Hydrostaticks*; and accordingly consider a River as a Stream of Water running by its own Gravity, in a Channel open above; endeavouring to bring the Motion and Flux of those Streams to precise Laws; the *Italian* Authors having distinguished themselves therein; particularly *S. Guglielmini*, who in his Treatise, *Della natura de fiumi*, has made the following Observations.

That Author says, that Rivers usually have their Source in Mountains or Elevations of Ground; and that it is in their Descent from these, that they acquire the Velocity or Acceleration which maintains their future Current. That in Proportion as they advance further, this Velocity diminishes, by Reason of the continual Friction of the Water against the Bottom and Sides of the Channel, of the various Obstacles they meet withal in their Progress, and of their arriving at length in Plains, where the Descent is less, and their Inclination to the Horizon, of Consequence, greater. Thus the *Reno*, a River of *Italy*, which gave Occasion, in some Measure, to these Speculations, is found near its Mouth, to have scarce a Descent of 52 Seconds.

If the acquir'd Velocity be quite spent through the many Obstacles; so that the Current becomes horizontal; there will then nothing remain to propagate the Motion, and continue the Stream, but the Depth, or the perpendicular Pressure of the Water, which is always proportional to the Depth. And happily for us, this Resource increases, as the Occasion for it increases: For in Proportion as the Water loses of the Velocity acquired by the Descent, it rises and augments in Depth.

The upper Parts of the Water of a River, and those at a Distance from the Banks, may continue to flow from the single Cause or Principle of Declivity, how small soever it be; for not being detained by any Obstacle, the minutest Difference of Level, will have its Effect: But the lower Parts, which roll along the Bottom, will scarce be sensible of so small a Declivity, and only have what Motion they receive from the Pressure of the superincumbent Waters.

The natural Viscidity and Cohesion of the Particles of Water, and that Implication, as it were, which they seem to have with one another, makes the lower, which are moved by Means of the Depth, carry along with them the upper, which in an horizontal Channel, would have no Motion at all; or in a Channel very little inclin'd, next to none. So that the lower, in this Case, communicate to the upper, a Part of the Motion they have received from the Pressure of it. Hence by the Pressure of it, frequently happens that the greatest Velocity of a River is about the Middle of its Depth; such middle Parts having the Advantage of being pressed with half the Depth of the River, and of being free, at the same Time, from the Friction of the Bottom.

To find whether the Water of a River, almost horizontal, flows by Means of the Velocity acquired in its Descent, or by the Pressure of its Depth; set up an Obstacle perpendicular thereto: If the Water rises and swells immediately against such Obstacle, it runs in Virtue of its Fall; or if it stops a little while, in Virtue of its Pressure.

Rivers, according to this Author, most commonly make their own Beds. If the Bottom have originally been a large Declivity; the Water, in Consequence hereof, falling with a great deal of Force, will have swept away the most elevated Parts of the Soil, and carrying them lower down, will gradually render the Bottom horizontal; where the Stream is swiftest, there will the Earth be most dug up, and consequently there the greatest Cavity will be made.

The Water having made its Bed horizontal, becomes so itself, and consequently rakes with the less Force against the Bottom, till at length that Force becomes only equal to the Resistance of the Bottom. The Bottom is now arrived at the State of Permanency, at least for a considerable Time; and the longer, according-

ing to the Quality of the Soil; Clay and Chalk resisting longer.

On the other Hand, the Water is continually gnawing and eating off the Brims of its Channel; and this with the more Force, as by the Direction of its Stream, it impinges more particularly against them. By this Means it has a continual Tendency to render them parallel to its own Course; and when it has arrived as near that as possible, it ceases to have any Effect that Way. At the same Time that it has thus rectified its Edges, it has enlarged its own Bed; that is, has lost of its Depth, and consequently of its Force and Pressure: This it continues to do, till there is an Equilibrium between the Force of the Water, and the Resistance upon its Banks, upon which they will remain without further Mutation, And it is evident from Experience, that these Equilibriums are all real, inasmuch as we find the Rivers only dug and widen'd to a certain Pitch.

The very Reverse of all these Things happens also on some Occasions. Rivers, whose Waters are thick and muddy, raise their Bed by letting Part of the heterogeneous Matters, contained in them, fall to the Bottom. They also contract their Banks by a continual Opposition of the same Matter, in brushing over them. This Matter being thrown aside, far from the Stream of Water, might even serve, by Reason of the Obscureness of the Motion, to form new Banks.

Now these opposite Effects seem almost always to concur, and are differently combined, according to the Circumstances; whence it is very difficult judging of the Result. Yet must this Combination be known very accurately, before any Measures can be taken about Rivers, especially as to the diverting their Courses. The *Lamona*, which emptied itself into the *Po*, being turn'd another Way to make it discharge itself into the *Adriatick*, was so alter'd, and its Force so far diminished, that its Waters were left to themselves, that it raised its Bed a great Height, by continual Depositions of Mud; till it became much higher than the *Po*, in its utmost Accretions, and needed very high Banks or Dykes, to keep it from overflowing.

A little River may be received into a large one, without either augmenting its Width or Depth. This seeming Paradox arises hence, that the Addition of the little River, may only go towards moving the Waters, before at rest, near the Banks of the large one, and thus augmenting the Velocity of the Stream, in the same Proportion as it does that of the Quantity of Water. Thus the *Venetian* Branch of the *Po*, swallowed up the *Ferrarese* Branch, and that of the *Panaro*, without any Enlargement of its own Dimensions. The same may be concluded proportionably of all other Accessions to Rivers; and in the general of all new Augmentations of Water.

A River offering to enter into another, either perpendicularly, or in an opposite Direction, will be diverted by Degrees from that Direction, and obliged to make itself a new and more easy Bed towards the Mouth.

The Union of two Rivers into one, makes it flow the swifter; by Reason in lieu of the Friction of four Shoars, they have only two to surmount, and that the Stream being farther distant from the Banks, goes on with the less Interruption; besides, that a great Quan-

tity of Water, moving with a greater Velocity, digs deeper in the Bed, and of Course retrenches of its former Width. Hence, also, it is, that Rivers, by being united, take up less Space on the Surface of the Earth, and are more advantageous to low Grounds, which discharge their superfluous Moisture into them, and have likewise less Occasion for Dykes, to prevent their overflowing.

These Advantages are so considerable, that *S. Guglielmini* thinks them worthy of Nature having had a View to them, in her contriving to make the Confluence of Rivers so frequent as we find them.

To determine more precisely the general Laws of the Motion of Rivers, it may be observed, that a River is said to remain in the same State, or to be in a permanent State, when it flows uniformly, so as to be always at the same Height in the same Place: And that a Plane, which cutting a River is perpendicular to the Bottom, is called the Section of a River. Hence when a River is terminated by flat Sides, parallel to each other, and perpendicular to the Horizon, and the Bottom also is a Plane, either horizontal or inclin'd, the Section of the River, with these three Planes, makes right Angles, and is a Parellelogram.

Now in every River that is in a permanent State, the same Quantity of Water flows in the same Time, thro' every Section; for unless there be in every Place as great a Supply of Water, as what runs from it, the River will not remain in the same State. This will hold good whatever be the Irregularity of the Bed or Channel, from which in other Respects several Changes in the Motion of the River may arise: For Example, a greater Friction in Proportion to the Inequality of the Channel.

The Irregularities in the Motion of a River, may be infinitely varied, nor can any Rules be given to settle them. To ascertain their general Course, all Irregularities must be set aside; only the general Tenor or Flux be considered. Suppose then the Water to run in a regular Channel, without any sensible Friction, and that Channel is terminated with Plane Sides, parallel to one another, and vertical; and also that the Bottom is a Plane, and inclined to the Horizon; the same Quantity of Water flowing through every Section, the Depth of the Water, as you recede from the Head of the River, is continually diminished.

To determine the Velocity of the Water in different Places; suppose the Aperture of the Channel to be shut up with a Plane; if there be a Hole made in the Plane, the Water will spout the faster through the Hole, as the Hole is more distant from the Surface of the Water; and the Water will have the same Celerity that a Body falling from the Surface of the Water, to the Depth of the Hole below it, would acquire: All which arises from the Pressure of the superincumbent Water. There is the same Pressure, *i. e.* the same moving Force, when the Obstacle is taken away, upon which every Particle of Water enters into the Channel with the Celerity a Body would acquire in falling from the Surface of the Water to the Depth of the Particle. This Particle is moved along in an inclined Plane in the Channel, with an accelerated Motion; and that in the same Manner, as if falling vertically, it had continued its Motion to the same Depth, below the Surface of the Water in the Head of the River.

JANSENISM.

JANSENISM, is the Doctrine of *Cornelius Jansenius*, Bishop of *Ypres* in *Flanders*, with Relation to Grace and Free-Will.

This Doctrine made no great Noise in the World, till after the Death of its Author, in 1638; when *Framond* and *Calemus* his Executors, published his Book, entitled *Augustinus*, in three Volumes, *Folio*, printed at *Louvain*, in 1640; the first Tome whereof contains a Discourse against *Pelagianism*; and the second divers Treatises of Reason; the Use of Authority in theological Matters; the State of Innocence; fall of Nature by Sin; Grace, &c. Vol. II.

From these several Treatises, were formed, by the Bishops of *France*, the five famous following Propositions.

I. Some Commands of God are impossible to righteous Men, even though they endeavour with all their Powers to accomplish them: The Grace being wanting, by which they should be enabled to perform them.

II. In the State of corrupted Nature, a Man never receives inward Grace.

III. To Merit or Demerit in the present State of corrupt Nature, it is not requisite a Man should have that

Liberty.

Liberty which excludes Necessity: That which excludes Constraint, is sufficient.

IV. The *Semipelagians* admitted the Necessity of inward Preventing Grace to each Act in particular, and even to the Beginning of Faith; but they were Hereticks, in regard they asserted, that this Grace was such, as that the Will of Man might either resist or obey it.

V. It is Semipelagianism to say, that *Jesus Christ* died or shed his Blood for all Men in general.

These five Propositions were condemned by the Popes *Urban VIII.* *Innocent X.* *Alexander VII.* and *Clement IX.*

Those who followed this Doctrine, and maintained it with Obstinacy were called *Jansenists*; whether they asserted that the *five Propositions* were sound and orthodox, as they did before they were so often, and so solemnly condemned: or that they were evil and heretical, in the Sense wherein the Church has condemned them; but that this Sense is not that of *Jansenius*, whence that famous Distinction between the *Right* and the *Fact*, which occasioned so long and so warm Disputes, especially in the *Gallican Church*.

As to the asserting and maintaining that the *five Propositions* were sound and orthodox, the *Anti-Jansenists* pretended, that it was destroying entirely the Free-Will, and admitting no other Grace, but the *efficacious by itself*; that it was approving the Doctrine of *Luther* and *Calvin*, fulminated against in the Council of *Trent*; accusing God of Injustice, to command us Things, which he knew are not in our Power to accomplish without his divine Assistance, and refusing us that Assistance: Of a cruel Partiality, in having created some of us to eternal Damnation, since Christ's Death could have saved us all, and yet he was not dead for all.

But to understand well the State of this Affair, and the Difference between the Sentiment of the *Jansenists*, and that of the *Roman Catholick Church*, on the Doctrine of *Grace*. I'll give here a Treatise of *Grace*, beginning by its Definition.

GRACE, is a Gift given *gratis* by the Creator, without any Merit, on the Part of the Creature, *otherwise Grace were not Grace*, says *St. Paul*, *Rom. xi.* Whence we read in *St. Augustin*, *lib. de nat. & grat. c. 4.* *That Grace, without which neither Infants nor Adults can be saved, is not given to Merits, but gratis, therefore it is called Grace.*

There are divers Acceptations of *Grace* taken in general, in the Scripture, and in the Doctrine of the Fathers.

1. It is taken for *Dilection*, or that Love bestowed by Somebody, without any Regard to Merit. 2. For all Gifts which are the Effects of that Love. 3. For *Gratitude*, or Compensation of a Gift thus given.

Grace, considered in the aforesaid second Manner, can be taken besides in three other different ones.—1. For any Gift, even a natural one given *gratis*.—2. For any supernatural gratuite Gift, abstracted from the Merits of Christ.—3. For any supernatural gratuite Gift, given in View of the Merits of Christ.

I prove the first Part, viz. *that Grace is taken for Dilection, or that Love bestowed gratis.* From its being taken in that Manner *Genes. vi.* where *Noah* is said to have found *Grace in the Eyes of the Lord*; that's to say, found the Benevolence and Love of God, which is an inexhaustible Source of all the Blessings and Gifts which God bestows gratuitely. For the Apostle writes to the *Philippians*, that his Mercy and good Will work in us *both to do and to will, of his good Pleasure.* To which may be added, that that Quality whereby a Person gains the Love of another, is often called *Grace*. Whence the blessed Virgin is called *full of Grace*, *Luke i.* i. e. gracious and amiable.

I prove the second Part, viz. *that Grace is taken sometimes, for that Benefit or Gift given gratuitely by a Motive of Love*; because it is thus taken, *John i.* where it is said, *that of his Fulness we have all received, and Grace for Grace*; and commonly that Person is said to do a Favour, who does not exact what he could exact, from him who receives that Favour.

I prove the third Part, viz. *that Grace is sometimes taken for Gratitude or Compensation of a Benefit, or Gift given gratuitely*; because it is taken thus, *2 Sam. ii.* where

David speaks thus to the Men of *Jabesh-Gilead*, *And I also will requite you this Kindness, because ye have done this Thing.*

I prove the fourth Part, viz. *that Grace is also taken for any gratuite Benefit, even a natural one*; because it is thus taken by *St. August.* *Epist. 95.* *It is not without Reason*, says he, *that it is said that we are created by the Grace of God.* And *Serm. 11.* he calls the Creation itself a *Grace*, and says, that he who was not a Man, has not merited to be one.

I prove the fifth Part, viz. *that Grace is also taken for a gratuite supernatural Gift, i. e. for a Gift surpassing the Exigency of any Nature created, either abstracted from the Merits of Christ, or not*; because it is taken in that Manner by the same *St. Augustin*, *lib. de predest. sanct. c. 31.* where he says, that the Gifts first distributed to the Angels, and to our first Parents were *Graces*; as he calls *Graces* those Gifts given to the Man Christ. By *that Grace*, says he, *a Man is made from the Beginning of his Faith a Christian, whereby is made from his Beginning, the Man Christ.*

I prove the sixth Part, viz. *that Grace is also taken for any supernatural Gift, granted in View of the Merits of Christ*; because it is thus taken by the Apostle, *Rom. iii.* *Being justified gratuitely by his Grace, through the Redemption that is in Jesus Christ.* This Acceptation of *Grace* is the strictest of all, and is agreeable to all *Graces* founded on the Merits, either *habitual* or *actual*.

Note, That it is of *Grace* taken in this last Sense, I intend to speak throughout the whole Course of this Treatise, i. e. as it is a gratuite supernatural Gift founded on the Merits of Christ: That this Gift is created, and consequently distinct from the increased *Grace*, which is God himself, who, by his Incarnation has given himself to our Humanity; as I'll shew more at large in my Treatise of the Incarnation. These pre-observed.

Grace may be defined, *a created supernatural Gift, given gratuitely to intellectual Creatures, and appropriated to eternal Salvation.*

1. It is called *a Gift*, to express the Genus in which the supernatural *Grace* agrees with the natural, heretofore mentioned.

2. It is called *divine*, because it is from God, for every good Gift, and every perfect Gift is from above, says *St. James, c. 1.* and comes down from the Father of Lights.

3. It is called *supernatural*, because it is above all natural Faculty; whence it is necessarily required to be infused from God, according to this of *Psalms lxxxiv.* *The Lord will give Grace and Glory.*

4. It is said, *given to intellectual Creatures*, because it is only given to Angels and Men.

5. It is said, *given gratuitely*, because *Grace* is given, without a Debt from the Part of him who gives it, and without Merit, strictly taken, from the Part of him who receives it. For *Grace* is given either to him who is not worthy or unworthy of it, as it was given to Angels, and to our first Parents in their Creation; or it is given to him who is positively unworthy of it, as it was given to Man fallen.

6. It is said, *appropriated to Salvation*, because it is given to help the intellectual Creature to operate her Salvation.

Note, That I may be asked, 1. Whether *Grace*, which I have defined a gratuite Effect of the divine Will, be something permanent in the Soul, and inherent to it? I answer in the Affirmative, if it be meant of the *habitual Grace*, which is insinuated by the Scripture, *John xiv.* where *Jesus Christ* says, that he with his Father will dwell, viz. by *Grace*, in the Soul of him who keeps his Commandments. *And we will come unto him*, says he, *and make our Abode with him.* And likewise *1 John iii.* where *Grace* is called Seed remaining in him who is born of God. But in the Negative, if it be a Question of the *actual Grace*, whereby a Man is assisted from God, when he is excited to know, will, or do something; for *Grace* thus considered, is not a Quality but a Motion of the Soul, since according to the Maxims of Philosophy, the Act of him that moves, is the Motion in him who is moved.

2. It may be asked, *if that Grace which is something permanent, be a Quality of the first Species, viz. an Habit?* To which I answer, 1. in the Affirmative; either because it has the Ratio of Quality, or because it cannot be recalled to any other Predicament. For, 1. it is not a Substance, it being neither Nature, nor Part of Nature. 2. It is not a Quantity, since a Quantity only belongs to corporeal Things, and places the Part of a Body beyond the Parts, which Grace does not. 3. It is not a Relation, either because there is no Motion towards a Relation, and there is a Motion towards Grace, which in Justification is produced by itself; or because Relation gives not Operation, or is not towards operating, as Grace is. 4. It is neither Action nor Passion, because those two Accidents are something transitory; but the Grace meant here is something permanent.

I answer, 2. That this Grace is referred to the first Species of Quality, *viz. Habit*; though it be not an Habit properly called. I prove the first Part, *viz. That it is referred to the first Species of Quality, viz. to Habit.* For suppose that those four Species of Quality be combined, *viz. Disposition and Habit, Power and Imbecility, passible Quality and Passion, Form and Figure*; it can be referred to neither of those combined Species, except to the first, and that to *Habit*; for, 1. It cannot be referred to Power, or to natural Imbecility, because those Qualities flow from essential Principles, or from Nature's Bosom where they are: But the Grace understood in this Place, is something supernatural produced and infused from God. 2. It can be referred neither to Passion or passible Quality, nor to Form or Figure; because those Qualities are Affections of the Body, not of the Soul; therefore suppose that the *Grace* meant here be Quality, it must rather be referred to the first Species of Quality, than to any of the others. I prove the second Part, *viz. that it has not the Ratio of an Habit properly so called, because it is not immediately appropriated to the Action, but to some spiritual Being it produces in the Soul; and thus is a Disposition to Glory, which is Grace consummated: Which notwithstanding, does not hinder it from being the active Principle of a supernatural Operation, if not an immediate, at least a remote one. Inasmuch as from Grace which is in the Essence of the Soul, Virtues flow into its Powers, whereby it moves them to Action, in the same Manner those same Powers flow from the Essence of the Soul, to be the Principles of Actions.*

It may be asked, 3. *Why God gives an habitual Grace to Man, since it is certain that an actual Grace is sufficient for a supernatural Act?* To which I answer, that it is true, that an *actual Grace* is sufficient for a supernatural Act; but that the habitual Grace is only given to an intellectual Creature, that she may act connaturally; which acts connaturally when she acts by a Form inherent to her. But if I be asked, *If it is an Article of Faith, that there is a certain permanent Grace given?* I'll answer, that there are two different Opinions on that Subject. For some deny it, under a Pretence that nothing of this has been expressly defined by any Council, notwithstanding the Council of *Trent*, where it is said, that Grace and Charity is infused, and inherent in the Heart; because it does not define whether it be inherent in the Manner of an Act, or in the Manner of something permanent. Others affirm it, and with a greater Appearance of Reason; because they imagine, that the Council of *Trent*, *Sess. 6. c. 11.* is to be understood of the permanent Grace.

4. It is asked, whether the sanctifying Grace be distinguished from *the moral Virtues, and from Faith and Hope?* I answer in the Affirmative; because, 1. As to the moral Virtues, there is not the least room to call it in question: For those Virtues do not regard God immediately, as Grace does. 2. As to the theological Virtues of Faith and Hope, the Thing is clear, because Grace being lost, those two Virtues cannot remain in the Sinner.

5. It is asked, *if the habitual Grace and Charity be the same Thing, or whether it is distinguished from it,*

and in what Manner? I answer, that it seems more probable, that the sanctifying habitual Grace is really distinguished from Charity. Which Answer I prove, 1. From the Manner of speaking of the Scripture, which seems to distinguish between Grace and Charity, as between a Cause and its Effect, *Rom. viii. The Charity of God is diffused in your Hearts by the holy Spirit who is given to you. And to the Galat. v. But the Fruit of the Spirit is Joy and Charity, &c.* By the Name of Spirit is understood there Grace, which has Charity for its Effect. 2. I prove it by the Manner of speaking of the Councils, particularly those of *Vienna and Trent, Sess. 6. c. 11.* where Grace and Charity are expressed by different Terms. 3. I prove it by the Manner of speaking of the ancient Fathers, particularly *St. Denis, lib. de eccles. hierarch. c. 2.* where he teaches, that as in natural Things it is first to be, then to operate; likewise we must be established by Grace in a certain supernatural Being, before we can be capable to operate. He calls that supernatural Being a divine State, given to us by a spiritual Birth. Likewise *St. Augustin, lib. de grat. christ. c. 30.* where he makes Charity the Effect of Grace: *I have never found, says he, in the Writings of Pelagius and Celestius, that they confessed as it should be confessed, that Grace whereby we are justified, i. e. whereby the Charity of God is diffused in our Hearts, be the holy Spirit given to us.* 4. I prove it by Reason, because a Man should be perfect in a spiritual Being, before he be disposed by Virtue to operate supernaturally; as one must be perfect in a natural Being, before he receives a natural Virtue, since, according to the Maxims of Philosophy, Virtue is the Disposition of the Perfect, *i. e.* of a Thing perfect in its Being; and Charity being a Virtue, a Man must be perfect in a spiritual Being by Grace, before he receives Charity. And it is evident, that by Grace Man is established in some spiritual and natural Being, because by Grace Man's Understanding is made Partaker of the divine Nature, as by Faith in this transitory World, and by a clear Vision in Heaven, he is made Partaker of the divine Knowledge; and as the Will of Man is made Partaker by the Virtue of Charity, of the divine Love. Whence it is not surprising if we read in the Scripture, *viz. 2 Pet. i. He has made you large and precious Promises, that by them you may become Partakers, of the divine Nature.* Notwithstanding that the Effects attributed to Grace, are also attributed to Charity. In the Scriptures, *v. gr. 1. That it expells Sin, Luke i. A great Number of Sins are remitted to her because she has loved much. 2. That it makes us beloved of God; John iv. If any love me he will be loved by my Father. 3. That it makes us Sons of God, 1 John iii. Behold what manner of Love the Father has bestowed upon us, that we should be called the Sons of God. 4. That it be the Root of all good Works, 1 Cor. xiii. Charity suffers long, and is kind, &c. 5. That it is the Seed of eternal Life, James i. He shall receive the Crown of Life, which the Lord has promised to them that love him.* Notwithstanding all this, say I, because though the same Effect attributed to Grace be likewise attributed to Charity; it suffices that they are not attributed to both in the same Manner. For to run through all the Passages objected to me, it may be said to the first, that the Remission of Sins is attributed to Grace as to a Form, and to Charity as to a Disposition: To the second, that the Dilection of him who loves God, is not so much the Reason why God loves, as *vice versa*: To the third, that by the Charity which God has given us, must be understood an uncreated Charity, the Effect whereof is the Grace, whereby we are called the Sons of God: To the fourth, that Charity is said to be the Root of all good Works, because it is their nearest and elicitive Principle, and Grace the remote one, from which Charity flows, as Power from Essence: To the fifth and last, it may be said, that Charity is not so properly called the Seed, as the Merit of eternal Life, since the Reward must answer the Merit. Grace should rather be called the Seed; for Charity, says *St. Thomas*, could not be sufficient to merit an eternal Good, if Grace was not presupposed. Notwithstanding, 2. What we see in the Council

Council of *Trent*, *Seff.* 6. c. 7. where the formal Effect of Justification, which it attributes sometimes to *Grace*, is also attributed to Charity; for after the Fathers of that Council have said that we are justified by the Justice of God; not by the Justice whereby himself is just, but by that whereby he makes us just; they add presently, that this happens, when thro' the Merit of the Passion of Christ, God's Charity is diffused by the Holy Ghost, in the Hearts of those who are justified, and is inherent to them. Because only the formal Effect of Justification, is attributed to Charity; as to an inseparable Companion of that Effect, or as to a Disposition to it; but it is attributed to *Grace*, as to its formal Cause. Notwithstanding, 3. what we read in St. *Augustin*, *lib. de nat. & grat. c. ult.* *That Charity began, is a begun Justice; that Charity advanced, is an advanced Justice; and that a perfect Charity, is a perfect Justice.* And *conc.* 26. in *Psalms* 119. where he calls Justice or sanctifying *Grace*, by the Name of Virtue. Because Justice, in that Place, is not so precisely taken for the special Virtue of Charity, but rather for an Assemblage of all Virtues; and the Sense is, that he who has that Assemblage of all Virtues, is agreeable and acceptable to God.

At present I'll treat of the *Existence* and *Subject* of *Grace*; and ask first, if there be such a *Grace* as that above-mention'd, *viz.* *A supernatural Gift, given gratuitely to an intellectual Creature, and appropriated to eternal Salvation?* Which Question I answer in the Affirmative; and which I prove by the Scripture, the Councils, Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, making mention of the Promise, and Gift of *Grace*, *Psalms* xxvi. *For the Lord will give Grace and Glory.* *Zech.* ii. *I'll pour upon the House of David, and upon the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, a Spirit of Grace.* *Of 2 Cor.* ix. *And God is able to make all Grace abound towards you.* And *Eph.* ii. *For by Grace are ye saved through Faith; and it is the Gift of God.*

By the Councils, not only by that of *Palestina*, and the four *Africans*, where the *Pelagianism* was condemned; but likewise by that of *Ephesus*, and those of *Orange*.

By the Fathers, especially St. *Augustin*, whose Writings mention almost nothing else but the Existence, Effects, and Necessity of *Grace*.

By Reason, because as it is certain, that there is a supernatural End, *viz.* eternal Life; it must be equally certain, that there is a Means, which is supposed necessary to obtain that End; which Means is *Grace*, without which, no Body can obtain eternal Life; whence, as I have already observed, the eternal Life is called by the Fathers a *consummate Grace*: All which is evident from the Scripture, *Eph.* i. where it is said, that *God has predestinated us unto the Adoption of Children, by Jesus Christ to himself, according to the good Pleasure of his Will. To the Praise of the Glory of Grace, wherein he has made us accepted in the Beloved: In whom we have Redemption, through his Blood, the Forgiveness of Sins, according to the Riches of his Grace.*

The second Question is, *If it be more probable that the Grace, especially the sanctifying, is in the Soul, as in a Subject, than in the Powers of the Soul?* Which I answer, likewise, in the Affirmative; because by that *Grace* we are regenerated into Children; and as the Generation is sooner terminated to the Essence, than to the Powers; the *Grace* must be sooner in the Essence of the Soul than in the Powers of the Soul. Whence it follows, that *Grace*, *viz.* the habitual and justifying, resides in the Soul as in a Subject; though those who do not distinguish *Grace* from Virtue, think otherwise.

It may be objected, 1. That *Grace*, according to St. *Augustin*, *Hypognost. lib. 3. c. 11.* is compared to Free-Will, as a Horseman is compared to his Horse; and as a Horseman sits on his Horse, in the same Manner is *Grace* on the Free-Will.

To this I answer, 1. That this Place can be understood of the *actual Grace*, which is as the directing to the directed. 2. That though this Place was even supposed to be understood of the *habitual Grace*, it would

be of no Signification; because, although that *Grace* be said to reside in the Essence of the Soul, as in a Subject, it may likewise be said to reside on the Free-Will, as the Soul is said to reside in the Faculties it applies.

It may be objected, 2. That in the Opinion of St. *Anselmus*, *lib. de concep. Virgin. c. 3.* Sin and Justice are in the Soul, but only through the Will; and therefore, the *Grace*, which is called by the Name of Justice, is in the Will as in a Subject.

I answer to this, that Sin, consider'd as a bad Action, in the same Manner as Justice is considered as a good one, resides in the Will as in a Subject; but not, if only consider'd as depriving us of *Grace*: The Reason is, that Privation and Form are in the same Subject; therefore as *Grace* is in the Essence of the Soul, likewise the Privation of the same *Grace* is in the Essence of the Soul.

Note. That the *Pelagians* and *Semi-Pelagians*, have absolutely denied the Existence of *Grace*; and as I have enter'd into a particular Detail of their Errors, on this Subject, in my Treatise of *Heresies*, it would be needless to repeat here their Sentiments, since the Reader can have Recourse to that Treatise. Therefore I'll pass to the next Division of the *supernatural Grace*, into that called in the Schools, *gratum faciens*, and *gratis data*, with their respective Subdivisions.

The *Grace, gratum faciens*, is commonly defined an internal, and supernatural Gift, given gratuitely to an intelligent Creature, to render him holy and agreeable to God.

It is said, 1. *A Grace, or internal and supernatural Gift*, as well to express the Genus, which is common between it, and the *Grace, gratis data*; as to insinuate, that our former Definition of *Grace*, can very well be applied to it.

It is said, 2. *To render the Creature holy and agreeable to God*; to express the Difference between the *Grace, gratum faciens*, and the *Grace, gratis data*. For by the next Proposition it will appear, that the *Grace, gratis data*, is not so much given to render the Person who has it holy, as to procure the Salvation of others.

Note. That it may be asked here, whether our Definition of the *Grace, gratum faciens*, be agreeable both to the *habitual* and *actual Grace*? To which I answer, that it can be applied to both, though not in the same Manner; for it is the Property of both, to render the Soul holy, though with this Difference, that the *habitual Grace* renders an intelligent Creature holy *formally*, and the *actual*, *efficiently* only; in some of these three Manners, *viz.* either *dispositively*, in disposing to Sanctity; or *conservatively*, in preserving the Holiness; or *directively*, in directing towards Deeds of Sanctity.

The *Grace, gratis data*, is commonly defined a supernatural Gift, given gratuitely to Man, and directly appropriated to the Salvation of another.

It is said, 1. *A supernatural Gift*, as well to express the Genus which it has in common with the *Grace, gratum faciens*; as to insinuate, that the Definition of the *supernatural Grace* taken in general, can be applied to it. This Gift is so extremely supernatural, that it is above the Faculty of Nature, and the Merit of the Person.

It is said, 2. *Directly appropriated to the Salvation of another*, to shew the Difference between the *Grace, gratis data*, and the *Grace, gratum faciens*. For it appears from what has been said, that the *Grace, gratum faciens*, is first, and by itself, ordained for the Salvation of the Person to whom it is given; and that the *Grace, gratis data*, is by itself, first, and directly appropriated to the Salvation of another. As it is easily understood from the following Passages of the Scripture, 1 *Epist.* *Cor.* 12. *But the Manifestation of the Spirit is given to every Man to profit withal, i. e. to our Neighbour.* And 1 *Epist.* of *Peter* c. 4. *As every Man has received the Gift, even so minister the same one to another.* Which notwithstanding, does not hinder, but that the *Grace, gratis data*, can, secondarily, be useful to the Person who has it, especially if he uses it well, according to the Dispositions required.

Our next Question is, *If the Grace, gratum faciens, can be conveniently divided into habitual and actual Grace? And in what Manner both Graces are further subdivided?*

Note, That I only design to mark, in this Place, the Divisions or Sub-divisions of these two Sorts of Grace; reserving the Explication of every Member to another Place; these pre-observ'd,

I answer, 1. That the Grace, *gratum faciens*, is very well subdivided into *habitual* and *actual*. Because that Division is into opposite Members, which are adequate to the whole divided, and have as great a Latitude as the Grace, *gratum faciens* itself; since there is no Grace, *gratum faciens*, which could not be referred to one of these two dividing Members; for either the Grace, *gratum faciens*, is formally sanctifying, and this is *habitual*; or is only efficiently sanctifying, and this is *actual*. But that this may appear clearer, it is necessary to give here the Definition of both.

The *habitual* Grace, which is in the Manner of an Habit, or of a permanent Thing is commonly defined, *a supernatural Gift given gratuitely to an intelligent Creature, rendering her permanently Companion of the divine Nature, and formally holy agreeable to God, and proper for eternal Life.* This Sort of Grace, is design'd by these Words we read *John xiv. If a Man loves me he will keep my Words; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our Abode with him.*

The *actual* Grace, which consists in Action and Motion, and is commonly called *a gratuite divine Motion, imprinted on the Free Will, and reducing it from Power to a supernatural Act, and operating it with it, as some effective Principle, or supernatural Influence.*

From both Definitions we may gather, that the Power is rais'd or elevated by the *habitual* Grace, and other infused supernatural Habits; that it may be capable, *in actu primo*, of supernatural Operations: But to operate actually, and to pass from the Power to the second Act, it wants special Succours, which should move it to act. For as it cannot pass to any natural Act, without the general Concourse of the first Cause reducing it from Power to Action, and operating the same Act with it; likewise it cannot pass to a supernatural Act, without the supernatural and actual Succours of Grace, whereby God actuates the Free-Will, and makes it will and accomplish a supernatural Good.

The *habitual* Grace, is justly subdivided into first and second. Because the dividing Members have the same Latitude as the whole divided. For there is no *habitual* Grace, which is not referr'd to one of these two dividing Members; for the *habitual* Grace is either that which does not presuppose any *habitual* Grace in the Subject, but renders formally the intelligent Creature, from unjust, a just one, and thus is the first *habitual* Grace; or, is that which finds already in the Subject an *habitual* Grace, and renders the intelligent Creature from formally just she was already, still more just, more agreeable to God, and more proper for eternal Life; and thus is the second *habitual* Grace, or Increase of Grace.

It may be asked here, *If that second Grace falls under Merit, and how it retains the Ratio of a Gift gratuitely given, supposed that it be acquir'd by Merit?*

To which I answer, that this Grace can fall under Merit, and retain, notwithstanding, the Name and Quality of Grace, because, though it falls under Merit, it is still, notwithstanding, to be accounted gratuitely given, either because it is supposed given without any rigorous Obligation on the Part of God, and without a perfect Merit on our Part; or because our Merit is not perfectly from us to us, since it is a Grace and something gratuitely given, as St. *Augustin* teaches it, *Epist. 105.* where he says, that it is thus called for no other Reason, than because it is given gratuitely; not because it is not given to Merits, but because those Merits themselves to which it is given, are given likewise.

The *actual* Grace is subdivided into *antecedent*, *concomitant*, and *subsequent*, and this Division includes all *actual* Grace.

Our first Question, relating to this Division, is to know if there be in fact, an *antecedent*, and a *subse-*

quent Grace; what are those two Sorts of Grace?

To the first Part of this Question, I answer in the Affirmative, *viz.* that there are in fact an *antecedent* and *subsequent* Grace; because the Scripture makes mention of those two Graces, *Psalms lix. Because his Mercy shall prevent me; and Psalm xxiii. And thy Mercy shall follow me;* and St. *Augustin* in *Eucher. c. 32. God prevents him who is unwilling that he should be willing, and follows the Willing that he should not be willing in vain.*

The *antecedent* or *preventing* Grace, is that which precedes all good free Motion of the human Will, whether the Will does consent or resist to it; because St. *Augustin* has always took it in that Sense; but more particularly, *lib. 2. ad Bonif. c. 9. Without it, says he, we can neither do, nor begin, nor accomplish any Thing; because that we may begin it is said, his Mercy will prevent me; and that we may accomplish, it is said, his Mercy shall follow me.* If we ask the Reason why St. *Augustin* has given that Name to Grace? The Answer is, because he disputed then against the *Pelagians*, some of whom, as *Julian*, did not deny the Grace, but pretended, that it was prevented by Man's Merits, and thus imagine that Grace was granted to the Desire of Good which was in Man, to assist the Will, and to perfect the Good began by the Strength of the Free-Will.

I have said, whether the Will consents or resists to it, because the ancient Fathers were of the same Sentiment; for in that of St. *Augustin*, the *preventing* or *antecedent* Grace is that which excites; but the exciting Grace does not include Man's Consent, as the same Father insinuates it *Conc. 1. on these Words of the Psalm lix. His Mercy shall prevent me: For, says he, I have not risen to the first, but thou art come to excite me.* And St. *Bernard* teaches the same in different Terms in his Book of Grace and Free-Will, towards the End, where, after he has said that Grace excites the Free-Will when it serves the Thought, and cures when it changes the Affection, he presently adds to it, *and thus Grace operates with the Free-Will, that it may only prevent it at first, and accompany it afterwards.* In that Place the preventing or antecedent Grace is manifestly said of the sole Thought, or Inspiration and Illumination, to which Will can either resist or obey. Therefore it is not surprizing that he had said a little higher, that God in sending us a good Thought, prevents us; and by changing our depraved Will, joins us to him by the Consent.

Grace can also be said preventing, because it precedes another Grace; since St. *Augustin* has took it in that Sense, *lib. de natur. & grat. c. 32. He prevents us, says he, by his Mercy; and prevents us that we may be cured, because that will follow whereby we may be cured; he prevents us that we may be called, and will follow us that we may be glorified: He prevents us that we may live piously, and will follow us that we may always live with him, because without him we can do nothing.* St. *Fulgentius* seems to have taken it in the same Sense, *lib. 1. ad monim. He gives, says he, his Grace gratuitely to an unworthy, that by the antecedent Mercy he may begin to will Good, and by the subsequent Mercy be capable to do the Good he wills.* And a little afterwards, *he prevents the Impious that he may become just, and follows the Just lest he should become impious: He prevents the Blind to give him the Light he has not found, he follows him that sees that he may preserve the Light he has given him: He prevents him that is fallen that he may rise; and follows him that is up lest he should fall.*

The *subsequent* Grace, is that which follows the preventing one, and assists the Will, that he may not will in vain. Because it assists Man already consenting, by the exciting or preventing Grace, to accomplish the Good he has already proposed. According to St. *Gregory, lib. 22. moral. c. 10. Holy Men, says he, become indebted to God for the present received, who has given them by preventing them to will the Good they would not, and in following them has granted them to be capable of the Good they will.*

From what we have said it may be understood, that the *preventing* Grace is that which excites the Will by the Illustration of the Understanding, and the internal Inspirations of the Will; and the *subsequent* that whereby the Will consents to the exciting Grace, and consequently proceeds to Action. 2. That not only that

Grace

Grace is called preventing, which precedes the first good Motion of the Will, but likewise that which excites to the other Acts of Piety.

But the most remarkable Distinction of the *actual Grace*, is into *sufficient* and *efficacious*; which Distinction was the Occasion of those long Disputes between the *Molinists* and *Tomists*, and much more still of those between the *Jansenists* and *Ante-jansenists*, as it will appear in the Sequel of this Treatise.

To proceed with some Order, and likewise with Caution, in these thorny and intricate Questions, we must inform ourselves of what is understood by the *efficient Grace* as opposed to the *efficacious*.

Note, That it is not Question here of the *sufficient Grace* taken in general, for that which gives the Power of acting supernaturally, in any Manner whatever, either declinably or indeclinably; because thus taken it is not opposed to the *efficacious*, since in that Sense the *efficacious Grace* can likewise be said sufficient, according to this of the Apostle, 2 *Epist. Corint. xii. My Grace is sufficient for thee*. But it is only Question of the *sufficient Grace* taken in particular, and as opposed to the *efficacious*. These pre-observed,

I say, that the *sufficient Grace* is commonly defined, *an actual preventing Grace, which says from the Part of the Power what suffices it to operate, or to obtain what is necessary to operate, and which notwithstanding can be resisted*.

1. It is said *an actual preventing Grace*, to express the Gender which it has in common with the *efficacious Grace*: And to give to understand that the habitual Grace is not that *Grace sufficient* meant here; for the *sufficient Grace* is that whereby Men are called to Justice, or whereby the Just are excited to Acts of Piety, or which is to be resisted; all which cannot be said of the habitual Grace. Add, that in the Sentiment of those who admit this *sufficient Grace*, it is given to those who are actually guilty of a mortal Sin, in whom there can be no habitual Grace; therefore, &c.

2. It is said, *which says from the Part of the Power that which is sufficient*; otherwise how could it be rightly called sufficient? For who can say, that what begins the Action, and not accomplish it, is sufficient? Whereby it appears, that the *sufficient Grace* is neither the external Vocation, nor a simple Illustration of the Understanding excluding the Motion of the Will. The first is evident, since the external Vocation is no more sufficient by itself than the Sound of a Trumpet is sufficient to an Army to fight. The last is likewise certain, because the simple Grace consisting wholly in that Illustration of the Understanding, and leaving the Will in its Infirmary, cannot be said sufficient to operate, as the Command of walking is not sufficient to a lame Man remaining infirm, if he receives no Strength in the motrice Faculty.

3. It is said, *to operate, or to obtain what is necessary to operate*: To give to understand, that the Ratio of the *sufficient Grace* does not absolutely require that one should operate by that Grace he has, but that it is enough if by that Grace he has already, he can obtain a sufficient Succour to operate; which can be made clear by an Example. Is not a Man said to be sufficiently capable, when he can obtain of a Friend all that he desires of him, tho' his own Circumstances be but mean?

4. It is said, *which can be resisted*; which is insinuated by the Scripture in several Places, particularly in the following ones. *Proverb i. I have called, and ye refused:—They would none of my Council, they despised all my Reproof. Isaiah v. What could have been done more to my Vineyard, that I have not done in it? Wherefore when I looked that it should bring forth Grapes, brought it forth wild Grapes? And chap. lxxv. I have spread out all the Day unto a rebellious People, which walks in a Way that is not good, after their own Thoughts. Math. xxiii. How often would I have gathered thy Children together, even as a Hen gathereth her Chickens under her Wings, and ye would not? And chap. xi. Then began he to upbraid the Cities wherein most of his mighty Works were done, because they repented not: Woe unto thee Chorazin, Woe unto thee Bethsaida: For if the mighty Works which were done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago, &c.* By these Testimonies extracted out

of the Scripture, the Asserters of the *sufficient Grace* are of Opinion, that it is very well proved, that there is a *sufficient Grace* which remains without Effect: And from them is deduced the Difference between a sufficient and an *efficacious Grace*.

If we ask if there be really any such Thing as a sufficient Grace, the *Molinists* and *Tomists* will answer in the Affirmative; and the *Calvinists*, *Lutherans*, and *Jansenists* in the Negative.

Those who are for the Affirmative, prove their Assertion by the Passages lately quoted, and by the following ones, which, say they, not only indicate and suppose an external, but likewise an internal Grace, whereby a true Repentance is perform'd. *Act. vii. Ye stiff-necked, and uncircumcised in Hearts and Ears ye do always resist the Holy Ghost. Rom. ii. Or despisest thou the Riches of his Goodness and Forbearance, and long Sufferings, not knowing that the Goodness of God leadeth thee to Repentance? But after thy Hardness and impenitent Heart treasurest up unto thyself Wrath against the Day of Wrath.*

They prove it likewise by the Councils, by the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Councils, particularly the *second of Orange can. 25.* where it is defined, that all those who are baptized, can and ought, if they will apply themselves to it, fulfill all that belongs to Salvation, viz. with Christ's Assistance and Co-operation. That of *Valence in France, c. 2. and 5.* That of *Sens under Clement VII. p. 1. decret. 15.* That of *Trent, Sess. 6. c. 11.* where it is said, that *God commands no Impossibilities, but in commanding he admonishes, and that you may do what you can, and ask for what you cannot do, and he assists you that you may.* Which Passage is almost entirely taken out of *St. Augustin, lib. de nat. & grat. c. 43.* and a little lower in the same Chapter of the Council it is said, that *God never forsakes those he has once justified by his Grace, unless he be first forsaken by them.* Notwithstanding what is said, that the Council is to be understood in this Place of the habitual, not of the actual Grace, when he says, that none is forsaken by God unless he be first forsaken by them. Because, as the Council uses in this Place *St. Augustin's* Words, it is reasonable to suppose that the Council has taken them in the Sense of *St. Augustin*. But *St. Augustin* in the Passage quoted by the Council treats of the actual Grace, without which he is of Opinion that a just Man cannot live justly and piously, and he illustrates that Sentiment by the Example of a sound Eye, which notwithstanding cannot see without Light: *For, says he, as the Eye of the Flesh entirely sound, cannot see without the Assistance of Light; likewise Man, though perfectly justified, cannot live righteously, without being divinely assisted by the eternal Light of Justice.* He confirms that Sentiment towards the End of the same Chapter by these Words, *God cures Man, not only by blotting out our Sins, but likewise by doing that we should sin no more.* But whereby can he do that we should sin no more but by the actual Grace? Therefore when the Council of *Trent* says, that God forsakes no Body unless he be first forsaken, it must be understood of the actual Grace.

By the Fathers, but not by all those, say they, whose Doctrine prove their Proposition; for that would be an immense and superfluous Labour; but only by *St. Augustin*, and several others both antient and modern. For,

St. Ambrose, lib. 6. in Luk. c. 9. at these Words, *give ye them to eat*, insinuates clearly enough that there are Graces granted from Christ which can be resisted. These are his Words, *The Lord has Mercy that none should fail in the Way; and if any Body fails, it is not through the Lord Jesus, but he fails of himself.*

St. Jerom, Epist. ad Cypri. Man, says he, makes use from the Beginning of God's Succours, and as it is through his Grace that he has been created, and through his Mercy that he subsists and lives, he can do no good At without him who has granted him a Free-Will in such a Manner, as to not deny his Grace for every At, to which notwithstanding several resist.

St. Augustin in several Places, and particularly, 1. In those where he shews that a Sinner has no Excuse, when he will not avoid Sin, when he could do it, v. gr. *conc. 2. in Psalm xxii.* likewise *lib. de Papt. c. 14.* in these Words, *What are you to answer your Judge, for refusing*

to be your own Pastor? You'll have nothing to answer. I did not know, I did not see, I did not hear; what is that you did not know? 2. In those Places, where he teaches that Man can and will not, or receive God's Grace in vain, v. gr. lib. de nat. & grat. c. 67. It is not imputed to thee as Sin, that thou art ignorant in spite of thee, but that thou neglect to search what thou art ignorant of; nor that thou does not take Care of thy wounded Members, but that thou despisest him who wants to cure them. 3. In those Places where he says, that God exhorts to Repentance, and insinuates that he is ready to hear our Prayers, v. g. Serm. 5. de verb. Dom. He exhorts you, says he, to ask, will he deny what you ask? Our Lord Jesus Christ is a Suitor among us, and a Giver with his Father, neither would he exhort us so much to ask, if he had no Design to give. Let the human Indolence blush; he will give more than we will receive; he has more Mercy than we want to be delivered by that Mercy, &c. 4. Lastly, in those Places where he shews that the Things commanded are easy and possible, v. g. lib. de nat. & grat. c. 69. For by the same Motive we are induced to believe certainly, that a good and just God could not have commanded Impossibilities, we are admonished what to do in the easy, and what to act in the difficult. From all these Passages and several others, we may easily draw this Inference, that the Grace sufficient to operate, or to obtain what is sufficient to operate, does not so fail us, as we fail to the Grace of God.

St. Prosper in several Places, but more particularly, lib. de vocat. gent. c. 28. speaks thus; Who himself gives the Will of obeying him, without taking off from those who persevere, that Mutability which can be unwilling, otherwise none of the Faithful had ever deviated from the Faith, no Body had ever been conquered by the Concupiscence, and no Body would neglect the Grace; but as all these can happen, and the Descent towards the Consent to those Temptations is easy, &c. There he supposes, that the Grace and even an internal one, is neglected, since it is that which he grants to those who persevere, which, as it has its Effect in them, it likewise can be rejected by those who deviate from the Faith.

St. Fulgentius, lib. de remiss. peccat. c. 19. If any Body, says he, reject the Grace of the Time present whereby God is come, not to judge, but to save Sinners, and believes that he ought to remain in his Iniquities, he'll find no Mercy at the future Judgment.

They prove it likewise by Reason, either because Christ would that all should be saved, and notwithstanding all are not saved: Whence that? unless it be that several resist to the sufficient Grace which is given to all, or because Christ is dead for all, and for every one of us; which notwithstanding all do not receive the Benefit of his Death, and whence that? unless it be from that all do not acquiesce to the exciting Grace: Therefore, &c. or because several oppose the Grace which God gives them to fulfil his Commandments. Which to understand better, we must observe, that God never commanded Impossibilities, as it appears from Deut. i. and from the Council of Trent, Sess. 6. c. 11. But several Precepts without Grace are impossible, viz. those which are of a supernatural Order, and those of a natural Order, which are attended with great Difficulties; therefore it must be confessed that when God imposes those Precepts, he gives Grace to render them possible; or at least he gives a Grace which renders us capable to accomplish them. But notwithstanding all this, all those to whom those Precepts are given do not accomplish them, or ask for the Strength necessary to accomplish them: Therefore it follows hence, that some resist to the Grace; which Grace is that called sufficient, therefore, &c.

Notwithstanding what is alledged against their last Reasoning, Rom. vii. I do not do the Good I would, but I do the Evil I would not; because the first Part of this Passage must be understood of the Apostle, in not doing the Good he would perfectly; but not of the Apostle not doing the Good he would, in any Manner. Good is done perfectly, in St. Augustin's Opinion, lib. 1. retract. c. 15. when done without any Reluctancy on the Part of the Concupiscence. The Perfection of Good, says he, is, that there should be no Concupiscence of Sin in Man. Therefore when the Apostle obey'd the Law of God, according to the inward Man, and the Law of Sin according

to the Flesh, he could not then operate a perfect Good; though he operated good in some Manner; because, as the same Father observes, lib. 1. oper. imperfect. He that cannot thus perfectly operate Good, has some other Manner left of operating it, viz. in not consenting to Vice, as the Apostle did not consent. For he adds, in the same Chapter; therefore I obey the Law of God by the Spirit, and obey that of Sin by the Flesh. The second Part of the Passage, must be understood of Evil, improperly so called, and done without Sin; but not of Evil, properly so called, and imputable to Sin. Which to understand in a more clear and easy Manner,

We must observe, 1. that it appears sufficiently enough from the Circumstances related by the Apostle in the above-quoted Chapter, that the Sin he did against his Will, was not properly a Sin, since himself declares; that it was done without the free Consent of his Will.

We must observe, 2. from the Doctrine of St. Augustin, lib. de duab. anima. c. 11. that there can be no Sin without Will. Therefore, lib. de ver. relig. c. 14. Sin, says he, as far as it is voluntary, is evil, since there is no Sin unless it be voluntary.

Notwithstanding what is objected against this last Reasoning, and taken from the same St. Augustin, lib. de nat. & grat. c. 16. whence some not understanding very well the Sense of the Author, have inferr'd the Necessity of Sin, from the Impossibility of accomplishing the Precepts. St. Augustin speaks thus, There is a certain Necessity of Sinning, which Man should know proceeds from the Vices of Nature, and not from the Condition of Nature; and that such a Necessity may cease, let him learn to say to God, deliver me from my Necessities. For this is only true, when the Grace fails, as the same Doctor insinuates it, in the preceding Chapter, viz. 65. in these Words; Therefore there's no Tie of Necessity, because there's a Liberty of Charity. — But you'll say, does not the Grace fail, when the Precept is impossible? They answer, that the efficacious Grace fails; but not the sufficient; and consequently deny that some of the Precepts are simply impossible.

Note, That there is an infinite Number of Objections made against this Sentiment of a sufficient Grace; but as it would be endless to relate them all here, I'll select from among them, those which seem to me to have most Strength; and answer them all in the same Manner they are answer'd by the Assertors and Defenders of that sufficient Grace; therefore,

It is objected, 1. That there is in the Scripture a very good Foundation for asserting, that there is no other Grace but the efficacious, whereby we come at Christ; for it is said, John vi. that Every Man that hath heard; and learn'd of the Father, cometh to me. Whence St. Augustin, lib. de grat. Christ. c. 14. and lib. de predest. sanct. c. 18. infers, that he who does not come, has neither learn'd nor heard from the Father, and consequently has had no Grace; therefore there is no other Grace but the efficacious.

To this they answer, that nothing can be inferred from the Text, but that he has not had the efficacious Grace; but that it cannot be inferred, that he had not the sufficient.

It is objected, 2. That if there was a sufficient Grace, a Man could distinguish himself from others, in Things which relate to Salvation; for he could consent to the divine Grace, or not consent; but a Man cannot distinguish, according to these Words of the Apostle, 1 Cor. iv. For who makes thee to differ from another? Therefore it follows, that there is no sufficient Grace.

It is answered to this, that there is a great Disparity between Man's Assent and Opposition; because his Opposition to Grace, proceeds from the Liberty, or rather Pravity of his free Will alone; but when he gives his Consent to Grace, it is not done by the sole Strength of his Free-Will alone; but rather by Grace's Assistance, whereby he is helped and excited to consent; whence he does not distinguish himself, but is discerned or distinguished by the Grace, whereby he is excited and helped to consent to the divine Inspiration. Therefore he must confess himself indebted to Grace, for all

all the Good he does, and ought not in any Manner boast, as if by that Consent he had distinguished himself from others.

From this Answer, say they, it may be inferred, that though the human Will concurs with Grace, to form a Consent; the Parts of Grace are notwithstanding much more powerful than those of the human Will, especially for this Reason, that by Sin the Free-Will has been alienated from God, and more inclinable since to Evil than to Good; and therefore does not embrace Good unless it be assisted by Grace: Whence it happens, that the Choice is rather attributed to Grace, than to the Free-Will.

But that the Will concurs with Grace, may be proved by an infinite Number of Texts of Scripture, particularly *Ezek. xviii. Make you a new Heart, and a new Spirit.* And *Jer. iv. Wash thine Heart from Wickedness, that thou mayst be saved.* *Acts iii. Repent ye therefore and be converted, that your Sins may be blotted out.* And *2 Tim. ii. If a Man therefore purges himself from these, he shall be a Vessel unto Honour, and sanctified for the Master's Use.* It appears from these Texts, that the Sinner separates and distinguishes himself from other Sinners, and from the Impious, by quitting the Road of Iniquity: But he does not this without the Assistance of Grace, the Parts thereof are far more powerful than those of the Free-Will. And that the said Effect is rather to be attributed to Grace, than to Free-Will, is evident from all the Texts of Scripture, where the principal Part of our Salvation is attributed to God. Whence, when he says, *Be converted to me*, we have Reason to say, *Convert us O God our Salvation.*

But, say you, *St. Augustin, lib. de prædest. sanct. c. 5.* says, *that Grace distinguishes the Good from the Bad*, viz. that Grace which is not common to both: But the sufficient Grace is common to the Good and to the Bad; therefore a Man is not distinguished from another by the sufficient Grace.

They answer to this, that *St. Augustin* understands there, by the Grace common to the Good and to the Bad, a natural Grace, and not a supernatural one, as it appears from the following Words. *For*, says he, *who distinguishes you? what have you that you have not received? and if you have received it, why should you glory, as if you had not received it? In that most evident Intention of the Apostle, whereby he speaks against the human Pride, lest any Body should glory in Man, not in God. It is, in my Opinion, a too great Absurdity, to suspect the natural Gift of God, or Nature itself entire and perfect, as it was given in the first Condition of Man, or any of the Relicks of a vitiated Nature; for are they not, by those Gifts which are common to all Men, distinguished from Men?* And a little lower, *For what have you that you have not received? Is any Thing else design'd here, but that whoever glory should glory in the Lord?* And nothing is so contrary to this Sense, but for one to glory of his own Merits, as if he was indebted to himself for them, and not to the Grace of God, i. e. to that Grace which distinguishes the Good from the Bad, and not to the Grace which is common to both.

It may be objected, 3. That it can be inferr'd from the second Council of Orange, c. 4. that any Grace determines our Will, since God does not expect, that we should purge our Will of Sin. For that Council speaks thus: *If any Body pretends that God expects that our Will should purge us of Sin, and that such Thing, i. e. that we will be purged, is not done by the Infusion and Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, he resists to the Holy Ghost, who says, by Solomon, that the Lord prepares the Will. And to the Apostle, teaching, that God operates within us, the Will, and the Perfection.*

They deny this Inference; and say, that it can be only inferred from the said Council, that God does not expect our Will should be previous to Grace, as the *Semi-Pelagians* pretended; but expects that our Will should follow and be subsequent; as is evident from the sixth Chapter of the same Council.

It is objected, 4. That *St. Augustin, lib. de correptione & grat. c. 14.* speaks thus, *None of Man's Free-Will resists, God willing to cure*, from which it is inferr'd, that no Sort of Grace is resisted, and consequently there

is no sufficient Grace, since God is willing to save Men by any Grace.

They answer, that this Place of *St. Augustin* is to be understood of the efficacious Grace, and not of the sufficient, whereby God prepares us for the Grace of Salvation. For *lib. de nat. & grat. c. 67.* he confesses, that Man despising him who will cure him, is imputed to him as a Fault: Whence it appears that there is a Sort of Grace which is resisted; therefore there is a sufficient Grace.

It is objected, 4. That the sufficient Grace as admitted by them, is entirely the same with that Grace of Possibility admitted by the *Pelagians*, and which is refuted by *St. Augustin*, throughout his whole Book of the Grace of Christ, and in several other Places, and therefore is not to be admitted.

They deny the Antecedent, because the *Pelagians*, say they, admitted two Sorts of Grace, and none of them is their sufficient Grace: For they said, 1. That if Grace was given the Liberty would be destroy'd; which was condemned by the Council of *Diospolis*, though afterwards *Pelagius* being forced to it by the Authority of the same Council, admitted a certain external Grace, not an internal one, which he placed in the Doctrine of the Gospel and the Example of *Jesus Christ*. They used to say besides, that without the Assistance of any Grace a Man could lead a good Life, and avoid all Sorts of Sins; which Possibility the *Pelagians* attributed to Nature, and they attribute it to the sufficient Grace, which is quite different.

It is objected, 6. That if there was a sufficient Grace, the Church would pray to obtain it, which it does not; therefore it is a Sign there is no such Grace.

They answer to this, that the Church prays therefore to obtain all Sorts of Grace without Distinction, v. g. when it prays thus; *We pray thee O Lord, to infuse thy Grace into our Minds, &c.*

It is objected, 7. There is no supernatural Grace where it is resisted, but the Grace which is supposed sufficient is resisted; therefore there is no such a Grace; as *St. Augustin* insinuates, *lib. de grat. Christ. c. 25.* where he speaks thus, *He that knows what's to be done and does it not, has not yet learned from God according to Grace, but only according to the Law; not according to the Spirit, but according to the Letter.*

They answer, that he who has the Grace and resists to it, is not said to know according to the Law, because he has nothing else but the Law for Principle; but because the Grace has no other Effect than if he had only the Law: For the Property of the Law is only to give Knowledge, but Grace gives not only the Knowledge, but even the Action itself.

Note, That those who admit that Grace sufficient, which excites human Will, and gives it the Power to act; which can be resisted, and is in fact resisted, imagine that without it it is absolutely impossible, to excuse God from that too great Severity, Partiality, &c. attributed to him, by those who admit no other Grace than the *efficacious by itself*, rejecting the sufficient as a Velleity or a Shadow of Grace, which has no other Existence but in the Mind of its Asserters; though I must confess, that without it, it is very difficult to reconcile the frequent Exhortations of God in the holy Scriptures, his Reproaches, Threatnings, &c. with his Justice, Mercy, Compassion, &c. which are some of his most essential Attributes: For if we can do nothing relating to our eternal Salvation, but with the Assistance of his Grace, why don't he give us that Grace? and if that Grace produces always its Effect, it is a Sign that we have not that Grace when we neglect to observe God's Precepts, avoid Sin, repent from those we have committed, &c. and why should God reproach us with our Neglect, since he knows that we have not the Grace necessary for those supernatural Acts; and that as soon as he'll be pleased to give it us there will be no more room for Exhortation, Reproaches, Threatnings, &c. since that Grace is to operate within us all that he commands, without its being in our Power to oppose or resist it. For admitting that there is no other Grace than the efficacious

cious by itself, when he reproaches us, that *he wanted to assemble us as a Hen assembleth her Chickens under her Wings, and we would not*, or the like; he knows then that we could agree that he should do it? whence could that Consent proceed, but from our natural Strength? But to admit such a Power within us, is an Error which has been condemn'd in *Pelagius*, as contrary to the Notion we must have of the fallen Nature. And if we cannot do it of our own natural Strength, it would be a Sort of Injustice to upbraid us for not doing it, since *ad impossibile nemo tenetur*: No; but we can do it with the Assistance of his Grace? But when we have that Grace, we always do what he will have us do, or rather, that Grace doth it within us, since it is efficacious by itself, and we are nothing but mere Machines, which it moves at Pleasure; and which it is impossible we could oppose in its Motions, considering our natural Imbecility; therefore, there would be no Need of Exhortation, Intreaties, &c. unless we admit another Sort of Grace, which God gives us, or offers us always, and which by the Depravation of our Nature, we refuse or resist when we please, and thereby give Room for God to reproach us, with having neglected his Exhortations, Inspirations, &c. and that very justly, since he has neglected nothing on his Side; and on ours, we have render'd his Endeavours vain and fruitless, as himself complain'd of. *Calvin* and *Jansenius*, or the *Jansenists*, having found the same Inconveniency in reconciling these Exhortations, Reprimands, &c. with the efficacious Grace, they admitted or admit, rejecting all other Sorts as smelling too much of *Semi-Pelagianism*, are fallen into another Excess far more injurious to God, as arraigning his Mercy and Justice; for the first, *viz. Calvin*, has had the Temerity to advance, and to maintain afterwards with Obstinacy, that some of God's Commandments are absolutely impossible; for even in a civil Life, to command any Thing impossible, is the most notorious Oppression, or Tyranny a Man can be guilty of, and how can we have the sacrilegious Injustice to accuse God himself of it? The other, *viz. Jansenius*, or his Disciples, pretend, with *Calvin*, that some of God's Commandments are impossible, with this Difference, that they do not reckon them absolutely impossible, as *Calvin* does, but say, that the Grace, whereby they could be render'd possible, is wanting, which is but a slight Modification, since both Opinions tend to the same End, *viz. to accuse God tacitly of Cruelty and Injustice*. For where can be a greater, than to command us Things, which he knows, to speak the Language of *Calvin*, are absolutely impossible, whatever Grace he could assist us with to accomplish them? with what Design could he command us those Things, which he knew impossible, even with the Assistance of his Grace? was it to render us more criminal, and from thence have a greater Occasion to punish us eternally? or was it to shew us that his Power was limited? (for I consult in this Case my Reason, only according to the Notion it can form to itself of a Divinity) If it was to render us more criminal, why would he humble himself so low, as to take our Nature, to be expos'd to all its Infirmities, and to expire at last amidst the most cruel Torments; since by leaving us in the Mass of Perdition, we have been all involved in by *Adam's* Fall, it had answer'd the same End, without he could have been reproach'd with having committed Injustice? And in promising us, that he who shall keep his Commandments, shall be saved, would it not be deceiving us, if he knew that there are some of them so absolutely impossible, that they are not to be kept, not even with his most powerful Assistance, according to *Calvin's* Opinion, who thereby limitates his Power, and consequently deprives him of his Divinity. — As for the *Jansenists* mitigating this impious Opinion of *Calvin*, by saying, that if some of God's Commandments be impossible, it is only because the Grace whereby they could be render'd possible is wanted, if they do not limitate God's Power as *Calvin* does, they equally offend his Justice, since he could assist and will not.

Note also, That those who admit the *sufficient Grace*, support and strengthen their Opinion by the following very essential Questions:

The first Question is, If God is willing that all Men should be saved; and in what Sense he is willing?

Note, 1. That it is not without Reason we ask here, if, and in what Sense, God is willing all Men should be saved? And that we are to ask in the second Question, if Christ be dead for all Men? before we enquire in the third Question, if the *sufficient Grace* be given to all Men in general; because for the *sufficient Grace* to be given to all Men, these two Things are absolutely necessary. 1. That God be willing that all Men should be saved. 2. That Christ, by his Death, should have procured them the Means to be saved.

2. That the Theologians consider two Sorts of Will in God, with Regard to our Salvation, *viz. an antecedent one*, whereby God wills as much as it is in himself, the Salvation of all Men, before he has foreseen their Obedience or Disobedience, or which is the same, their Merits or Demerits; and the other consequent, whereby God determines Men's Salvation after he has foreseen their Perseverance in Righteousness. Which two Sorts of Wills in God, I have treated at large in my Treatise of *God's Attributes*, in the Article of *Predestination*.

3. That the consequent Will is always efficacious; but the antecedent is only conditional. These pre-observed,

They answer, that God wills of an antecedent and conditional Will, and as much as it is in himself that all Men should be saved. This Answer is against *Lucidus* a certain Priest of great Reputation, as *Baronius* relates, *ad Ann.* 490. It is also against *Godescalchus* a Monk, whose pestiferous Genitus *Hincmarus* describes in his Epistle to Pope *Nicolas*, related by *Flodoardus*, *lib.* 3. c. 14. where it is said, that *Godescalchus* had nothing of a Monk but the Habit; for he was of a wild and turbulent Spirit, loving Novelties, ambitious, &c. and called by *Rabanus* a vagrant Monk, in the synodical Epistle of the Council of *Mayence*. This Answer is also against *Calvin*, *lib.* 3. *inst.* c. 24. *numer.* 15 & 16. and also against *Jansenism*.

They prove their Answer by the Scripture, the Councils, and by the Fathers.

By the Scripture, *Wisdom* xi. *You have Mercy of all, because you are omnipotent, for you love all Things, and you hate none of those Things you have made. And you forgive all, because all Things are yours, O Lord, who loves the Souls.* *Ezekiel* xviii. *Have I any Pleasure at all that the Wicked should die, and not that he should return from his Ways and live?* And chap. xxxiii. *Why should thou die O House of Israel? I have no Pleasure in the Death of the Wicked, but that the Wicked turn from his Way and live; turn ye, turn ye from your evil Ways.* On which Words *Tertullian*, *lib. de penit.* c. 4. says that he swears that he should be believed. *Therefore happy are we, for whose Sake God swears, O unfortunate if we do not believe God when he swears.* *Matt.* xi. *Come unto me all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you Ease.* This Invitation would be needless, if he had no Design that all Men should be saved. *Matt.* xviii. *For the Son of Man is come to save that which was lost.* 1 *Epist.* *Tim.* ii. *I exhort therefore that first of all Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions, and giving of Thanks be made for all Men: For this is good and acceptable in the Sight of God our Saviour, who will have all Men to be saved, and to come unto the Knowledge of the Truth: For there is one God and one Mediator between God and Man the Man Christ Jesus; who gave himself a Ransom for all,* 2 *Pet.* iii. *But his long Suffering towards us, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to Repentance.*

It may be asked here, if the Texts of the Scripture above quoted, are to be understood of every one of the Genders, or of the Genders of every one?

I answer, that they are to be understood of every one of the Genders, *i. e.* of all Men without Exception, because these Particles *all Men, for all*, and the like; but extend themselves as wide as those are, for whom the

Apostle

Apostle says we ought to pray; but the Apostle there wills, that Prayers should be made for every one of the Genders, that's to say, for all Men in general; as St. *Augustin* understands it, particularly, *lib. de corrept. & grat. c. 15.*

They prove it by the Councils, particularly that of *Mayence*, celebrated in the Year 848, against the Errors of *Godefridus*; which were, 1. That as God had predestinated some to Life, he had also predestinated some to eternal Death. 2. That God wills not that all Men should be saved, but only those who are saved. 3. That *Jesus Christ* had not been crucified, and was not dead for the Redemption of all the World, but only for those who are saved. 4. That those who perish were only saved in Appearance: For maintaining which Errors *Godefridus* was condemn'd as a Heretick, in a provincial Synod assembled at *Rheims* by *Hincmarus* Archbishop of that See.

It is proved by the Fathers, particularly St. *Ambrose*, *oñon. octavo.* on this of the Psalm cxviii. *The Earth is full of thy Mercy, O Lord*, where he speaks thus; *Therefore the Earth is full of the Lord's Mercy: Therefore the Remission of Sin is given to all: The Sun is commanded to rise for all, and this Sun rises for all: For this mystical Sun of Justice is risen for all, is come to all, has suffered for all, and has rose from the Dead for all: But if any Body does not believe in Christ, he defrauds himself of the general Benefit, like one who excludes the Rays of the Sun by shutting his Windows.*

St. *Chrysostom*, *hom. 7. in Joan.* confirms this Sentiment in these Words; *If he illuminates all Men that come into this World, how comes it to pass that so many Men remain without Light? Certainly he illuminates them as far as in him lies; but if some of their own Accord, and by the Connivance of the Eyes of their Mind, will not turn themselves towards that Light, they do not remain in Darkness, by the Nature of that Light, but by their pure Malice.*

St. *Augustin*, *lib. de Spirit. & litera. c. 32.* speaks thus, *For God wills that all Men should be saved, and should come to the Knowledge of the Truth, but not as to deprive them of their Free Will, of which making a good or bad Use, they will be justly judged; for the Infidels act against God's Will, when they do not believe in his Gospel; not that they conquer then his Will, but they defraud themselves of a great and sovereign Good, being to feel in the eternal Torments, the Power of him whose Mercy they have despised in Good.*

St. *Prosper*, subscribes to his Tutor St. *Augustin*, in several Places, but more particularly in his Answer to the Objections of *Vincent*, and still more pathetically to the second Objection, where he speaks thus, *We should believe, and confess sincerely, says he, that God wills all Men should be saved, since the Apostle from whom we have this Sentiment, commands strenuously, that it should be piously observed in all Churches, to pray God for all, of whom if several perish, it is their own Fault; and if several are saved, it is a Gift of the Saviour.* He speaks in the same Manner, *Sent. 7. ad cap. Gall. Whoever says, that God wills not that all should be saved, but only a certain Number of Predestinates, speaks with a greater Severity than he should of the unsearchable Depth of the Grace of God, who is willing that all Men should be saved, and come to the Knowledge of the Truth.*

They prove it, likewise, by Reason, if not by a positive one, since there is no positive one, all depending on the Mercy and divine Will of God, at least by a negative one, which consists in the Solution of the Objections: Therefore,

It may be objected, 1. That it is *Pelagianism* to say, that God is willing that all Men should be saved if they will; therefore, that it is not to be admitted.

They answer, that it is so when taken in the erroneous Sense of the *Pelagians*; but not when taken according to the Sense and Explication of the Catholick Church. For the *Pelagians* erred in two Manners, in their Explication of this Sentence of the Apostle, *God wills that all should be saved.* For they erred, 1. in extending it to all Men, without Exception, even Infants, whom, they say, God was willing to save, if they would, not of an actual Will, but only of a future, understood in that Sense, viz. if they were to arrive at the Age of Discretion. St. *Prosper* relates this Sentiment in an Epistle to St. *Augustin*, and

St. *Augustin* refutes it, *lib. 3. ad Bonif. c. 8.* towards the End. 2. They erred in saying, that God was willing all Men should be saved, if they would themselves, of a natural Will, and preceding the Grace. As St. *Augustin* witnesses it, *lib. 1. retrakt. c. 10.* But the Doctrine of the Catholick Church is, that God wills that all Men should be saved, as well Infants as Adults, though in a different Manner, viz. the Infants independently of their Will, supposed, notwithstanding, that there were neither Ministers nor natural Causes wanted; and the Adults, if they were willing themselves, but of a Will prepar'd by the Grace of God. Whence it appears, how much the Sentiment of the Catholicks differs from that of the *Pelagians*.

It is objected, 2. That St. *Augustin* writes expressly, that God is not willing that all Men should be saved, and proves that by the Example of the Infants who die before Baptism; and this he proves in several Places, but particularly, *lib. 4. cont. Julian, c. 8.* therefore, &c.

The Answer of the Catholicks to this is, that St. *Augustin* denies that God is willing that all Men should be saved, in the Manner pretended by *Julian*, but not absolutely. For *Julian* pretended, that God neither desired the Salvation of Men, nor granted them his Grace, unless they had first searched it by their Free-Will; and never denied his Grace, but when they would not search. Which Doctrine is as false in Infants, as it is evident by itself, and by these Words of St. *Augustin*; *But those Infants, by their Imbecility, contradict your Sentiment, for they neither search nor ask, but on the contrary, when they are baptized, refuse and struggle against it, and notwithstanding receive and find, and it is open'd to them, and they enter into the Kingdom, where there is an eternal Salvation, and the Knowledge of the Truth, &c.*

It is objected, 3. That God wills not of an absolute Will, that all Men should be saved, otherwise all Men actually and in fact would be saved; because what he wills in that Manner is always accomplished; according to this of the Psalmist, *He has done whatsoever he pleases*: Therefore he neither wills that all Men should be saved, of that Will which is antecedent and pure conditional, since such conditional Will is equivalent to the absolute, since that Condition depends on him that is willing. For when it is said, that God wills that all Men should be saved, if they will themselves, that Condition which we add for the Adults, does not less depend on the Will of God than the Salvation itself, since it cannot be done by the human Will, i. e. unless God gives them the Will for them to accept Grace, and consent to it.

The Answer to this Objection is, that it is true, that the conditional Will is equivalent to the absolute, when the Condition depends in such a Manner of the Willing, that it is entirely to be accomplish'd by him alone; but that it is false, if it is to be accomplished part by him, and part by another; but the conditional Will now in Question, depends in Part from God, and in Part from Man; for tho' Man cannot will to be saved, unless God be willing, likewise, and prepares Man's Will, he notwithstanding does not so prepare it in all Things, but that he desires still Man's Consent. As St. *Augustin* insinuates it plainly, *lib. de Spirit. & lit. c. 33.*

It is objected, 4. That it would be needless to pray to God for the Salvation of all, if he was willing, as far as in him lies, that all Men should be saved; therefore, &c.

The Answer to this Objection is a Negative; because there is almost an infinite Multitude of Men who deserve to be abandon'd by God for their actual Sins; and because he may be prayed to give more abundant and efficacious Succours.

But, *If God be willing of an antecedent Will that all Men should be saved; he is not willing of a consequent one.* Which is proved both by the Scripture, and the Fathers.

By the Scripture, *John xvii. I do not pray for the World*, viz. efficaciously, and of a consequent Will.

By the Fathers, particularly St. *Chrysostom*, *Hom. 1. in Epist. Eph.* where he speaks thus: *The first Will is, that none of those who have sinned should perish; the second Will is, that those who are grown bad should perish.* Like-
wise

wife St. *Augustin* expounding in three Manners this Passage of the Apostle, *God wills that all Men should be saved*; whose triple Exposition is to be referred to the absolute and consequent Will: The first Interpretation is this, that none is saved, but him whom God will save. And in this Sense, St. *Augustin* is to be understood, when he says, that God will save those who are saved; which Interpretation is taken from his 107 Epistle to *Vitalis*; from his *Enchiridion*, c. 22. &c. The second Exposition of the aforesaid Passage of the Apostle is, that God wills that all Men should be saved, and come to the Knowledge of the Truth, because he will save some of all Nation, Age, Sex, Condition, &c. as it is said, that all Animals was in *Noah's Ark*, i. e. Animals of every Specie. This second Interpretation is in the *Enchiridion*, c. 103. whereby it appears, that St. *Augustin* has took that Sentence of the Apostle uncompletely, viz. for the Genders of Particulars. The third Exposition of the said Sentence is, that God wills that all Men should be saved, because he makes us will we should be saved. In this Sense, the Holy Ghost is said, *Rom. viii. To intercede for us with Groans unutterable*; not that in fact he groans himself, but because he makes us groan; as we see, *lib. de correptione et gratia*, c. 15.

The second Question is, *If God is dead for all Men, and for every one of them in particular?*

Note, That it is not asked here, of what Value and Merit was Christ's Passion, since every Body knows that it was of an infinite Value; and consequently very sufficient for the Redemption of all Mankind, as I'll shew more at large in my Treatise of the Incarnation.

2. Neither do we ask whether it is profitable to all those to whom it is applied, since it is an unquestionable Truth that it is. St. *Prosper* speaks incomparably well on this Subject, in his Answer to the Objections of *Vincent*, expressing himself in his Answer to the first Objection; *The Cup of Immortality, composed of our Infirmary, and of the divine Virtue, has in itself, what's requisite to be profitable to all; but if it be not drank, it cannot cure.*

3. That it is asked here chiefly, if Christ dying has had the Intention, to give himself as Mediator or Redeemer for all Men in general. These pre-observed,

The Catholicks answer, *That Christ is dead for all Men in general, and has had the Intention of dying, as far as it was in himself, for all Men in general.* According to the Sentiment of St. *Thomas*, in the Commentary on the second Chapter of the first Epistle to *Timothy*; against some who asserted falsely, that St. *Augustin* has never confessed in his Writings, that Christ has given himself in Redemption for all without Exception, or was crucified and dead for all, but only for those to whom his Death has proved profitable; whence they say, that he has given himself in Redemption for his universal Church, and consequently for all Genders of Men.

They prove their Answer by the Scripture, the Councils, and the Fathers.

By the Scripture, *2 Cor. v. If one died for all, then were all dead; and that he died for all, that they which live, should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them, and rose again.* For does it not as clearly appear, in this Place, that Christ died for all, as the Death of all by Sin clearly appears? Otherwise, how could the Apostle conclude that all are dead by *Adam's Sin*; but Death, by Sin, is extended to all Men in general, therefore, *1 John ii. And he is the Propitiation for our Sins; and not for our Sins only, but also for the Sins of the whole World.* By the whole World, in this Place, not only the Elect, but likewise the Reprobates are understood by the Council of *Trent*, *Sess. 6. c. 3. For though Christ be dead for all, says that Council, all, notwithstanding, do not receive the Benefit of his Death, but only those to whom the Merit of his Passion is communicated.*

They prove it by the Councils, particularly that of *Mayence*, where *Godescalchus* was condemned for asserting the contrary. And likewise by that of *Trent*, *Sess. 6. c. 4.* which is above-quoted. There is no Room for evading the Passage of the Council of *Trent*,

by this Subterfuge, that the Price of Redemption, given by the Passion and Death of Christ, is sufficient to redeem all Men in general, even the Reprobates, but that Christ had no Intention to redeem all Men in general, and to die for them all. There is no Room for this Subterfuge, say they, because it cannot be conceived how, v. gr. he who either possesses or accumulates a Sum sufficient to pay the Debts of another, can be supposed to possess or accumulate that Sum for him unless he has Intention to offer that Sum for the Payment of such a Debt.

They prove it by the Fathers, as well by those who have preceded St. *Augustin*, as by those who have followed him; and particularly by St. *Atbanasius*, *lib. 3. de incarn. verb.* St. *Chrysostom*, *Hom. in. c. 2. Epist. 1 Tim.* St. *Jerom*, *Epist. ad Ocean.* in these Words; *St. John Baptist is an Impostor, shewing Christ with his Finger, and with his Voice saying, this is the Lamb of God, this is he who takes off the Sins of the World, if there are yet some in the World, whose Sins Christ has not taken off.*

St. *Augustin*, as well in those Places where he insinuates that Christ is dead for others as well as for the Elect, v. gr. *lib. 2. de Symb. ad Catech. c. 5.* where he speaks thus of *Herod*, searching after Christ to put him to Death, *O World unclean, he is come to redeem thee, and thou art troubled, and thou wantest to kill him, when he prepares himself to deliver thee.* As in those others, where he gives to understand, that Christ is dead for all, v. gr. *lib. 1. de peccat. mer. c. 18, 23, 27.* likewise *lib. 6. contr. Jul. c. 2.* where he proves against the *Pelagians*, that all Men, and in particular all Infants are dead in *Adam*, because Christ is dead for all. For having proposed the above-quoted Passage of the Apostle *2 Cor. c. 5. One is dead for all; then all are dead.* He adds immediately, *From that he has proved that all are dead, because one is dead for all, I imprint and inculcate it on him who refutes it.* Likewise St. *Prosper*, *lib. 2. de vocat. gent. c. 6.* and St. *Leo*, *Serm. 1. de nativitate Christi.* Our Lord, says he, *the Destroyer of Sin and Death, as he has excused no Body from Sin, likewise he is come to deliver all.* And St. *Bernard*, *Serm. 2. in Psalm. qui habitat.* *All Men can say thou art my Redeemer, but he only can say truly thou art my Receiver, who inhabits in the Succours of the Almighty.*

It may be objected, 1. That it is Semi-Pelagianism to say, that Christ is dead, or has spilt his Blood (this is the fifth Proposition of *Jansenius*) for all Men in general; therefore, &c.

The Catholicks deny it to be Semi-Pelagianism; and that no Body ought to believe, that what St. *Augustin*, St. *Prosper*, and all the orthodox Theologians have endeavoured to persuade the whole Christian World, is one of the Errors of the Semi-Pelagians. Therefore it is not surprizing, if *Innocent X.* and *Alexander VII.* have fulminated this Proposition in *Jansenius* and his Disciples, as impious, blasphematory, injurious to the divine Piety, and heretical.

Note, That the *Jansenists*, by maintaining this Proposition, that it is an Error condemned in the Semi-Pelagians, to say that Jesus Christ is dead, and has spilt his Blood for all Men in general; pretended, that to say that Jesus Christ was dead for all, and that notwithstanding several were excluded from the Benefit thereof, it was admitting a certain Inefficacy in Christ's Death, and a certain Mutability in God's Judgments, which was highly injurious to his Omnipotency. That his Intention was either to make all Men in general Partakers of the Benefit of his Death, or only Part of them: That if he designed that all should be Partakers of that Death, as all have not been Partakers of the Benefit of that Death, since all are not saved, his Intention has been then frustrated, whereby his Decrees have been subject to Mutation, which it is an Impiety even to suppose: But that Intention was perhaps but a Velleity, with Regard to those who are not saved? But would a Velleity be compatible with the Idea we are obliged to have of the Divinity, whose Intentions are all so many Decrees, which are subject to no Changes or Vicissitudes, and can meet with no Opposition. Therefore they conclude,

conclude, that as the sole Elect have received the Benefit of that Death, it was design'd for them only.

It is objected, 2. That the Scripture insinuates in several Places, that Christ is dead for the sole Predestinates, *Psal. cxi. He sent Redemption unto his People. John x. I give my Life for my Sheep. John xvii. I do not pray for the World.* Likewise St. *Augustin* in several Places, and particularly *lib. 22. de civit. c. 24. Epist. 48. and 102.* And also St. *Prosper*, in his Answer to the first Objection of *Vincent*, where he speaks thus, *The Property of the Redemption, belongs without doubt to those from whom the Prince of the World has been expelled, and who are not Vessels of the Devil, but Members of Christ.* Therefore, &c.

To this it is answer'd, that those Places of the Scripture, and of the Fathers, insinuate, that Christ is dead efficaciously for the sole Predestinates; but do not deny that he is also dead, at least sufficiently, for all other Men.

It is objected, 3. That Christ has prayed for none but the Predestinates (this is also the Sentiment of the *Jansenists*) *John xvii. I pray not for the World, but for them which thou hast given me.* Therefore he is dead for no others than for the Predestinates; for he is only dead for them he prayed for.

This is answer'd, 1. By a Distinction of the antecedent, viz. that he is dead for the sole Predestinates efficaciously, and for the other sufficiently. 2. By denying the Consequence, because it was not necessary that his Prayer should be of so great an Extent as, was his Death.

The third Question is, *If the sufficient Grace be given to all the Infants, even to those who die in the Womb of their Mother?*

Note, That the Grace called *sufficient*, can be taken in two Manners, 1. Properly for an Illumination of the Understanding, and a pious Motion of the Will. 2. In a wider Sense, for all Succours and Means sufficient to obtain our Salvation, which God had provided and would be applied.

2. That when it is asked, if the *Grace sufficient* is given to Infants who have not yet the Use of their Reason; by the *sufficient Grace* it is not to be understood that which consists in the Illumination of the Understanding, and in the pious Motion of the Will; but that which can be taken in a wider Sense, for any Succours sufficient to obtain Salvation, which God is willing they should be provided with. The Reason is, because Infants are not yet capable of the said Illumination and pious Motion. These pre-observ'd,

The Catholics say, *that God provides sufficiently for Infants, not only for those who are baptized, but likewise for those who die before they have been baptized, even for those who die in the Womb of their Mother.*

They prove the first Part of their Assertion, viz. *that God provides sufficiently for the Infants who live to be baptized.* Because the Benefit of the Redemption is applied to them by Baptism.

They prove the second Part, viz. *that God provides sufficiently for Children who die without Baptism, through the Neglect of their Parents, which is the Cause that they were not baptized:* Because it is evident of itself, that God was not any Hindrance to their receiving the baptismal Grace. Whence the whole Fault seems to be laid on their Parents: As St. *Prosper*, *lib. 2. de vocat. gent. c. 23.* confesses, when he says, *that those Men of few Days belong to that Part of the Grace, which is always distributed to all Nations, of which if Parents would make a good Use, they would also be assisted by them.*

They prove the third Part, viz. *that God provides, likewise, sufficiently for those Children, who, without their Parents Fault and Neglect, die without Baptism; even for those who die in the Womb of the Mother.* Because, suppose that God wills as much as it is in himself, that all Men in general should be saved, and supposed that Christ is dead for all Men in general, it follows, that he has not only provided a sufficient Remedy for those Infants; but has likewise sincerely provided for the Application of that Remedy to them; for he that desires the Salvation of another, if he acts with

Prudence, prepares him the sufficient Means, and takes Care that they should be applied to him, at least as much as it is in him; otherwise those Means had been prepar'd in vain; and that he has prepared for them a sufficient Remedy, and provided sincerely for the Application thereof to them, is evident from that he has instituted Baptism, and Ministers to administer it, as well for them as for others; and has commanded Parents and others to take Care to have their Children baptized; therefore, &c. — Notwithstanding that Baptism is not administer'd to those Infants, actually and in fact. Because it does not happen by any positive Decree of God, whereby he wills not positively, that Baptism should be administer'd to those Infants, but only by a negative or permissive one; or if it proceeds from some positive Disposition, as some imagine, it must be said, that such is that positive Disposition of God, as not to exclude on the Part of God, the Preparation of the Means, and the sincere Will of applying the Means prepar'd; but only to exclude the nearest Means or Power, and therefore some singular Benefit of God, which supposed a Means could be applied, and would be applied in fact, for Want whereof it is commonly said, that the Thing cannot be done; as St. *Augustin* insinuates it, *lib. de nat. & grat. c. 8.* in these Words, *But I say, that an Infant born in a Place where he could not be succoured by the Baptism of Christ, because prevented by Death; has been without Regeneration, because he could not be otherwise.*

From what they have said, it may be inferr'd, that God does not mind the Salvation of certain Infants by a special Providence and Mercy, whereby all Impediments are taken off; but only by a certain more general Providence. We ought not to enquire further, why he will not provide for all in a particular Manner, by taking off all Impediments? since nothing can be answered to it, but that such a Thing happens, according to the occult Direction of his divine Providence, the Judgments whereof are unsearchable, and the Ways unpracticable.

It may be objected, that a Guide or Tutor, who can save from an imminent Danger the Person he has under his Care, and neglects or will not do it, does not seem to provide sufficiently for his Security; but God is a Guide with Regard to all, and consequently with Regard to Infants, and can remove all the Impediments whereby Infants are hindered from coming into the World, and from receiving Baptism, and does not remove them; therefore he does not seem to provide sufficiently for them.

The Answer to this is, that the Reasoning would be just, if it was a Question of a particular Guide, but not when applied to a general one; that God being a general Guide, is not obliged, as such, to mind particular Things, so as to neglect the Care of all others, and cause them some Prejudice. Therefore, as a general Provider, he cannot prevent those Causes which procure the Death of the Infant, in the Womb of the Mother, without proving prejudicial to those natural Causes; for he is no less the Author of Nature than of Grace. Therefore, as general Provider, he ought not to cause any Prejudice to the natural Order of Things, to favour the Order of Grace; which notwithstanding does not hinder him, as special Provider, to do something in Favour of the State of Grace and Glory, to the Prejudice of the natural Order of Things.

Note, That before I leave this important Subject, which has been the Stumbling Block of some of the most profound Theologians, in all the Ages of the Christian Church, whose thorny Difficulties have puzzled those who seemed to have learn'd the Doctrine of Grace, in the School of the divine Author of Grace, and quenched their Thirst of that Knowledge in that very Torrent of Grace, which flowed from his sacred Side on the Cross; I must, without pretending to fathom the bottomless Depth of God's Judgments, to which they have had Recourse, when too closely pursued by their Enemies, make some Reflections of my own upon it. — Far from my weak Mind, and narrow Understanding, all Notions of Injustice and Partiality, when I reflect on God's incomprehensible Conduct

Conduct in the Distribution of his Grace; for I know this, if nothing else; that being the absolute Master of his Will, which it would be a sacrilegious Temerity to controul; and being indebted in nothing to his Creatures, he can bestow his Favours when he pleases, and to whom he pleases, without even the least Shadow of Injustice; since nothing that can be called a Favour, even among us Men, can be reckon'd due, otherwise it would not be a Favour. But God seems to have created us with no other View, than to make us the continual Objects of his Favours, since, according to our Manner of conceiving Things, he had decreed we should be so, before he had decreed we should be at all; *Let us make Man in our own Image*, says he, in the sublime Council of the supreme Wisdom, which is a signal Favour; then he created *Adam* from nothing, which is another Favour; he places him in the Garden, makes him the Sovereign and absolute Master of all other Creatures, which is heaping Favours upon Favours, Grace upon Grace; which being done from the very first Instant of Man's Creation, must have render'd God's Favours and Grace so natural to him, that if he consults his Reason alone, which of itself is a divine Favour, he'll imagine, that he has a certain Right to God's Grace: It is true, that by the Original Sin Man seems to have renounced or forfeited that Right; but then, as if some of the divine Attributes of the supreme Being, had also suffered by that Alienation, the Eternal Word was sent, to renew that Right, or rather that former Claim to God's Grace; and as our Disinheritance proceeds wholly from *Adam's* Fall, and we were all equally guilty in him, without any of us could pretend to a lesser Degree of Guilt, we must then have been all (according to the Laws of distributive Justice, which is one of God's chief Attributes) restored to that Right or Claim, without Distinction or Exception; and if any Thing has been capable since to lessen that Claim in some of us, or to introduce a Difference among us, so as to give a greater Right to one to God's Grace than to another, it must be the actual Sin. But Infants in the Womb of their Mother, or newly born, or even before they can make Use of their Reason, are all in the same State of Unworthiness, without the least Difference, we were before the Grace of our Redemption had been applied to us by Baptism; why then are some of them called to that Benefit, by being suffer'd to be regenerated by Water and the Holy Ghost, and others, in the same State with them, entirely deprived of it? It cannot be said, that the one were more worthy of it than the other; because, besides that it is an Error to say that we can render ourselves worthy of a supernatural Grace, without the Assistance of another supernatural Succour, which is not to be found but in the Source thereof, Baptism; they are both equally reduced to an absolute Impossibility of acquiring the least Degree of Merit, either natural or supernatural, neither being capable to operate in any Manner whatever, and Merit, either natural or supernatural, not to be acquir'd but by Operation. It is true, that it is in the Power of God to make of one a Vessel of Ignominy, and of the other a Vase of Honour; but is that Distinction very agreeable to his infinite Bounty, in two Infants, neither of whom has contributed in the least to that Distinction? and if we were permitted to speak according to the Dictates of our Reason, of these incomprehensible Mysteries, where would be the Justice to form one with a direct Intention to make of him a Vase of Ignominy, and the other with the direct one of making him a Vase of Honour, when neither of them deserves that Fate, supposing always that no Body can be saved without Baptism? But if I was permitted to expostulate with the Almighty, who is a Source of Goodness and Mercy, and an inexhaustible Treasure of Grace (without having Recourse to those scholastical Distinctions of Grace, and to that sufficient Grace, which I cannot imagine to be sufficient with Regard to them) has he no other Blessing left for those unhappy Creatures, who have no Sin of their own? And must they be punished so severely for that of another; when the greatest Criminal, whose Life is nothing but a

Vol. II.

monstrous Texture of Disorders, and atrocious Vices, can still flatter himself with Hopes of Mercy? If we cannot fathom God's Judgment, why should we attempt to do it at all? And if we do, why should we be so barbarous, to set aside all his other Attributes, on Purpose to find only a severe Justice, divested of all Appearance of Mercy and Compassion? I submit my Judgment on this, as on all other Mysteries of our Faith, to the Decisions of the Church, as to Oracles dictated by the Holy Ghost; but as she has not yet pronounced dogmatically, on the Destination of Children dead without Baptism, and some of her Doctors have different Sentiments on that important Subject, the greatest among them having Recourse to God's unfathomable Judgments; I hope from his infinite Mercy, for those dear Infants, that he has some Means to save them, which our too great Curiosity in attempting to discover, has engag'd him to keep hid from us. Though I would not run any Risque, on that Uncertainty, but on the contrary, have always Recourse to those infallible Means the Church is possessed of, whereby their Salvation is surely accomplished, meaning Baptism; for my Supposition proceeds only from the Impossibility, sometimes, of using those Means.

The fourth Question is, *If the sufficient Grace be given to all the Faithful and Just?* Which the Catholics answer in the Affirmative, against *Luther*, *Calvin*, the *Jansenists*, and others; proving their Assertion by the Scripture, Councils, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, 1 Cor. x. *But God is Faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that you are able; but will also make that you may be able to bear the Temptation.*

By the Councils, particularly the second of *Orange*, can. 25. in these Words, *We believe, according to the Catholick Faith, that by the Grace received in Baptism, all those who are baptized, Christ co-operating and assisting, can and ought to accomplish, if they will work faithfully, all that belongs to Salvation.* Likewise by that of *Trent*, Sess. 6. Can. 11. where we read these Words, *No Body, though he be justified, ought to imagine himself free from observing the Commandments. No Body ought to use that temerarious Expression, fulminated with Anathema by the Holy Fathers, that it is impossible for a Man justified, to keep God's Commandments. For God commands nothing impossible; for he admonishes in commanding, and to do what you can, and to ask for what you can't do, and also assists you that you can, &c.* Whence, Can. 18. of the same Session, we have these Words, *If any Body says, that the Observance of God's Precepts is impossible, even for a Man justified, and in a State of Grace, let him be anathema.*

They prove it likewise by the Authority of the Popes, particularly Pope *Celestinus* in his Epistle to the Bishops of *Gaul*, c. 10. and *Innocent X.* who condemned in his Constitution, the first of the five Propositions, which his Successor declared to be of *Jansenius*, and which Propositions we have inserted at large at the Beginning of this Treatise.

They prove it by the Fathers, particularly *St. Augustin*, lib. de nat. & grat. c. 22. in these Terms, *When God, thro' the Mediator between God and Men, Jesus Christ Man, performs the spiritual Cure of the Sick, or vivifies the Dead, he never abandons, only he be abandon'd first.* Illustrating this Point, c. 26. of the same Book, by the Difference he makes between a Physician who cures a sick Person, and God who justifies the Impious. In that the Physician leaves his Patient when he is cured, but God does not abandon the Impious he has cured of his Iniquities, and recover'd to the perfect Health of Justice, till he be first abandon'd by him. He argues in this Place against the *Pelagians*, who admitted the Necessity of Grace, when we sin, and denied it to be necessary that we should not sin.

They prove it by Reason, because there is more Occasion for the Faithful and Just to be assisted by God's Grace, than for the Sinners; which to understand in a clear and more accurate Manner, we must observe, that by the Name of Justice, is not understood here, that Justice properly called, which is between God and Man,

L I I

but

but only Faithfulness. Notwithstanding that *Peter* fell because abandoned by Christ; because *Peter* had at least a remote sufficient Grace whereby he could obtain a greater Abundance of Grace; for he could pray to obtain it.

The fifth Question is, *If a sufficient Grace be given to all the Adults in actual Sin, and likewise to the Obdurates and Infidels?*

The Catholicks answer to the first Part of the Question, (*viz.* *If the sufficient Grace be given to all the Adults in actual Sin, and to the Obdurates*) in the Affirmative: And prove it by the Scripture, the Councils, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, where God invites Sinners to return to him, *Matt. xi. Come unto me all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will ease you.* Would not that Invitation be vain, if a sufficient Grace was not prepared for all? *John i. He is the true Light, which lights every Man that comes into the World.* St. Augustin, *lib. 1. de gen. cont. Manich. c. 3.* makes Use of this Text of Scripture to prove that Men can if they will, keep God's Commandments: For their Will is prepared by the Lord, if not of all efficaciously, at least sufficiently, otherwise the Discourse of St. Augustin would be ridiculous.

By the Councils, particularly the Third of *Valence*, who defines, that the Bad do not perish because they could not help it, but because they would not. And likewise by that of *Sens*, *decr. 15.*

They prove it likewise by the Fathers, particularly St. Augustin in several Places, but more particularly *lib. de liber. arb. c. 19, 20.* in these Words, Man has received wherewith to search piously and diligently if he would. And in all those Places where he says that God commands nothing impossible; and St. Prosper, *lib. de vocat. gent. c. 4. 10. 16. & 17.* where he says, *that the Saviour's Grace has not yet appeared to some Nations; notwithstanding which the Measure of a general Succour always offered to all Men is not denied.*

By Reason; because God calls sufficiently Sinners to Repentance; whence the Fathers take Occasion to say, that the Grace supposed which he gives to all, it is in their Power to return to God if they will. On which St. Augustin explains himself in a fine Manner, *lib. 1. retract. c. 22.* where he speaks thus, *Unless every one changes his Will, he cannot operate Good, which the Lord says in another Place, to be in our Power; where he says, or make a good Tree, and its Fruit good, or make a bad Tree and its Fruit bad; which is not against the Grace we preach, for it is in Man's Power to change his Will into a better; but that Power is null unless it be given from God.* And what he has on *Psal. lxxiv. Have you no Room and no Time to reform your Conduct, and change your bad Life into a good one?* Cannot that be done To-day if you will? Can't it be done now if you will? This is confirmed from that the Apostle praises on this, the Patience and Benignity of God, *Rom. ii.* where he speaks thus, *Or despisest thou the Riches of his Goodness and Forbearance, and long Sufferings, not knowing that the Goodness of God leads thee to Repentance?* But (says St. Augustin in *Psal. ciii.*) *why so indulgent, why so merciful? He sins and lives; the Sins increase, the Life is lengthened: He is blasphemed every Day, and he makes his Sun shine on the Good and Bad: He calls from all Sides to an Amendment, he calls to Repentance, he calls to the Benefits of the Creature, he calls by giving Time to live, he calls by Instruction, by inward Thoughts, by the Rod of Correction, by the Mercy of Consolation.*

I have said even to Obdurates, because the Authorities of the Fathers already quoted seem to insinuate it: Whence St. Prosper, in *resp. 15. ad object. vincent.* says, *that God deprives no Body of the Way of Correction, nor divests any Body of the Possibility of doing Good.* If some Objections are made, they can be easily resolved by saying, that they only shew that the more efficacious Power or Grace is wanted, but not a remote Power, nor a sufficient Grace. It may be objected against what we have just now said of the Obdurate, that Obduration imports the Subtraction of either Grace; and therefore no sufficient Grace is given to the Obdurates.

The Catholicks answer, that an absolute Obduration, if there is such a Thing, supposes the Subtraction of all

Sorts of Grace, but not an imperfect Obduration. Which can be rendered evident by the Example of a darkened Sky; for it is either absolutely darkened, as in a very dark Night, when it is neither lighted by the Sun nor by any other luminous Body, or is only darkened in Part.

They answer to the second Part of the Question, *that a sufficient Grace is given to all Infidels, as well to them who are Infidels of a negative Infidelity, viz. who have never heard the Predication of the Gospel, or have not refused to hear it; as to those who are Infidels of a positive Infidelity, viz. who have already heard the Predication of the Gospel, or will not hear it.*

The Catholicks prove this particularly as to those who are Infidels of a negative Infidelity, by the Fathers being of that Sentiment, particularly St. Augustin in *Psal. xix.* where he speaks thus, *And there's none hid from his Heat. For as the Word is made Flesh, and has dwelt within us, taking our Mortality he has not permitted that any one could excuse himself on the Darkness of Death, since his Heat has penetrated it.* Likewise St. Prosper, *lib. 2. de vocat. gent. c. 31.* says, *That not only in the earliest Times, but also in the succeeding Ages, the Grace of God has always been offered to all Men in general, through an equal Providence and general Goodness, but in several different Manners, and in a different Measure.* Whence St. Thomas concludes thus, *quest. 14. de verit. art. 11. If any Body, brought up in Forests or among Brutes, was to follow the Dictates of his Reason, in operating Good and avoiding Evil, we must certainly believe that God, either by an inward Inspiration, would let him know what he ought to believe, or would send some Body to instruct him, as he sent Peter to Cornelius the Centurion, Acts x.*

It will be asked in this Place, if what we have said of the Infidels may be applied to the *Jews*? Which I answer in the Affirmative, for the Reasons above alledged with Regard to the Infidels.

Note, That this Question of the Infidels seems to me to be attended with some very great Difficulties, which would appear incomprehensible to a Christian, who knowing no more of his Religion but what is absolutely necessary to lead him into the Road to Heaven; and having been instructed, that that Road is not to be found but through *Jesus Christ*; that it is impossible to know any Thing of *Jesus Christ* but by means of the Predication of the Gospel, could scarce be persuaded, even by a St. Augustin or a St. Thomas, that the *Americans* for Example, some of whom have never heard yet any Thing of the Mysteries of the Christian Religion, and those who are dead before the Discovery of that Part of the World, who thereby were reduced to an almost physical Impossibility of knowing any Thing of *Jesus Christ*, or of his Gospel, had a sufficient Grace; for if they had had that sufficient Grace, it is not even probable, that for so many Ages, and amidst so great a Multitude of Men, there could not have been found some who followed the Dictates of their Reason, as to doing Good and avoiding Evil; and if we believe St. Thomas, a Man living thus had learned by Inspiration the Principles of Christianity, or God had sent some apostolical Man to instruct him, though we hear of none before the Discovery of that Country by the *Spaniards*; for History has took Care to inform us of the Destination of every one of the Apostles when they were sent to preach the Gospel; and we do not learn from it, that either of them, nor even any of their Disciples, were sent into that, then unknown World; he that went furthest was St. Thomas, and he terminated his Mission in what we call the *East-Indies*. As for their having learned the Principles of Christianity by a divine Inspiration, the first Missionaries who were sent thither inform us in their Relations, that the *Americans* were so far from having even the least Tincture of it, that they were not tractable on that Subject, and that it was even impossible to make them believe the least of the Christian Truths; even now that by their long Commerce with the *Europeans* they have been better civilized, it is the most difficult Thing in the World to make a Proselyte among them. This cannot be attributed to their neglecting to follow the Dictates of their Reason, as to doing Good and avoid-

ing Evil; since for the Generality, their Morals are as good as could be expected among Christians; notwithstanding which they don't come to the Knowledge of the Truth, without which no Salvation is to be expected, since according to the Apostle, there is but *one Christ, one Faith, and one Baptism*; and according to Christ himself, *He who believes shall be saved, and he who does not believe shall be condemned*. For these Words are so positive that they admit of no Interpretation: Therefore, with Submission to the Decisions of the Church, we should also in my Opinion, have Recourse in this Case to the Incomprehensibility of God's Judgments, without amusing ourselves to search what is not to be found, and to prove what is not to be proved by a human Understanding: For to pretend on the other Side, that God finds other Means to save those Nations than by the Faith in Christ, on this trite and misunderstood Text, that there is a Remnant of all to be saved, is a formal Contradiction of the Scripture.

Note, also, That from the Questions on the sufficient Grace, I'll pass to the chief Point of this Treatise, which has caused so much Controversy in the Church, from *Pelagius's* Time to ours, which has never been quite decided, and perhaps never will; I mean the *efficacious Grace*: Therefore,

The first Question on this important Subject is, *If there is an efficacious Grace distinct from the sufficient; and what it is, considered either in actu primo, or in actu secundo?*

Note, That it is a Question here of the *efficacious Grace* properly taken, viz. as distinct from that Grace simply sufficient, we have heretofore treated of.

2. That the *efficacious Grace* thus taken, may be considered in two Manners, viz. either *in actu primo*, or *in actu secundo*.

3. That it is a Question here, chiefly of the *efficacious Grace* considered *in actu primo*, and not of the *efficacious Grace* considered *in actu secundo*: Which, every Body agree, includes the Consent of the Will. These pre-observed.

I answer, that the *efficacious Grace* considered *in actu primo*, can be defined a *supernatural Motion*, which has a certain particular Faculty of inducing the Will to consent to God. By the two first Particles the Genus of this Definition is expressed, and the Difference by the others.

It is said, 1. A *supernatural Motion*, either because it is a certain Species of the exciting and preventing Grace; or to insinuate, that in this it agrees as in a common Genus with the sufficient, from which notwithstanding it differs widely, as we'll see in its proper Place.

It is said, 2. *Which has a Faculty to induce the Will to consent to God*; because it has the Faculty of inducing the Will to that Consent always, certainly, infallibly, insuperably, indeclinably, to use the Words of St. *Augustin*. And in this it is sufficiently shewed that this *efficacious Grace in actu primo*, differs from the Grace simply sufficient, which, though it has the Faculty to excite the Will to consent to God, meets notwithstanding with Opposition from the Part of the Will.

It is said, 3. Of *inducing the Will*; to give to understand that such a Grace does not force or necessitate the Will to consent, but entices it, pushes it, so that notwithstanding the Will consents always, though absolutely speaking he could refuse to consent. Whence St. *Augustin*, lib. de grat. & lib. arbit. c. 5. calls it a *Grace of Congruity*.

I answer, 2. That the *efficacious Grace*, considered *in actu secundo*, can be defined a *supernatural Motion* whereby Man consents in fact and is converted, and is joined with his Consent.

This Definition wants no further Explication; since it can be easily enough understood from the Definition given of the *efficacious Grace in actu primo*. The sole Difference between both Definitions is, that the former explains the Nature of the *efficacious Grace*, as it is something antecedent to the Action; and the latter explains the same Grace as something joined in fact with its Effect, viz. with the Consent of the Will.

I answer, 3. That there is an *efficacious Grace* simply

distinct from the sufficient; which I prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, Ezek. xxxvi. *A new Heart also will I give you, and a new Spirit will I put within you, and I will take away the stony Heart out of your Flesh, and I will give you a Heart of Flesh, and I will put my Spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my Statutes*. John x. *Neither shall any pluck them (my Sheep) out of my Hand*.

By the Fathers, particularly St. *Augustin*, in several Places against the *Pelagians*, but particularly lib. de predest. sanct. c. 8. This Grace, says he, which through the divine Liberality, is secretly granted to human Hearts, is refused or rejected by none; and it is given to take away first the Hardness of the Heart. Likewise, lib. de correptione & grat. c. 12. in these Terms, *It is supplied to the human Infirmary, that it should be moved indeclinably, and insuperably by the divine Grace, that though it is infirm, it notwithstanding should not faint away, or be conquered by some Adversity*.

By Reason, because a Grace is given which has some special Faculty of reducing the Will, certainly, always, irresistibly, &c. to give its Consent to God exciting and moving; therefore there is an *efficacious Grace in actu primo*.

This is confirmed by the Prayers of the Church asking of God, *that he be pleased to compel propitiously the Wills, and to grant that what we ask sincerely, we may obtain it efficaciously*.

Our second grand Question is, whence Grace borrows its Efficacy; whether, v. gr. from that it determines physically the Will, according to the Sentiments of the *Thomists*, or from the Will's Consent, as the *Molinists* will have it, or from any other Chief, and which?

Note, That before we answer this important Question, I must give in this Place some general Ideas of the physical Premotion of the *Thomists*, on which the *Jansenists* build their whole System of the Grace efficacious by itself.

Physical Premotion, with Regard to a created Will, is that Act of God whereby the created Will is applied to some particular Good, and consequently drawn from Evil; or to explain it in a clearer Manner, it is the Act whereby God produces in a created Will the Love of some determinated Good, together with a Hatred for the Evil opposed to it. For, say the *Thomists*, God moves no otherwise a created Will, but by operating in it the Love of God, whence follows the Hatred of Evil. Whence it appears, that that special Premotion of God relates only to Acts of a supernatural Order; and that it differs in no Manner from the victorious Grace and efficacious by itself: For in this, say they, consists the Grace efficacious by itself, from St. *Augustin*, lib. de spirit. & litt. c. 29. *That God, through the infinite Suavity of the Grace by the Holy Ghost, makes that what he commands is more delectable than what he forbids*. Or which is the same, produces by his Grace physically and inwardly in our Mind, a certain agreeable Delection, and together moves in a particular and supernatural Manner, our Will towards loving what he commands, and hating what he forbids. These pre-observed.

I answer to the Question, *That the efficacious Grace does not determine physically the Will to give its Consent to God exciting it, and consequently ought not to be said efficacious, because it determinates physically our Will*. Which I prove by the Councils, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Councils, particularly that of *Trent*, Sess. 6. c. 5. where it is said, that Man can reject the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, whereby he touches the Heart. And c. 4. those are fulminated who affirm, that the Free-Will, moved and excited by the Grace of God, co-operates in nothing but consenting to God exciting or calling, and that he cannot dissent if he would. Whence I argue thus; Our *efficacious Grace* is not the physical Premotion of the *Thomists*, nor takes its Efficacy from it, if Man can resist to the said *efficacious Grace* if he would, and cannot resist if he would to the physical Premotion of the *Thomists*; but Man can resist if he will to that *efficacious Grace*, and cannot resist if he would to the physical Premotion of the *Thomists*, as it will appear by the Sequel: Therefore it is a Sign that our *efficacious Grace* is not the physical

physical Premotion of the *Thomists*, nor borrows its Efficacy from it.

By the Fathers, particularly St. *Augustin*, who is very far from admitting that physical Premotion, since he places the efficacious Grace in a certain moral, or sweet Persuasion and Induction, and congruous Vocation, especially *lib. de spirit. & liter. c. 22.* where he speaks thus, *What have you that you have not received? Therefore, likewise, the Will whereby we believe, is considered as a Gift of God, because it exists in the Free-Will, which we have received in our Creation: And let him consider and see that that Will is not entirely to be attributed to God's Gift, because proceeding from the Free-Will, which has been created with us; but likewise, that God does by good Persuasions, that we will and believe; either outwardly by evangelical Exhortations; where the Precept of the Law operates something, if still they admonish Man of his Infirmary, to induce him, by believing, to have Recourse to the justifying Grace: Or inwardly, where no Body has it in his Power, that it should come into his Soul, but it belongs to the Will to give consent or not.*

By Reason, because that exciting and preventing Grace, which is efficacious, *in actu primo*, does not necessitate the Will to consent to God calling and exciting; but it is very difficult to explain how the physical Premotion does not necessitate the Will. Since that is supposed to necessitate, which admitted, the Will cannot act; but the physical Premotion admitted the Will cannot act, as the beatifick Vision admitted, it is impossible the Will should not love God thus intuitively seen: Therefore the physical Premotion admitted, it is almost impossible to explain how the Will is not necessitated to act, as the beatifick Vision admitted it is necessitated to love God. For is not that physical Premotion something antecedent, and taking off the Undetermination of the Will, as the beatifick Vision is something antecedent? Notwithstanding what the *Thomists* say to the contrary, *viz.* that their physical Premotion, takes off only *in sensu composito*, the Indifference and Undetermination of the Will; for though the clear Vision of God, takes off only *in sensu composito*, and not *in sensu diviso*, the Indifference and Undetermination of the Will, it notwithstanding, does not cease from being said to be necessitated to love.

This is confirm'd from that the physical Premotion, which the *Thomists* call virtuous Motion, and in which they place the Reason of the Efficacy of Grace, is only received passively in the Will, as they express themselves, but the efficacious Grace is a vital Act, *viz.* a certain Cogitation of the Understanding, and a pious Affection of the Will, in which the Understanding as well as the Will, concurs in the Genus of a physical Cause; as it appears from St. *Augustin*, explaining in several Places the efficacious Grace, by the vital Acts of the Understanding and Will, and more particularly, *lib. 2. de peccat. merit. & remis. c. 17.* where he speaks thus, *Men will not do what is just, either because it does not appear if it be just, or because it does not please; for every one will desire it with a greater Vehemency, or Ardour, the more we are certain that it is good, and we take a greater Pleasure in it. Therefore Ignorance and Infirmary are Vices which hinder the Will from being moved to do Good, or to abstain from Evil. But that what was hidden may be known, and what pleased may be saved, it is a Grace of God, which assists the Will of Men.*

It may be added, that the Grace physically predetermining, is defended by the *Thomists* as necessary in all States, since they defend it necessary as well in the State of Innocency, as in that of Nature fallen. But to shew this, they take its Necessity, not so much from the Part of the Infirmary of Nature, as from the Part of the Faculty of the first Cause, to which it pertains, say they, to remove the second Causes, and from the Part of the Indifference of the Will, which must be determined by the first Cause. But how much this is foreign to the Sentiment and Doctrine of St. *Augustin*, is evident from that St. *Augustin* is of Opinion, that the efficacious Grace was necessary neither to Man in the State of Innocency, nor to the Angels themselves, to make their Will pass from the first to the second. It removes from them the Succours *quo*, or *wherewith*, and attributes only to them the Succours *sine quo*, or *without*

which, i. e. a sufficient Succour. For he believes, that Man before his Fall, had the same Succours the good Angels had; though the first Man fell with it, and the good Angels persevered; as it appears from *ho. de corrup. & grat. c. 10.*

I answer, 2. That the efficacious Grace, *in actu primo*, does not borrow its Efficacy from the Consent of the Will, or, which is the same Thing, the Grace is not efficacious, *in actu primo*, from that the Will gives its Consent, to God calling and exciting, according to the *Molinists*. Which I prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, insinuating that Grace is efficacious from itself, and not from the Consent of the Will. *John vi. Every Man therefore that has heard, and has learn'd from the Father, comes unto me.* Whence it appears, if any Body, who is called, consent to it, that's rather to be attributed to the Vocation than to the Will. *No Man can come unto me* (says Christ, in the same Place) *except the Father which has sent me, draw him.* To be drawn to Christ, must be taken from the Part of him that draws. Whence it is said, *Rom. ix. It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God which sheweth Mercy.* And *Phil. ii. For it is God which works in you, both to will and to do of his good Pleasure.* But if he works in us both the Will and the Doing, the Consequence is, that our Will is especially from God, by some Grace distinct from that which gives only the Power. Likewise, *1 Cor. iv. For who makes thee to differ from another? and what hast thou that thou didst not receive? now if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received it?* From this Text I argue thus. — If Grace's Efficacy proceeded from the Co-operation and Consent of Man, Man would have something to distinguish him from another, *viz.* from him who having a semblable Grace, would not consent to it, as we may infer from St. *Augustin*, *lib. 2. de peccat. merit. c. 18.* And *lib. 2. ad Bonif. c. 1.* but he has no such Thing. Therefore, &c.

I prove it by the Fathers, particularly St. *Augustin*, in several Places of his Works, where he teaches, that this proceeds from the Grace of God, and not from the Free Will, that a Heart is softened; which Grace is never rejected by any Heart let it be ever so hardened, *lib. de corrup. & grat. c. 12.* and *14.* and *lib. de predest. sanct. c. 8.*

By Reason, because if the Efficacy of Grace proceeded from us, and the sole Sufficiency from God, it would follow hence, that what is the most essential in a Conversion, and holy Affection, should be attributed to us, and to Grace what is the least essential; but this is contrary to the Scripture and to the Fathers, therefore that whence it follows is not to be admitted.

Notwithstanding, 1. Several Places of the Scripture, from which it seems, could be inferred, that God expects our Consent to render Grace efficacious. As for Example, *Rev. iii. Behold, I stand at the Door and knock, if any Man will open the Door, &c.* And *Zach. i. Turn you unto me, and I will turn unto you.* Here he seems to wait for Man's Consent, as if it was the Property of Man to open the Door when God knocks, and thus render his Grace efficacious, as it is the Property of God to prevent us by knocking, and exciting by his preventing Grace: Notwithstanding, say I, these and other Places of the Scripture, for it can only be inferred from them, that in the Affair of our Conversion and Justification, the Consent of our Will is requisite, but not that it is requisite to render the Grace efficacious, *in actu primo*. For Example, Is not a Remedy efficacious, *in actu primo*, and capable of restoring the Sick to his former Health, previously to his taking it, tho' it does not actually recover him, unless he actually takes it?

Notwithstanding, 2. Certain other Passages of the Scripture, in which the Lord upbraids his People because they would not be converted by a true Repentance, *Isa. v. What could have been done more to my Vineyard, that I have not done in it? wherefore when I looked that it should bring forth Grapes, it brought forth wild Grapes.* And *Matt. xxiii. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the Prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy Children together, even as a Hen gathers her*

her Chickens under her Wing, and ye would not: Notwithstanding, say I, these and the like Passages of the Scripture; for they do not shew that God had given them efficacious Graces, the Efficacy whereof depended on their Will, but only sufficient Graces, with the Assistance whereof they could have converted themselves to God, and even greater Graces than those he had given to several others: And because they made no use of it as they should have done, God reproaches them with the Hardness of their Heart, and their Negligence.

Notwithstanding, 3. That the Will can resist the efficacious Grace and reject it, according to the Doctrine of the Council of Trent, Sess. 6. c. 5. & c. 4. since it cannot be inferred hence that it rejects it, its being such of its Nature, as to engage certainly and infallibly the human Will to consent, or it can be inferred to the utmost, that the Will can render efficacious in *actu secundo*, a Grace which is supposed efficacious, but not render it inefficacious.

I answer, 3. That the preventing Grace is efficacious in *actu primo*, as it being such formally, from some special Congruency, Aptation, Contemperation of his, with the Will of him who is called and excited; because from that Congruency and Aptation the calling and exciting Grace borrows its Power to incline the Will inflexibly and indeclinably, to consent freely to God thus calling and exciting, and this can be evident from Scripture, and the Fathers.

From the Scripture, Heb. xiii. The God of Peace make you perfect in every good Work to do his Will.

From the Fathers, particularly St. Basil, homil. 3. in hexam. towards the End, where he says, That God gives us all a Strength appropriated to the Knowledge of his Truth. And from St. Augustin in several Places, but more particularly, lib. ad simpl. q. 2. We are called, says he, in that Manner it was proper to call those who have followed their Vocation. And lib. de dono. persever. c. 14. where he speaks thus; Whence it appears that some have naturally in their Mind a divine Gift, whereby they are moved to Faith, if they apply that Mind, either to hear the Word, or to see the Signs.

It is proved also by Reason, because the efficacious Grace given to Man, is as a Medium ordained towards this End, viz. to induce surely, infallibly, indeclinably Man's Will, to give Consent to the Vocation of God, and therefore must consist in that Consent; since generally speaking that which is a Medium appropriated towards obtaining something infallibly, if it be considered formally as such Medium or Means, it must be considered in some Appropriation of it, to the Object to which it is given, and to that End it is ordained for.

If I be asked, which is that inward Virtue whereby Grace is rendered formally efficacious by itself in *actu primo*? I'll answer, that it is nothing else but a certain Suavity, or victorious Declaration which is in the undeliberate Act of the Understanding and Will, and which causes that the efficacious Grace, the Entity whereof consists particularly in its Acts, has the Power to produce surely and infallibly a free Consent of the Will. This Answer is founded on the Manner of speaking of the Scripture, viz. Psalm lxxxv. The Lord shall give that which is good, and our Land shall yield her Increase. Psalm xxi. For thou presented him with the Blessings of Goodness. St. Augustin, lib. 2. de peccat. mer. c. 17. By that which is good understands Grace, and says in the same Place, that Grace is given to cure the Vices of our Natures, viz. to cure our Ignorance and Infirmary, and that it cures those two Vices, by illuminating with Suavity our Understanding, and pleasing our Will. And lib. 2. ad Bonif. c. 9. he understands by the Blessing of Sweetness, the Grace of Christ.

It may be asked besides, why God moves thus our Will, by that Suavity and Delectation, to give Consent to his Calling? To which I answer, that nothing is more convenient than the Will to be moved and excited to Good, in the same Manner it is moved to Evil: But Man is moved to Evil and excited to Sin by a terrestrial Suavity and Delectation; therefore nothing is more convenient than he should be moved to Good by a celestial Suavity and Delectation.

Note, That from what we have already said, may be inferred the Conciliation of the efficacious Grace with

the Free-Will; because the aforesaid moral Premotion which renders Grace formally efficacious, does not take off the Indifferency of the Will, nor hinders the Will from determining itself to act; but induces with Suavity the created Will to give freely its Consent to God calling and exciting; therefore, &c. notwithstanding what St. Augustin says, lib. 1. de grat. Christ. c. 47. that Conciliation is very difficult to explain, because that Difficulty is not an Obstacle to the Agreement which is between the Grace and the Free-Will, even in St. Augustin's Opinion, as it may be inferred from the Passages of his Works already quoted.

From this I'll pass to the Necessity of Grace in every State Man has been, is, or could be in; but before I speak of this Necessity, I must say something of those different States, as well of those which are supposed to exist or to have existed, as of those which have never been, and of which it is asked, if they can exist, or could have existed. Inquiring first what is understood by the Name, State, and how many Sorts of States there are.

Note, First, that State may be considered in three Manners, 1. As it is considered in the Civil Law, and thus it is a certain Condition of Man according to which he is either entirely independent, or free, or a Slave. 2. As it is considered in the Canon Law, and as such signifies a certain Manner of living, to which a Man is tied with an indissoluble Knot, such is the ecclesiastical State, or the monastick Life among the Catholics, or that of Matrimony. 3. As considered by the Theologians, and thus is a certain Condition of human Nature with Regard to the last End.

2. That it is only a Question here of the State as taken by the Theologians, how many Sorts there are of those States, and how they are sub-divided. These pre-observed.

I say, 1. That there are generally two Sorts of States, as State is taken by the Theologians, viz. the State of the Way, and the State of the Term; because the Conduct of human Nature is different in this Life with Regard to the last End, from that after Death.

I say, 2. That there are three States of the Way, and two of the Term, according to those who differ from the Church of Rome, and three according to that Church.

There are three States of the Way, viz. 1. The State of the original Justice, in which our first Parents were created. 2. The State of Nature fallen, but repaired by Christ, which is our present State. 3. The State of those confirmed in Grace, which was that of the Apostles, after they had received the Holy Ghost.

There are two States of the Term, viz. 1. The State of an eternal Felicity; 2. The State of eternal Damnation; and a Third, according to the Roman Catholics, which they call, the State of those who are in Purgatory.

It may be asked, if besides the above-mentioned States of the Way, and of the Term which exist actually, or have existed, there are not others which are possible? I'll answer in the Affirmative, because, besides those States, there are three others possible, viz. 1. The State of pure Nature, which is that in which Man would have Perfections and Imperfections which follow Nature, without any supernatural Gift, or Direction towards a supernatural End; or which is the same, the State of pure Nature, is the Condition of human Nature considered without Grace and without Sin. 2. The State of sound Nature, which is that in which the superior Part would be subject to God, and the inferior Part subject to Reason, through Succours of a natural Order, but not due to Nature; for thus they would follow the State of pure Nature, but gratuite, though pertaining to the Integrity of Nature, since with them she would operate according to Reason. 3. And the State of fallen Nature, but not repaired, which had been that of Man after Adam's Sin, if God had not provided a Remedy for it.

It may be asked, 1. If, and how the State of pure Nature differs from the State of Nature fallen? To which I answer, that those two States differ among themselves, as Negation and Privation differ among themselves. For all that the State of fallen Nature sup-

poses

M m m

poses, it supposes it by manner of Privation, which is commonly defined by Philosophers, the Absence or Want of Form, in a Subject capable of it: But what the *State of Nature fallen* supposes, it supposes it by manner of Negation, which is commonly defined the Absence or Want of Form in a Subject inept, and to which the Form, which is supposed absent, is not due. Both may be easily made evident: For the *State of Nature fallen* supposes the Want of original Justice, by manner of a Pain depriving, because, the Sin abstracted, it was due to it. That Want is followed by Ignorance, Concupiscence, Maladies, and an infinite Number of other Miseries, and by Death itself. But in the *State of pure Nature*, though all these Things would be found, they would not be in it by manner of a Pain depriving it of something due to that State, since neither Justice, nor being free from all those Incommodities would be due to it, and would not be lost by the Sin of Man, nor the Want of original Justice would be a Sin.

It is asked, 2. If the State of pure Nature be possible, or which is the same, if Man could have been, or could be created wanting original Justice, and having Ignorance, Concupiscence, Maladies, and the other Miseries, and even be obliged to die, though he had not contracted the original Sin? Which I answer in the Affirmative, according to St. Thomas, Scotus, Cantanus, and several others; because that Integrity and Righteousness, in which the first Man was formed, was not due to his Nature, whence it is not surprizing if we say that God could have formed him without it.

This is confirmed by the Authority of the Popes, who have condemned several Propositions contrary to my Answer, and particularly this fifty fifth of Michael Baius, conceived in these Terms; *God could not create from the Beginning, Man, such as he is at present*; which Sentiment of Baius was also that of the Manichæans refuted by St. Augustin: Who supposes, that a Soul could have been created before the Sin, such as it is made after it. The Manichæans maintained particularly, that if a pure Nature was created, all its Sins would be attributed to God as to the Author thereof; but St. Augustin says on the contrary, that if a Soul thus created would refuse to acquire, by Study and Circumspection, Wisdom and Repose, it would justly be accounted culpable of Sin, in that it had not made a good Use of the Faculty it had received. The Manichæans maintained besides, that it would be unjust in God to create a Creature with Ignorance, and all the other Miseries heretofore mentioned, without any previous Sin on the Part of the Creature: But St. Augustin says, that far from such a Creature should have room to complain of God's Injustice, she, on the contrary, would have Cause to return Thanks to God for having received from him a very considerable Good.

With Regard to the *State of Nature fallen, and repaired*, it is asked, 1. *What is that State of Nature fallen, and for which Reason it is to be pitied?*

I answer, 1. That by the State of Nature fallen, is to be understood that State of Adam after his Sin, and likewise that of all his Descendants as soon as they are conceived, except Christ, and his blessed Mother the Virgin Mary.

I answer, 2. That that State is to be deplored for several Reasons, 1. Because Man's Nature has been corrupted by Adam's Sin. 2. Because the Understanding has been darkned, as St. Augustin declares, *lib. 3. de lib. arbit. c. 19.* 3. Because the Will has been alienated from God, as the same Doctor insinuates, *lib. 2. de peccat. mer. c. 22.* 4. Because the inferior Appetite revolts against the superior. 5. Because in that State Man is subject to a great many Miseries, and to Death.

It is asked, 2. *What is the State of Nature repaired?* To which I answer, that by the State of Nature repaired, is understood that State in which, through the Merits of Christ, Man is regenerated, is delivered from the original Sin, but not from all Infirmities, and receives several Benefits from God; which Benefits are, 1. The sanctifying Grace, whereby Infants are delivered from the original Sin. 2. The efficacious Grace, given not only to receive a salutary Goodness, but likewise to persevere in it. 3. A sufficient Succour granted to all.

I may be asked if, and what Infirmary remains in that

State? And I'll answer, that there remains in it not only the Concupiscence, but likewise the Maladies, and all the other Infirmities of the Body.

Our next grand Question is, *If in the State of Nature fallen and repaired, the actual Grace be so absolutely necessary to know the Truth, as to be impossible to know it without that Grace?*

Note, 1. That there may be considered two Sorts of Truths, one natural, and the other supernatural. The natural, is that which without any particular Revelation of God, may be known by a human Understanding, by means of his Senses, because it has a Proportion and Commensuration with the natural Faculty of the Understanding. But the supernatural is that, the Knowledge whereof human Understanding cannot acquire by the sole Strength of his Nature, as the Truth of the Trinity, of the Incarnation, &c.

Note, 2. That both the aforesaid Truths can be considered in two Manners, viz. as speculative or as practical. That that is commonly called speculative, which reposes itself in the Knowledge of its Object, and does not proceed to Action: Such is the Knowledge of the Mystery of the Trinity. But the practical is that which does not remain in the sole Cognition, but proceeds to Action.

Note, 3. That Truths, either natural or supernatural, may be considered together, or separately: They are known together when they are consider'd together; and distributively when every one of them is known apart.

Note, 4. That the cognoscitive Power may be considered either as physical or moral. That is called physical, which supposes an Adequation and Commensuration of the cognoscitive Faculty, with the Object to be known. And that is called moral, which presupposes the Impediments, whereby the Perception of the Object is hindered or taken off. For Example, the active physical Power with Respect to reading all the Pages, Lines, and Words of some Book which it can read. These pre-observed,

I answer first to our grand Question, *that in the State of Nature fallen Man can, without an actual Grace, know some natural Truths as well practical as speculative; but not all, or together, or distributively taken.*

I prove the first Part, viz. *that Man can, without Grace's Assistance, know some speculative natural Truths*, by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, Rom. i. *For the invisible Things of him from the Creation of the World are clearly seen, being understood by the Things that are made, even his eternal Power and Godhead; so that they are without Excuse, because when they knew God, they glorified him not as God.*

By the Fathers, saying that this Passage of St. Paul to the Romans, is to be understood of a natural Knowledge; which is the Sentiment of Tertullian, *Apolog. c. 7.* This is the Height of the Guilt of those who will not know what they cannot be ignorant of.

By Reason, because it is known by Experience, that Philosophers by their sole natural Strength, knew several speculative natural Truths, according to Tertullian, *lib. de anim. c. 2.* Add, that for some Object to be naturally known by the Understanding, it suffices that such an Object should naturally imprint on our Senses a Species representative of itself. 2. That our understanding acting could produce an intelligible Species representative of that Object. 3. That our Understanding could have the natural Faculty of producing a Cognition through Means of the imprinted Species. But these are all naturally possible to Man, in whatever State he may be considered, either of Innocence or of fallen Nature; therefore, &c.

Notwithstanding this Passage of the Apostles, 2 Corint. iii. *Not that we are sufficient of ourselves, to think any Thing as of ourselves, &c.* Because this Text is only to be understood of that which belongs to Salvation, but not of any natural Truth whatsoever.

I prove the second Part, viz. *that Man by his natural Parts, without any particular Succour of God, can know some natural practical Truth*; by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Rom. ii. The Nations which have no Law, do by Nature the Things contained in the Law, these having not the Law, are a Law unto themselves, &c.*

By the Fathers, particularly St. *Augustin*, lib. 10. *confess. c. 6.* where he speaks thus: *The Heaven and the Earth, and all Things which are in them, tell me to love thee, and tell it continually to all, that they may be inexcusable.*

We must observe here, that St. *Augustin* distinguishes two Sorts of Love of God, viz. a supernatural one, which proceeds from Grace, and which he insinuates in these Words, *Thou hast stricken my Heart with the Word of thy Virtue, and I have loved thee.* Another natural, to which the Heaven and Earth, and all Things which are in them invite, *They tell me every where*, says he, *that I must love thee.* Notwithstanding which he gives us to understand, that this last Sort of Love, cannot serve for our Salvation, unless he provides to it in a superior Manner.

I prove it by Reason, because the Understanding can no more judge naturally that a good Action is to be done, than the Will can naturally do an act supernaturally good; which it cannot do; therefore, &c.

Notwithstanding this Passage, *Gen. vi. And the Lord saw that every Imagination of the Thoughts of the Heart of Man, was only evil continually.* For these Words are not to be understood that it was always so, but only sometimes.

I prove the third Part, viz. *That Man cannot by his natural Parts, without a particular Succour from God, at least of a moral Power, know entirely all the practical and speculative Truths, taken either together or distributively.* Because the practical natural Truths, cannot be known without being applied to the Senses; but the natural Truths are in so great a Number, and some of them so difficult, that on Account of the too great Shortness of our Days, they cannot be all applied to the Senses, and there has not been a Mortal yet, who has been entire Master of all Sciences.

But if I be asked if such a Knowledge can be acquir'd by the Succours of Grace? I'll answer in the Affirmative; and I'll prove it, from that there is no Repugnance against God infusing into a human Understanding, the Species of all the natural Things, as St. *Thomas* imagined they were infused into *Adam*.

If I am asked, besides, *If that Succours be of a supernatural Order?* I'll answer that it is of a supernatural Order, if it be considered by Accident, and with Regard to the Manner; for thus it cannot be acquired by a natural Strength: But not if it be consider'd by itself, and with Regard to the Object.

My second Answer to the grand Question is, *that a Man cannot without Grace, and supernatural Succours, acquire the Knowledge of any supernatural Truth.* Which I prove by the Scripture, the Councils, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Matt. xi. And no Man knoweth the Son but the Father; neither knows any Man the Father, save the Son; and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.* And Chap. vi. where, when Christ had asked his Disciples what they said he was, and *Simon Peter* had answered that he was Christ, the Son of the living God; presently Christ says to him, *Blessed art thou Simon Barjona; for Flesh and Blood has not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven.* The second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, Chap. iii. *Not that we are sufficient of ourselves, to think any Thing as of ourselves, but our Sufficiency is of God.* *Eph. ii. For by Grace are ye saved, and that not of ourselves, it is the Gift of God.*

I prove it by the Councils, particularly the second of *Orange*, can. 5. and 7. and that of *Trent*, Sess. 6. c. 3. *If any Body says, that Man can believe as he ought, without the Inspiration and Succours of the Holy Ghost, let him be Anathema.*

By the Fathers, particularly St. *Augustin*, almost throughout all his Book of the Predestination of the Saints.

By Reason, because nothing can act beyond its Propriety, that is to say, beyond its natural Faculty, unless it be assisted outwardly by the Super-addition of some Form, v. gr. can any Thing be hot unless it has been heated by the Fire; therefore the human Under-

standing cannot know supernatural Objects, unless it be assisted by a stronger Light; but that stronger Light is Grace, or the Gift of Prophecy; therefore, &c.

Our next Question is, *If without the habitual Grace, a Man can will and do some supernatural Good, and if he can likewise do it without the actual Grace?*

To the first Part of this Question I answer, *that without the habitual Grace a Man can will and do a supernatural good Action.* Because several have done good Actions without such a Grace, as it appears from the Scripture, and the Fathers. For we read, *Acts x.* that *Cornelius* had prayed and given Alms, which were agreeable to God, without an habitual Grace, as St. *Augustin* insinuates it; *Epist. 57. quest. 2.* whence it is not surprising, if God, in the Scripture, often invites Sinners to Repentance, for who will deny, that the very Act of Repentance, which God recommends, and commends, is a good Act?

I answer to the second Part, *that without the actual Grace, in the State of Nature fallen, no Man can will or do any supernatural Act;* which I prove by the Scripture, the Councils, Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *John vi. No Man cometh to me, except the Father which has sent me draw him.* *John xv. Without me ye can do nothing.* Where it is to be observed, that it is not said, without me you cannot easily operate, but without me you can do nothing. Likewise, *1 Cor. iv. For who makes thee to differ from another? And what hast thou that thou didst not receive?* And Chap. xv. *For by the Grace of God I am what I am.* *Phil. i. Being confident of this very Thing, that he which has begun a good Work in you, will perfect it.* And Chap. ii. *For it is God which worketh in you, both to will and to do of his good Pleasure.*

I prove it by the Councils, particularly that of *Diospolis*, assembled against *Pelagius*, as we have seen in my Treatise of *Heresies*. The second of *Orange*, can. 7. and that of *Trent*, Sess. 6. can. 3. *If any Body say, that without the preventing Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and his Succours, a Man can believe, hope, love, and repent, as he ought, so that the Grace of Justification may be conferred on him, let him be Anathema.*

By the Fathers, particularly St. *Augustin*, in several Places of his Works, but in a more particular Manner, in all the Books he wrote against the *Pelagians*, out of which I'll extract the two following Passages. The first, out of his first Book, *De nupt. & concupis. c. 3.* *If any Body, says he, pretend that Men can serve God by his Free-Will, without God's Assistance, he seems to be a Celestian and a Pelagian.* — The second is taken out of his Book, *De natur. & grat. c. 4.* where he speaks thus, *If a natural Possibility by the Free-Will is sufficient, to know how to live righteously, then the Benefit of the Cross is vanished.* And from St. *Prosper*, ad cap. *Gall. c. 8.* *And let's confess, says he, that Faith is a Gift of God, without which no Body runs to Grace.* He pursues the same Subject in these Terms, *Let us say, that the Grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord, does assist us, through every Action, not only to know, but likewise to operate Justice, so that without it, we can have no true Piety, &c.*

I prove it by Reason, because to will and to do a supernatural good Action, exceeds the Proportion of a human Property or Faculty, since an Act tending towards the eternal Life, which is a Motion towards a supernatural End, exceeds that Proportion: Whence it follows, that no Action tending towards the eternal Life, and no Work pertaining to Salvation, and consequently supernatural, can be done by Man without a Form super-added to him; but that Form is Grace; therefore, &c.

We'll ask next, *If a Man in the State of Nature fallen, can do any Action morally good, of a natural Order without the Grace, either habitual or actual, and what we ought to think of the Actions of the Infidels?*

The Catholics answer to the first Part of the Question, *that in the State of Nature fallen, a Man can do some acts morally good of a natural Order, without the habitual Grace.* Because it has been proved already that he can do, without that Grace some supernatural Acts; and consequently can do some good ones of a natural Order. The Reason is, because the Corruption, which

which is only of Principle, does not affect the Action, unless such Principle has some special Obligation, view his Condition, to have the sanctifying Grace when he acquits himself of his Functions, *v. gr.* such as the Ministers of the Altar have; for Purity of Heart is recommended to them when they discharge their Functions: *Isaiab lii. Be ye clean that bear the Vessels of the Lord.*

Notwithstanding, 1. This Place of the Scripture, *Isaiab i.* where God defeats the Sacrifices and Prayers of Sinners, *Bring no more vain Oblations, Incense is an Abomination unto me.* And a little lower, *When ye make many Prayers I will not hear;* because these Places are only to be understood of Prayers and Sacrifices made against the Precepts of the Law, as is plainly seen by the following Words; *For your Hands,* says God, *are full of Blood. Wash ye, make ye clean, &c.* or it is to be understood of Sinners offering, in a servile Manner, *i. e.* for Fear of Punishment, and with the Intention of persisting in their Crimes; for it is not to be understood of all Sinners in general, and without Distinction.

Notwithstanding, 2. This other Place of the Scripture, *Matt. vii. The Tree cannot bear good Fruits;* for this Place is only to be understood of a Sinner, who acts with a bad Will, or bad Intention. As we learn from *St. Augustin, lib. 4. cont. Jul. c. 3. The Tree is not bad, because he is a Man, which is the Work of God, but because the Will is bad.* Therefore it is not to be understood simply of every Sinner without Distinction, and particularly of him who acts with some Detestation of his Sin; as the Example of the Publican, who, says the Scripture, obtained his Justification.

They answer to the second Part of the Question, that in the State of fallen Nature, a Man can do some morally good Action of a natural Order, without the actual Grace: Which they prove by the Scripture, the Authority of the Popes, and the Fathers.

By the Scripture, *Rom. ii. For when the Nations which have not the Law, do by Nature the Things contained in the Law, these having not the Law, are a Law unto themselves.* This Place is understood variously, by divers Fathers; *St. Augustin, St. Prosper, and St. Fulgentius,* interpret this Passage of the Apostle, of those who had renounced Paganism, and embraced the Christian Faith: I do not disapprove this Interpretation, on the contrary I respect it; but it suffices that other Fathers interpret this Place, of Nations who having nothing but Nature for Guide, accomplish some Precepts of the natural Law. Thus it is interpreted by *Tertullian, lib. de coron. milit. c. 6.* by *St. Chrysostom,* and several others.

It is proved by the Authority of the Popes, particularly of *Pius V.* in that Bull, where this 28th Proposition of *Baius* is condemned, *The Free-Will,* says he, *without the Assistance of the Grace of God, serves to nothing but to Sin.*

They prove it by the Fathers, particularly *St. Chrysostom, homil. 73. ad popul.* in these Words: *None is so absolutely bad, but he has something good, whereby he can merit some temporal Good.* For as *St. Jerom* expresses himself on *Gal. i.* *Every one has within himself the Seeds of Justice and of the other Virtues.* Whence it happens, that several without Faith and Christ's Gospel, do several good Actions. And likewise *St. Augustin* in several Places, but more particularly *lib. de spirit. & liter. c. 27.* *For if those,* says he, *do naturally what is of the Law, they are not to be ranked yet among them whom the Grace of Christ justifies, but rather among them, who though they do not worship the true God, have done some Actions, which in Justice we not only cannot despise, but are obliged to commend and praise.*

But, say you, those good Actions, mentioned by *St. Augustin,* either in the Places above-quoted, or in others, must be understood good from the Part of the Object, and not from that of the Circumstances, and more particularly from that of the End: Therefore, without the actual Grace, a Man in the State of fallen Nature, cannot do an Act morally good of the natural Order.

The Catholics answer this Objection by a Negative, and say, that it can sufficiently appear from the 27th Chap. *lib. de spirit. & liter.* That *St. Augustin* insinuates it; for when he adds to the Words above quoted, these, *though if it be searched to what End they are made, we'll*

scarce find any which deserves the Praises due to Justice. This Particle, *scarce,* used by *St. Augustin,* denotes enough that the Works of the Law are sometimes done for a good End, though they are seldom done so. If you ask the Reason, that may be alledged, suggested by the same *St. Augustin,* and in the same Place, when he says, that God's Image is not so entirely defaced in the human Soul, by terrestrial Affections, but there remain in it yet some Lineaments of that divine Image: Whence it can justly be said, that even in the Impiety of their Life, they can do something agreeable to the Law. And all this is confirmed by the following Words we read in the same Chapter, where *St. Augustin* says, *That as some venial Sins, it is impossible to be without in this Life, do not debar a just Man from his eternal Salvation; likewise some good Acts, without which it is difficult to find the Life of the greatest Reprobate, are not profitable to his eternal Salvation.*

One of the most important Questions of this Treatise, is, *if a Man already justified wants the Succours of an actual Grace to persevere in his Justification; and whether that actual Grace must be a special one?*

Note, 1. That the Name of *Perseverance* is commonly taken in two Manners, 1. As it is the same with never falling off from the Justice once received, and dying in it. *St. Augustin* speaks of the Perseverance taken in that Sense, *lib. de don. persever. c. 1.* when he defines it, *a Gift whereby one perseveres in Christ to the End.* Understanding that End which terminates our Life. 2. As the same with persevering for some Time in Christ, but not to the End; but, *v. gr.* for Part of one's Life. None but the *Perseverance* taken in the former Manner is absolutely to be called Perseverance.

Note, 2. That the Perseverance in Grace to the End, can be considered in two Manners, *viz.* 1. When some Body dies after he has received the justifying Grace, and before he can perform any free Act, as *v. gr.* when an Infant dies after he has received Baptism, and before he has the Use of his Reason, and an Adult soon after he has received the justifying Grace. 2. When a Man lives some Time after he has received the justifying Grace, and persists in the Faith and in the Love of God, by accomplishing his Law, and resisting the Temptations to the End.

Note, 3. That it is not a Question here of the Infants who die after they have received Baptism, and before they have the Use of their Reason; nor of the Adults who die immediately after their Conversion and Repentance, and before they could have Time to perform a good Action, or to resist the Temptations; since it appears clearly that they do not want any inward Succours to persevere. It is said inward Succours, since it is certain that several external Favours are granted, especially to Infants, if it was but this, that they are carried off before they have been exposed to any Danger. Therefore it is only a Question here of those who live some Time after they have received the justifying Grace, and have to fight against the Devil, the World, and the Flesh. And of these we must enquire whether by their natural Strength, and without the Succours of Grace, they can persevere to the End.

Note, 4. That that Succour of Grace a Man may want to persevere in, is taken in two Manners; 1. In general, for any Benefit, either internal, such as a good Inspiration, &c. or external, such as the special Protection of God. 2. In a stricter Manner, for the inward Succours. These pre-observed.

I answer to the first Part of the Question, *that no Body can persevere to the End, without a particular Succour from God;* which I prove by the Scripture, the Councils, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Psal. cxxvii. Except the Lord keep the City the Watchman wakes but in vain.* *Philip. i. He which has begun a good Work in you will perform it unto the Day of Jesus Christ.*

By the Councils, particularly that of *Africa,* in the Epistle to Pope *Innocent,* and likewise the second of *Orange, can. 10.* in these Terms, *God's Succours are*

ways to be implor'd for those who have been regenerated, and for the Saints that they may persevere to the End. And that of Trent, Sess. 6. can. 22. *If any Body says, that without a special Succour of God, Man can persevere in Justice, or with it cannot, let him be Anathema.*

By the Fathers, particularly St. *Augustin*, in several Places, but in a more particular Manner throughout his whole Book, *De don. persever.* and in his Book, *De correptione et gratia*. c. 8. he says, that it is incomprehensible, how of two Just, one should persevere and the other not.

It is proved, likewise, by the Prayers made to God to obtain from him the Gift of Perseverance, v. gr. Psalm xxvii. *Thou hast been my Help, leave me not. For why should that Perseverance be asked of God* (says St. *Augustin*, lib. de don. persever. c. 2.) *if God was not to give it?*

By Reason, because the Man in Question here, cannot persevere, unless he receives some efficacious Succours.

It is answered to the second Part of the Question, *that the Grace whereby one perseveres to the End, in Christ, is an actual and particular Grace.* Because a just Man, with the sole justifying Grace, and the Virtues and Gifts it is accompanied with, and the ordinary Succours, has not wherewithal to persevere to the End, by Reason of the Inconstancy of his Will: Whence it follows, that he wants a special Grace towards that End, i. e. to have the Happiness to die in Christ.

Note, That from this I'll pass to the Consideration of the various Effects of Grace; and though several Doctors consider Grace, particularly the habitual, as the medicinal Grace of Nature, the justifying Grace, the Grace which remits Sin, and confers upon us a Right to the eternal Life; I will, notwithstanding, reduce all those Effects to two principal, viz. the *Justification* and *Merit*, since those two cannot very well be explain'd, without, at the same Time, explaining all the others; beginning by *Justification*; and asking first what *Justification* is, as well the first as the second, whether it be consider'd as active, or as passive?

The first active *Justification*, is commonly defined, *An Act whereby God makes an intellectual Creature just, from unjust he was before.*

It is said, 1. *An Act*, to distinguish it from the passive *Justification*, which is nothing else but the Reception of Justice.

It is said, 2. *Whereby God*, to indicate the first Author of *Justification*.

It is said, 3. *An intellectual Creature*; to shew the Subject of the *Justification*.

It is said, 4. *From unjust, or not just*, to give to understand, that the first active *Justification*, is the Infusion of Grace in a Subject who has it not, either by a mere Privation, or by a mere Negation.

The first passive *Justification*, is the Reception of Justice, in a Subject which is either unjust, or not just.

If I be asked, *how is that passive Justification made?* I'll answer, that it is made by an inward Form; for we read in the Council of Trent, Sess. 6. c. 7. that *Justification* is made by a Renovation of the interior Man, and by voluntarily receiving the Grace and Gifts. The formal Cause of *Justification*, being God's Justice, not that whereby he is just himself, but whereby he makes us just.

The second active *Justification*, is the Act whereby God makes a just intellectual Creature, still more just than he was. Because it is the Act whereby God increases the Grace which is supposed to be already in the intellectual Creature, which Increase of Grace God must infuse, as he has already infused the first habitual Grace.

The second passive *Justification*, is nothing else but an Extension of the infused habitual Grace. Because it is nothing else but the Reception of the Increase of the habitual Grace, already existing in the intellectual Creature. But if it be asked, *why that Increase is called Justification?* I'll answer, that it is called *Justification*, because the Forms which admit Degrees of Intention, have homogeneous Increases.

From this Definition of the second passive *Justification*, it is inferred, that the *Justification* of the Impious,

does not pertain to the second, but to the first *Justification*, since it is the Translation of Man from the State of Sin, either original or actual, to a State of Grace.

A very important Question on the Subject of *Justification* is, *If the Justification of the Impious be made by a true Remission of Sin, which cannot be done without the Infusion of Grace, or if a Non-imputation of Sin, and a simple Imputation of Justice suffices?*

Note, That several Things are asked in this Question; 1. If by *Justification* a Man is truly and properly made just, or is only reputed such? 2. If the *Justification* of the Impious is made by a true Remission of the Fault? 3. If the Infusion of Grace is required to that Remission of the Fault? These pre-observ'd,

I answer to the first Part of the Question, *that Man is not made just by Justification, as to be only reputed such; but is really made such by it*; which I prove by the Scripture, the Councils, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, Rom. v. *For as by one Man's Disobedience many were made Sinners; so by the Obedience of one, shall many be made righteous.* It is not said in this Place, that Men are reputed just, but that they are established such. Which Expressions are to be observ'd as well as those which follow. 1 Cor. vi. *But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the Name of the Lord Jesus.*

By the Councils, particularly that of Trent, Sess. 6. c. 7. where it is said *Justification* is not the sole Remission of Sin, but is the Sanctification and Renovation of the inward Man, by the Susception of Grace and Gifts, whence the Injustice of Man is changed into Justice, that he may be made an Heir according to the Hope of eternal Life.

By the Fathers, particularly St. *Augustin*, lib. de spirit. & liter. c. 26. *What is it to be justified*, says he, *but to be made just? but by whom else, but by him who justifies the Impious, that he may become just, from unjust he was before?* Likewise, lib. de liber. arbit. c. 6. *The Impious is justified by the Grace of God.* Though Calvin, lib. 3. instit. c. 11. exclaims against it, pretending that St. *Augustin* is, in this, contrary to himself.

By Reason, because in the *Justification*, Grace, and even an inherent one is infused: But that Grace not only washes off the Spot of Sin, but washes off entirely the Sin itself; therefore, &c.

Notwithstanding, 1. That the Sins are said in the Scripture, cover'd, and simply not imputed, Psa. xxxii. *Blessed is he whose Sins are covered.* — *Blessed is the Man unto whom the Lord imputeth not Iniquity*, &c. Because the Royal Psalmist understands his Sins to be so covered, as to be likewise blotted out, so as to appear and be imputed no more; which appears from that he prays for the blotting out of his Sins. For he prays thus, Psa. li. *Blot out all mine Iniquities.* And Ver. 9. *Hide thy Face from my Sins; and blot out all mine Iniquities.* Ver. 10. *Create in me a clean Heart O God, and renew a right Spirit within me.*

Notwithstanding, 2. What we read, Psalm cxliii. *For in thy Sight shall no Man living be justified.* Because we are not to infer from these Words, that Man is justified by Imputation, and not truly; but it must only be inferred from them, that Man, even with God's Grace, when compar'd with God's Justice, is but imperfectly, and not perfectly justified. And that Man can boast of having received within him a Grace from God, appears from these Words of Psalm viii. *Judge me O Lord, according to my Justice.*

Notwithstanding, 3. That the Name of *Justification*, is taken by profane Authors for a single Declaration of Innocence; since it suffices that among sacred Authors, to justify is the same, as to make of an Impious a just Man.

We'll ask next, *What Disposition is required in Adults, towards their first Justification?*

Note, That it is not a Question here of the positive Disposition of Infants, since it is certain, that they are not capable of any; and therefore it suffices, that the Remedy instituted by Christ, viz. Baptism, be applied

plied to them. But it is a Question of the Disposition of the Adults, and is asked, 1. Whether some positive Disposition be requir'd in them? And, 2. What must that Disposition be? These pre-observ'd,

The Catholicks answer, 1. *That some Preparation or Disposition is requir'd from the Part of an Adult, who must co-operate in some Manner to his Justification.* Which they prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, where this is insinuated in several Places, but more particularly, 1 Sam. vii. *Prepare your Hearts unto the Lord, and serve him only.* Zech. i. *Turn you unto me, and I will turn to you.* James iv. *Draw nigh to God, and he will draw nigh to you.*

By the Fathers, particularly St. *Augustin*, *Serm. 15. de verb. Apost. The Justice of God, says he, can be without your Will, but it cannot be within you but by your Will. God has made you without you, for you have not given your Consent that he should make you; for how could you have consented, since you was not? Therefore he who has made you without you, will not justify you without you. He has made him who knew nothing of it, and he justifies him who is willing.*

By Reason, because God disposes all Things with Suavity, according to a Manner becoming every one; but it is becoming human Nature, that he should confer no Benefit on an Adult, whereby he can obtain his Justification, unless that Adult consent, and be willing, either explicitly or tacitly, to accept such a Benefit, and to prepare himself to co-operate to it; therefore, &c.

If I be asked, which must be that Consent supposed requisite, that a Man may be consider'd co-operating sufficiently to his Justification?

I'll answer, that it must be a supernatural one, proceeding both from the Grace and the Free Will, as St. *Bernard* explains it, *lib. de grat. & lib. arb.* where he speaks thus, *the Grace excites the Free-will, &c. and this operates thus with the Free-will that it only prevents it at first, and always accompanies it afterwards, but by preventing it so, that it may co-operate to it afterwards, therefore the Beginning is from the Grace alone, likewise the Accomplishment is from both, &c.*

From this Answer it may be inferred, 1. That a Man does not dispose himself to his Justification, by his sole natural Strength: But rather is always prevented by Grace, viz. some Inspiration, as is evident from several Places of the Scripture. *Psal. lix. The God of my Mercy shall prevent me.* *lxvi. I am found by those who were in search of me, I have appeared to those who did ask no Question.* 2. That though a Man be prevented by the divine Grace, he, notwithstanding, does not desist from co-operating by his Free-Will.

The Catholicks answer to the second Part of the Question, that it is requir'd for a Man to prepare himself to the first Justification, that he should have Faith, an Abhorrence for Sin, together with a Resolution to sin no more, in Hope of Forgiveness.

They prove the first Part of their Answer, viz. *that Faith is requir'd*, by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Heb. xi.* where it is said, *that he that comes to God must believe, &c.*

By the Fathers, particularly St. *Augustin*, who says, that Faith is the Foundation of our Justification.

By Reason, because Justification is the Conversion of Man to God, inasmuch as he is the Object of a supernatural Beatitude; and the Cause of Justification: But such Conversion cannot be made without Faith; therefore, &c.

If they be asked, *what Sort of Faith is requir'd?*

They'll answer, 1. That the Faith requir'd for the first Justification of an Adult, is not that Faith, or rather Confidence, whereby we believe to ourselves in particular, that our Sins are remitted, that God is to be, and is in Reality propitious to us, through the Merits of the Passion and Death of *Jesus Christ*.

They prove this Answer by the Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, *Luke xviii.* for there the Pharisee, who was faithful, though he considers himself as a just Man, he notwithstanding is condemned by

Christ. But the Publican is justified by him, though he be diffident of himself, and does not dare to lift up his Eyes to Heaven. Therefore it is not surprising if the Apostle advises us, *Eph. iv. To operate our Salvation with Fear and Trembling.*

They answer, 2. That the Faith required for the first Justification of an Adult, is not the Faith of Miracles, i. e. that Faith which is supposed to consist in the Power of doing Miracles, and which the Apostle teaches, 1 Cor. xiii. where he speaks thus; *And though I have all Faith, so that I could remove Mountains, &c.* To prove this Answer, they say that without such a Faith, several have been, and are daily justified; therefore, &c.

They answer, 3. That the Faith requir'd for the Justification of an Adult, is an historical, or dogmatical Faith, consisting in a firm Assent to all the Things which God has revealed; as it may be inferred from the Manner of speaking of the Scripture, *John xxi.* speaks thus, *These are written that you may believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and that by believing it you may have eternal Life.*

They prove the second Part of their Answer, viz. that the Abhorrence of Sin, with a Resolution of sinning no more, in Hope of Forgiveness, is requir'd in an Adult to prepare himself to his first Justification; because unless the former Life displeases, we cannot begin a new one; unless we divest ourselves of the old Man, we cannot be invested with the new; unless we renounce Satan, his Poms, and his Works, we cannot serve Christ in Holiness and Justice of Truth.

They prove the third Part, viz. *that a Resolution of sinning no more is requir'd*; because without such a Resolution, the aforesaid Abhorrence is not sufficient, since that Abhorrence pertains either to a perfect Contrition, or to a supernatural Attrition; but a perfect Contrition, as well as a supernatural Attrition, requires that Resolution, if not always explicit, at least implicit.

They prove the fourth Part, viz. *that the Hope of Forgiveness is requir'd*; because the Council of Trent teaches it expressly, *Seff. 6.*

We'll ask next, *If a Man can have some Certainty of his being just, or of his having the justifying Grace?*

Note, 1. That by the Name of Certitude, is commonly understood the Infallibility of the Assent; inasmuch as it has a Conformity with the Thing understood. 2. That there are two Sorts of Certitudes, viz. one absolute and physical, and the other moral. The infallible is that Infallibility of Assent, with Regard to an Object of an unquestionable Truth, viz. when the Understanding assents absolutely to an Object. This Certainty is defined by St. *Thomas*, a firm Adhesion of the cognitive Faculty, to its cognisable. But the moral Certainty, is commonly defined the Infallibility of the Assent, esteemed probable. If it be asked, *on what that Probability is founded?* It is answer'd, that it is founded on some probable Authority, or Reason. These pre-observ'd,

They answer to the first Part of the Question, *that no Body, without a divine Revelation, can be certain that he is in Grace, of an absolute and physical Certainty*; which they prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Prov. xvii. Who can say my Heart is clean, I am free from Sin? Not even an Infant who is but a Day old.* *Eccles. ix. Man does not know, if he be worthy of Hatred or of Love.* *Acts viii. Repent therefore of this thy Wickedness, and pray God, if perhaps the Thought of thine Heart be forgiven thee.*

By the Fathers, particularly St. *Augustin*, *lib. de perfect. just.* towards the Middle, where he speaks thus; *Whatever may be a Man's Justice, he must fear, lest something should be found in him, which is a Guilt.*

By Reason, because though they are of Opinion that the Sacraments produce Grace of themselves, as they do not produce that Grace but in those who are rightly prepar'd to receive them, where is the Person that can have the Temerity to be persuaded of an absolute Certainty, that he is rightly prepar'd? Though *Calvin* and *Luther* were of the Opinion, that a Man in this Life could not only be certain, of an absolute Certainty,

of his being in a State of Grace, and of his Salvation; but was even obliged to believe it as an Article of Faith.

Notwithstanding this Text of the Apostle, *Rom. viii. The Spirit himself testifies to our Spirit, that we are the Children of God.* Because the Apostle does not understand this Place of every Roman in particular, but the whole Roman Church, considered together, to which he writes, and which he compares to the Synagogue, being willing they should know, that the Church has the Spirit of Adoption, and the Synagogue had only the Spirit of Servitude. Or if this Place was to be understood of every Faithful in particular, as some Doctors will have it, it must be understood conditionally.

They answer to the second Part of the Question, *that a Man, in this Life, can, without a divine Revelation, have some moral Certainty of his being in a State of Grace.* Because he can be certain, at least of a probable and conjectural Certainty, that he is in such a State; notwithstanding that such Certainty does not exclude all Reason of Fear; for it suffices, that it takes off the Anxiety of the Mind, and can procure Peace to a Conscience.

If it be asked, what Marks a just Man can have of his being in a State of Grace? they answer, that though several of those Signs could be found in the Writings of almost all the antient Fathers, they'll content themselves with those proposed by St. Leo and St. Bernard. The first, *viz. St. Leo, says, Serm. de Epiph. that the Humility of Heart, Patience in Adversities, the Love of God, and of our Neighbour, are some probable Signs of that State.* And St. Bernard, *Serm. 69. on the Canticks, reckons among those Signs, a Resolution to please God in all Things, an extream Sorrow for Sins past, and a Caution to avoid them, the Frequentation of the Sacraments, with the Dispositions requir'd, and a great Desire to hear the Word of God.*

It may be asked in this Place, *If Justice once received, can be lost?* The Calvinists answer this in the Negative; and the Catholicks in the Affirmative; but without pretending to enter into any Controversy on that Subject, I'll form my Judgment on the Example I find in the sacred Scripture, and in the ecclesiastical History, of Persons who had been justified, and have lost that Justice. I will have no other out of the Scripture, but that of St. Peter, who soon after he had received his Justification in the Sacrament of the Body and of the Blood of his divine Master, denied him, and consequently lost the Grace he had received. Origen had all the Marks of his Justification, as well as Tertullian; notwithstanding which, one has left us in the Uncertainty, if he lost that Justification, and we have better than a moral Certainty, that the other lost it entirely.

I'll conclude this Treatise of the Grace, by Merit, asking, 1. *What Merit is, and how many Sorts of Merits?*

Note, 1. That Merit may be taken in a good and in a bad Part. It is taken in a good Part, when taken for that which is worthy of Recompence: And in a bad Part, when taken for that which deserves Punishment. We'll consider Merit, in this Place, as taken in a good Part. 2. That Theologians distinguish three Sorts of Merit, *viz. 1. A rigorous Merit de condigno. 2. A Merit de condigno, commonly so called. 3. A Merit de congruo; these pre-observ'd,*

The Catholicks answer, 1. That *the rigorous Merit de condigno, is a good Action, to which a Recompense is due, in all the Rigour of Justice.* Which Sort of Merit is that of Jesus Christ alone; for suppose that such a Merit has an Equality to the Reward, absolutely from the Dignity of the Work, and of the Workman, without any Favour done to him who merits; that could become no Body but Christ; notwithstanding that the Favour was done to Christ's Humanity; because it suffices that it was done to a deserving Suppositum, which was divine, and whose Actions they were.

They answer to the second Part of the Question, that *the Merit de condigno, commonly so called, is defined a good Work, to which is due, in Justice, though not a rigorous one, a Reward, according to the Dignity of the Ac-*

tion, and of the Person who has done it.

It is said a good Action, because as St. Augustin observes, *lib. de grat. & lib. arbit. c. 6. God does not crown Evil.* Whence it is not surprizing if we read, *John v. And shall come forth, they that have done good, unto the Resurrection of Life; and they that have done evil, unto the Resurrection of Damnation.*

It is said, 2. *To which is due in Justice a Reward according to the Dignity of the Work, and of the Workman;* as well to express some Difference between the *Merit de condigno*, and the *Merit de congruo*, to which no Recompence is due in Justice; but is given from a Motive of pure Liberality; as to give to understand, that to the *Merit de condigno* of the eternal Life, is required a Convention of giving the Recompence on the Delivery of the Work, that the Workman may have a Right to the Reward, and the Remunerator lie under an Obligation of giving the Reward.

It is said, *but not a rigorous one, viz. Justice,* to express some Difference between the common *Merit de condigno*, and that *Merit de condigno*, which is called *rigorous.*

From what has been said, it is inferr'd, that to Merit, or to a meritorious Action *de condigno*, commonly so called, five Conditions are requir'd, *viz. 1. That it be a good Action. 2. That it be voluntary and free. 3. That it be done by a Man yet on his Journey through this transitory World. 4. That it may be done by a Man just, and in a State of Grace. 5. That from the Part of God, the Promise of the Reward may have preceded.* We must prove every one of these Conditions in particular.

1. As to the first Condition, *viz. that the meritorious Act de condigno, must be a good Action,* is proved, because, as we have already observed from St. Augustin, *God does not crown what is vicious.* But if it be asked, *whether to render an Act meritorious, it must be done, if not with an actual, at least with a virtual Intention, and a Motive of Charity;* it will be answered in the Affirmative; either because the Scripture insinuates it, *1 Cor. x. Whether therefore ye eat or drink, or whatsoever you do, do all to the Glory of God.* Or because the Council of Trent says, *Sess. 6. c. 16. and can. 26. that Merit is attributed to those Actions of the Just, which are made in God.*

If it be asked, besides, *If for an Action to be meritorious de condigno, it is necessary it should be good on the Part of the Object?* It is answered in the Negative; for it suffices that it should be good, on the Part of the End, when it is indifferent on the Part of the Object.

As to the second Condition, *viz. that a meritorious Act de condigno, must be voluntary and free,* is proved, because the Fathers teach it often, and clearly enough. First St. Jerom, *lib. 2. cont. Jovin. who says, that where there is Necessity, there is neither Damnation nor Crown.* Which is approved by St. Augustin, *lib. de natur. & grat. c. 65.* And St. Bernard, *Serm. 81. in cant. Where there is no Liberty, there is no Merit.* And the Reason is, because that Merit which is said to be ours, must be such that we have some Authority over; and it cannot be such without Liberty: Therefore, &c.

As to the third Condition, *viz. that the meritorious Act de condigno, must be the Act of a Man who is yet upon Earth,* is proved, either because the Scripture insinuates it, *Eccles. ix. Whatsoever thy Hands find to do, do it with thy Might; for there is no Work, nor Device, nor Knowledge, nor Wisdom in the Grave whither thou goest.* John ix. *The Night comes when no Man can work.* Gal. vi. *While we have Opportunity, let us do good; or because the antient Fathers have taught it; particularly St. Jerom, in cap. 6. Epist. 1. Corint. The Time of Sowing, says he, is the present Life, which we run through; that Life once past, the Time of working will be taken away.*

As to the fourth Condition, *viz. that the meritorious Act de condigno, must be the Act of a just Man, and in the State of the justifying Grace,* is proved, because the eternal Life is promised to none but to the Sons, as it appears, *Rom. vi.* hence it follows, 1. That Man by his natural Talents or Faculties, cannot merit *de condigno*, because the Act is not order'd towards something exceeding

ceeding the Proportion of Virtue; and eternal Life exceeds the Proportion of a created Nature; therefore, &c. 2. It follows, that Life is not due to the Sinner, but Death; according to this, *Rom. vi. The Reward of Sin is Death.*

As to the fifth Condition, viz. *that on God's Part, the Promise of the Reward must have preceded*, is proved by the Scripture, and the Fathers. — By the Scripture, *James i. Blessed is the Man that endures Temptations, for when he is tried, he shall receive the Crown of Life, which the Lord has promised to them that love him.* By the Fathers, particularly *St. Augustin, in Psalm lxxxvi. God has given Mercy, and he'll give the Crown; he is the Giver of Mercy, and the Debtor of the Crown; but whence is he Debtor? Has he received something? to whom does God owe any Thing? Let's see who calls him a Debtor; Paul has received Mercy, and he exalts, the Lord will return me, says he, in that Day. What shall he return thee, but what he owes thee? He makes God a Debtor, not in receiving, but in promising: It is not said to him, return what thou hast received, but return what thou hast promised.*

They answer to the third Part of the Question, *that Merit de congruo*, is commonly defined, *a Good worthy of a divine Retribution, by a pure Motive of Liberality, and not of Justice.*

From this Definition it is inferred, that to the *Merit de congruo*, these Conditions are required, 1. That it must be a good and honest Act. 2. That it must be the Act of a Man yet upon Earth, though it be not necessary that he should be in the State of Grace; which *St. Augustin* insinuates, *Epist. 103. when he says, that by some Merit the Remission is obtained, which in a meriting Subject, does not suppose the justifying Grace.* 3. It must be a free Act, because generally Liberty is wanted to Merit, and *St. Augustin, lib. de spirit. & lit. c. 32.* requires it in the Faith which obtains. 4. It must be a supernatural Act, because by the sole natural Strength, no Act can be done belonging to Salvation.

Our next Question is, *If a Man can merit eternal Life de condigno.*

The Catholicks answer in the Affirmative, and prove it by the Scripture, the Councils, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Matt. v. Rejoice and be exceeding glad; for great is your Reward in Heaven.* 2 *Tim. iv. I have fought a good Fight, I have finish'd my Course, I have kept the Faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a Crown of Righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge shall give me at that Day.*

By the Councils, particularly that of *Trent, Sess. 6. can. 26.* where they define that Man who is justified, can merit eternal Life by his good Works.

By the Fathers, particularly *St. Augustin, Epist. 105.* where he says, *that as Death is given for a Reward to the Merit of Sin, likewise eternal Life is given as a Reward to the Merit of Justice.*

By Reason, because the Conditions of the *Merit de condigno*, with Regard to eternal Life, are agreeable to the Actions of a just Man, as it appears by itself, since such a Man is supposed just and moral; and his Act supposed voluntary, free and honest, and often proceeding from and commanded by Charity; and founded on the Covenant, and Promise of God in the Scripture, to give eternal Life to those who live righteously and keep his Commandments.

Notwithstanding, say they, 1. That the eternal Life is called Grace in the Scripture; for it is not called Grace to exclude all Sort of Merit, but to shew that our Merits don't make God a Debtor of a strict and rigorous Justice; for he is only Debtor in that Sense, that he would, promised, and did by his Benignity, that what are his Gifts should be our Merits.

Notwithstanding, 2. That Infants who have not the Use of their Reason, cannot properly merit the everlasting Glory, because in that Age they are not capable of Merit; because it suffices that in that Age they obtain the Glory, by Manner of Inheritance, and through the Merits of Christ, with whom they are Cohere of the everlasting Glory according to the Apostle, *Rom. vii.*

Note, That I judge proper to give this Treatise of

Grace, under this Title *Jansenism*: as well because the Disputes between the *Jansenists* and *Catholicks* rose chiefly on the Doctrine of Grace; as because I had omitted giving it under the Letter G. But in omitting it entirely, I had render'd my Theology very imperfect, by the Omission of one of the principal Subjects thereof, and which is still a very great one of Controversy among the Christian Sects. *Jansenius* renewed in his *Augustinus*, the new Doctrine of *Luther*, *Calvin*, &c. on the Grace, though with some Mitigation; and all have endeavour'd to defend their Sentiment by that of *St. Augustin*, who is justly called the DOCTOR OF GRACE, for having wrote copiously on that Subject against the *Pelagians* and *Semi-Pelagians*; but in endeavouring to prove the Necessity and Efficacy of Grace, against those who rejected both; he has, in my Opinion, used several very severe Expressions, which he had certainly omitted, could he have foreseen, that in future Ages, they had been made use of, to ascertain the entire Loss of Man's Liberty, and deprive him absolutely of his Free Will, leaving him nothing, after his Redemption by Christ, but that fatal Pendant to Evil, which had been necessarily inseparable from him, if he had not been redeemed; and thereby reflecting injuriously, though tacitly on God's Justice, for leaving us no other Liberty, but that of displeasing him, and punishing us for it, though he has not left it in our Power to act otherwise; since according to the *Calvinists* and *Jansenists*, the immense Treasure of his Graces, is filled with nothing but victorious ones, which operate within us, with such Efficacy, that they not only are never resisted, but even can never be resisted; so that if God condemns us for the Sin we committed, and which it had been impossible for us to commit, had he been pleased to give us that victorious Grace; he condemns us because he will have us guilty; and not because we will be so ourselves; for where is the Master, unless he be a very unjust one indeed, who will punish his Servant for not obeying his Orders, when he has put it entirely out of his Power to obey them? God's Judgments, on that Point, are unsearchable, say the new Disciples of *St. Augustin*, but unsearchable as they are, our Reason can notwithstanding see through them, at least in the Manner they are represented by the new Dogmatists, a great deal of Cruelty, which is absolutely incompatible with the divine Justice.

The *Jansenists*, after they had a long while defended with Obstinacy the Doctrine of a victorious Grace, which neither could, nor ever was resisted, relented a little; but that consisted in nothing else but some more moderate Expressions, for their real Sentiment of a victorious Grace, has always been and is still the same. They likewise maintain'd and defended the Doctrine of the five Propositions; but when they saw that it had been fulminated several Times by the *Gallican Church*, and by several Popes, to whom they had appealed from the Decisions of the Clergy of *France*; they denied that those Propositions could be found in the *Augustinus* of *Jansenius*, or have been extracted from it; which made that Distinction between the Right and the Fact; of which I must speak at present.

Jansenius's Partisans pretended, that the End their Adversaries had proposed to themselves, in attacking and procuring the Condemnation of their Sentiments, was to represent as Hereticks, Theologians of Reputation, who had opposed with a laudable Zeal, the new Doctrine of the School of the Jesuits, on the Grace. To accuse openly these Theologians of maintaining Errors which had always been condemned, and to procure the Condemnation of some Truths they maintain, as if they were Errors. To have made use for that Design of the five famous Propositions, by composing them in equivocal and ambiguous Terms, which rendered them at the same Time susceptible of the heretical Sense of *Luther* and *Calvin*, and of the Catholick one of the Grace efficacious by itself.

To this Accusation the Anti-jansenists answer, that no Body has fabricated the five famous Propositions, and the Doctors of the Faculty of Theology of Paris had only

only extracted them, such as they are found in *Jansenius's Augustinus*, without the least Variation, as those who will give themselves the Trouble to read that Book, can easily perceive. That the *Jansenists* and their Adversaries gave them at first the same Sense; and that all their Efforts to destroy that Truth serve only to confirm it. That it was a Question then, neither of *Molina*, nor of the *efficacious Grace*, such as it is taught in the Jesuits School. That it is true that in attacking the *five Propositions*, it was discovered presently that they had for Foundation the *efficacious Grace*, in the Manner *Jansenius* wanted to establish it; which they pretended, was confessed once by the *Jansenists* themselves.

On this they represent two Things; the first that *Jansenius* and his Disciples maintained, that the Difference of the Graces of the State of Innocence and of the State of fallen Nature, which is our present State, consists in that in the State of Innocence, there were no other but sufficient Graces, and that in our present State there are none but efficacious. The second, that it is an Heresy, accounted as such by all the Catholick Theologians, to admit no other Grace in our present State of Nature fallen, but the efficacious.

The *Jansenists* say, in their Turn, speaking of those appointed by the Faculty of Theology of *Paris* to examine the *five Propositions*, that if one would read the first of those Propositions submitted to their Examination, he'll easily find that their Design was to tread under their Feet the Authority of *St. Augustin*, since there is no Maxim better established in all his Works, and more agreeable to the Principle of his Doctrine than that; which they could not be ignorant of, since they have extracted it almost Word for Word, from the Book of the Bishop of *Ypres*, where it is justified by a great Number of Passages, very clear and evident, extracted from the Book of *St. Augustin*.

In this the *Jansenists* contradict themselves; since instead of those Propositions which they pretended their Adversaries had canvassed in equivocal and ambiguous Terms, they maintain here the Doctrine of those Propositions, and pretend that *Jansenius* himself had extracted it almost Word for Word from the Writings of *St. Augustin*. Though afterwards they equivocated again, and entrenched themselves against their Adversa-

ries, behind that famous Distinction of the *Right* and of the *Faët*, pretending to support that Distinction by the Bull of *Clement IX.* who condemned the *five Propositions*, in the Sense they were condemned by the Church; pretending, that thereby the Pope had no Design to condemn them in the Sense of *Jansenius*; as if his Holiness had questioned, if those Propositions were really in *Jansenius's Augustinus*. Though the *Anti-jansenists* understood the *Right* and the *Faët* of this Affair in a different Manner. For under the Name of *Right*, they understood the Question of the Sense of the Book of *Jansenius*; and by the *Faët*, they understood only, if *Jansenius* had in his Mind the heretical Sense of the five Propositions, and if those Propositions were in his Book in proper or equivalent Terms. As to *Clement IX.* not condemning in express Terms the five Propositions in the Sense of *Jansenius*; the *Anti-jansenists* say, that it is no Objection at all, since by condemning them in the Sense they were condemned by the Church, he condemned them in the Sense his Predecessor *Alexander VII.* had condemned them, who mark'd the heretical Sense condemned in the five Propositions by the Terms of the *Sense of Jansenius*; and therefore considered that Question as decided by the Constitutions of his Predecessors and condemned the five Propositions in the *Sense of Jansenius*.

The *Jansenists* objected to this, that the Term, *Sense*, cannot be taken but for determinate Senses, explained and applied to certain known Terms, which include Errors, and consequently cannot include the unlimited Sense of *Jansenius*, which has never been explained, and which remains as suspended in the Air, without being applied to any Word of that Author; and that when it is said in the Sense condemned by the Church, the Sense of *Jansenius* is not included in it.

To this the *Anti-jansenists* replied, that it is notoriously false, that in condemning the *five Propositions* in the Sense they were condemned by the Church, the Sense of *Jansenius* was not included, since some of those Propositions having been extracted Word for Word from the Book of *Jansenius*, and having been condemned afterwards, the Sense of *Jansenius* must have been included in that Condemnation.

J A P A N N I N G.

JAPANNING, is the Art of varnishing and drawing Figures on Wood, &c. after the Manner of those Works brought to us from *Japan*, from which Island this Art borrows its Name.

There are two Things necessary for *japanning*, viz. the Colours and the Varnish.

The Colours are, for a fair Red, the *Spanish Vermilion*, with a fourth Part of *Venice Lacquer*; though, if it could be afforded, *Carmin* is far preferable to it. For Blue, *Ultramarine*, and only twice as much Varnish as Colours; the *Prussian Blue* has the same Effect, and is not so chargeable. The Black is made of Ivory calcined between two Crucibles. Green is seldom used in *japanning*, because it is difficult to make it fair and lively.

The Varnish is made by taking a Pint of Spirit of Wine, well delegmated, and four Ounces of Gum Lacca, which after it has been broke from the Sticks and Rubbish, and roughly bruised in a Mortar, must be tied up in a Bag of coarse Linnen, together with a little *Castile Soap*, and put to steep in Spring Water for the Space of twelve Hours. This done, all the Tincture

must be rubbed out, adding to it a little Allum, and reserving it apart: Then must be added as much Mastic and white Amber, distilled in a Matrafs, with Spirit of Wine, by a two Days Digestion, frequently stirring it that it do not stick to the Glas; then straining and pressing it out into another Vessel.

This done, the Wood to be *japanned* must be covered with a Layer of this Varnish, till it be sufficiently drenched with it; then taking some of the Colours the Figures are to be of, it must be incorporated with seven Times as much of the Varnish, and applied with a Pencil, going over each Part three several Times, each a Quarter of an Hour after the other: Two Hours after this it must be polished with a Pestle or *Dutch Reeds*.

What they call *Night-japanning*, is performed by applying three or four Layers, with the Colours first, then two of pure Varnish uncoloured. Before it is dry, some Venturine or Gold Wire reduced to Powder, must be sifted over it, then covering it over with as many Layers of pure Varnish to render it like polished Glas; and lastly, rubbing it over with Tripoli, Oil of Olive, or Hatters Felt.

J E W E L L E R.

JEWELLER, is an Artist, whose Art consists in setting Diamonds, Rubies, Emeralds, and other precious Stones, in Gold, Silver, or other Metals.

VOL. II.

The whole Secret of this Art consists in setting the Stones to the best Advantage, that they may appear with a full Lustre; and hiding their Defects, if

O o o

if they have any, as much as possible.

To heighten the Lustre of a Stone, they put commonly under it a Leaf of the same Colour of the Stone, but livelier, which they call *foyl*.

To proceed in this Operation, they begin by putting the Ring, or other Piece which is to be set with Jewels, into Cement; then they put the Foyl, and over it the Stone, which they fasten in the Callet by approaching the Metal near it, with their setting Tool as close as possible, without breaking or scratching the Stone; this done, they file and polish the Metal.

This Art must be very antient, and ought to be considered as having been invented in Heaven, since God, *Exodus*.xxviii. gives these Directions for the Breast-plate, ver. 17. *And thou shalt set in it Setting of Stones.*

The most common Jewel, and one of the most antient, is the *Ring*: Though the Ring has not been always set with Jewels. *Pliny* observes, *lib.* 37. c. 1. that we are in the Dark as to the Person who first invented or wore the Ring; for that what is said of *Prometheus*, as also of *Midas's* Ring are Fables. The first, among whom we find the Ring in Use, are the *Hebrews*, *Genes.* xxxviii. where *Judah*, *Jacob's* Son, gives *Tamar* his Ring, or Signet, as a Pledge of his Promise: But the Ring appears to have been in Use at the same Time among the *Egyptians*, from *Genes.* xli. where *Pharoah* puts his Ring upon *Joseph's* Hand as a Mark of the Power he gave him, and in the first Book of *Kings*, chap. xxi. *Jezebel* seals the Warrant she sent for the killing of *Naboth* with the King's Ring.

The antient *Caldeans*, *Babylonians*, *Persians*, and *Greeks*, had likewise the Use of the Ring, as appears from several Passages in Scripture, and from *Quintus Curtius*, who tells us, that *Alexander* sealed the Letters he wrote into *Europe*, with his own Seal; and those into *Asia* with *Darius's* Ring.

The *Persians* will have *Guiamschild*, the fourth King of their first Race, to have first introduced the Ring, to seal his Letters, and other Acts withal. The *Greeks*, *Pliny* thinks, knew nothing of the Ring in the Time of the *Trojan* War: The Reason he gives is, that we find no mention thereof in *Homer*, but that when Letters, &c. were to be sent away, they were tied up, and the Strings knotted.

The *Sabines* had Rings in *Romulus's* Time, and it is to them probably, the Practice first came from the *Greeks*, and from them passed to the *Romans*, though it was some Time before it got Footing there. *Pliny* cannot learn which of the Kings of *Rome* first adopted it; but there are no Signs of it in any of their Statues, before those of *Numa*, and *Servius Tullus*. He adds, that it was in Use among the antient *Gauls* and *Britons*.

As for the Matter of Rings, there were some of one single Metal, and others of a Mixture, or of two. For the Iron and Silver were frequently gilt, or at least the Gold was enclosed within the Iron, as appears from *Artemidorus*, *lib.* 2. c. 5. The *Romans* were contented with Iron Rings a long Time; and *Pliny* assures us, that *Marius* first wore a Gold one in his third Consulate, which was in the Year of *Rome* 650. Sometimes the Ring was Iron and the Seal Gold; sometimes it was hollow, and sometimes solid; sometimes the Stone was engraven, and sometimes plain; and the Graving sometimes in Relievo, and sometimes in Creux: The last were called *Gemmae clypeæ*; the former *Gemmae sculpturæ prominentæ*.

The Antients had three different Kinds of Rings: The first served to distinguish Conditions or Qualities. *Pliny* assures us, that the Senators at first were not allowed to wear the Gold Ring, unless they had been Ambassadors at some foreign Court; nor was it even allowed them to wear the Gold Ring which was given them, in publick, except on publick Occasions. At other Times they wore an Iron one. And those who had had a Triumph observed the same Rules.

At length the Senators and Knights were allowed the common Use of the Gold Ring; but *Acron* on *Horace*, *lib.* 2. *Sat.* 7. observes, they could not do it unless it was given them by the Prætor.

In after Days, the Ring became the Badge of the Knights, the People wearing Silver Rings, and the Slaves Iron ones. Though the Gold Ring was sometimes also

allowed the People; and *Severus* granted it his common Soldiers. *Augustus* allowed it the *Liberti*, or Freedmen; and though *Nero* made a Regulation to the contrary, yet it was soon set aside.

A second Kind of Rings were the *Annuli Sponsalitii*, *Wedding-Rings*. Some carry the Origin of this Custom as far back as the *Hebrews*, on the Authority of a Text in *Exodus* xxxv. 22. *Leo* of *Modena*, however, maintains, that the antient *Hebrews* did not use any nuptial Rings. *Selden*, in his *Uxor Hebraica*, *lib.* 11. c. 14. owns, that they gave a Ring in the Marriage, but that it was only in Lieu of a Piece of Money of the same Value, which had used to have been given before. The *Greeks* and *Romans* did the same; and from them the Christians took it up very early, as appears from *Tertullian*, and in some antient Liturgies, where we find the Form of blessing the nuptial Ring.

The third Kind of Rings, were those used as Seals, called *Cerographs*, or *Cirographi*.

Richard Bishop of *Salisbury*, in his Constitutions, *Anno* 1217, forbids the putting of *Rush-Rings*, or any the like Matter on Women's Fingers, in order to the debauching them more readily: And he insinuates the Reason of his Prohibition, that there were some People weak enough to believe, that what was thus done in Jest was a real Marriage.

De Brevil, in his Antiquities of *Paris*, says, it was an antient Custom to use a Rush Ring in the Marriage of such as had had an Affair together, before Marriage.

The Bishop's Ring makes a Part of the pontifical Apparatus; and is esteemed a Pledge of the spiritual Marriage, between the Bishop and his Church: It is of a very antient Standing.—The fourth Council of *Toledo*, held in 633, appoints, that a Bishop condemned by one Council, and found afterwards innocent by a second, shall be restored, by giving him the Ring, Staff, &c.—From Bishops the Custom of the Ring has passed to Cardinals, who are to pay I know not what Sum, *pro Jure Annuli Cardinalitii*.

The Manner of wearing the Ring has been various: From *Jeremy* xxii. it appears, that the *Hebrews* wore it on the right Hand. Among the *Romans*, before they came to be adorned with Stones, and while the Graving was yet on the Metal itself, every Body wore them at Pleasure, on what Hand and Finger he listed. When Stones came to be added, they wore them altogether on the left Hand; and it would have been held an exceeding Foppery to have put them on the Right.

Pliny says, they were at first wore on the fourth Finger, then on the second, or Index; then on the little Finger, and at last, on all the Fingers, except the middle one. The *Greeks* wore them altogether on the fourth Finger of the left Hand, as we are informed by *Aul. Gellius*, *lib.* 10. and the Reason he gives for it is, that having found from Anatomy, that this Finger had a little Nerve that went streight to the Heart, they esteemed it the most honourable, by Reason of this Communication with that noble Part. *Pliny* says, the *Gauls* and antient *Britons* wore it on the middle Finger.

At first they only wore a single Ring; then one on each Finger; and at length several on each Finger. *Martial*, *lib.* 11. *epig.* 60. at last one on each Joint of each Finger. *Aristoph.* in *nub.* &c.—Their Delicacy at length went to that Pitch, that they had their weekly Rings. *Juvenal*, *Sat.* 7. speaks of *Annuli Semestres*; as also of Winter and Summer Rings. But of all others, *Lampridius*, *cap.* 32. observes, *Heliogabalus* carried the Point farthest, who never wore the same Ring or the same Shoe twice.

Rings have been also wore in the Nose, as Pendants in the Ears. *Bartolin* has an express Treatise, *De Annulis Narium*, of Rings of the Nostrils. *St. Augustin* assures us, it was the Fashion of the Moors, and *Pietro Della Valle* observes, the same of the modern Orientals.

In effect, there is no Part of the Body where they have not been wore. Several *East-India* Travellers affirm, that the Natives commonly wore them on their Nose, Lips, Cheeks, and Chin. *Ramusio* tells us, that the Ladies of *Narsingua*, in the *Levant*; and *Diodorus Sicul.* *lib.* 3. that those of *Ethiopia* used to adorn their Lips with Iron Rings.

As to the Ears, the Custom still obtains of wearing Rings

Rings therein, both by Men and Women all over the World.

The *Indians*, particularly the *Guzerattes*, have wore Rings on their Feet. And when *Peter Alvarez* had his first Audience of the King of *Calicut*, he found him all cover'd with Stones set in Rings; Bracelets and Rings both on the Hands and Fingers, and even the Feet and Toes. *Louis Bartome* represents a King of *Pegu*, as still more extravagant, having Rings set with precious Stones on every Toe.

Besides these common Jewels, of Rings and Ear-Rings, there are others less common, such as Diamond-Necklaces and Girdle-Buckles for Ladies, Shoe-Buckles for Ladies and Gentlemen, Solitaires for Ladies, &c. Swords set with Diamonds, and other precious Stones, for Gentlemen, &c. but though the Figure of those Pieces is different, the Operation is the same, as to setting the Stones, and the same Rules above-mention'd to be observed.

Every Crown-Head has a certain Number of Jewels, more or less, which are called *les Joyaux de la Couronne*, the Jewels of the Crown, which are never parted with but on some urging Necessity. The Crown of *France* is reckon'd the richest in Jewels of any in *Europe*. When *Mohenet Risabeck*, the late Ambassador from *Per-*

sia, at that Court, had his first publick Audience, of the late King *Louis XIV.* that Prince had a Suit of Cloaths, the Buttons thereof were all brilliant Diamond, valued at 700,000 Pounds Sterling; and this present King, then Dauphin, and an Infant, was all covered over with Diamonds, and other Jewels, of an immense Value; of which I was an Eye-witness.

In *England* there is an Office or House called the *Jewel-Office*, which takes Care of fashioning and weighing the King's Plate; delivering out by Warrants from the Lord Chamberlain. When his Majesty makes any Present of Plate, &c. they have the Charge of providing it, with some other Things less material.

The principal Officers are: The Master of the Jewel Office, whose Salary is 450*l.* per Ann. a Yeoman, a Groom, and a Clerk; all in the King's Gift.

There are also in this Office, in the Gift of the Lord Chamberlain, the Poet-Laureat at 100*l.* per Ann. Salary; the King's Historiographer, at 200*l.* per Ann. the History Painter, and principal Painter, at 200*l.* per Ann. the Painter in Enamel, and Keeper of the Pictures, at 200*l.* per Ann. each.

The Goldsmith and Jeweller are employ'd by the Master, and are usually in his Gift.

I N C A R N A T I O N.

INCARNATION, signifies the Mystery, by which *Jesus Christ*, the Eternal Word, was made Man, in order to accomplish the Work of our Salvation.

Note, That this august Mystery being the whole Foundation of the Christian Religion, and which has been the principal Point of Controversy, between the *Christians* and *Jews*; the one denying with Obstinacy its having been accomplished yet, and the other giving infallible and convincing Proofs, taken from the very same sacred Writs, whereon the Adversaries found their Incredulity; I must treat of it with that profound Respect becoming a Christian Theologian; and in a Manner capable to confound the incredulous *Jews*, and to confirm the true *Christians* in their sacred Belief.

The antient Fathers have called this august Mystery of the *Incarnation* by several different Names. *Tertulian*, lib. cont. prax. c. 23. and *St. Epiphanius*, Har. 30. call it *Æconomy*; because God, in this Mystery, has secured us, by his divine Providence, as a tender and careful Father provides for his Family. It is called *Assumption* by *St. Gregory of Nice*, against *Apollinaris*; and by *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, Orat. 42. because the divine Word in taking our Humanity, has not abandoned his Divinity. *St. Basil*, in *Psalms* xxix. calls it *Incorporation*; because the whole Plenitude of the Divinity dwells in Christ corporally, according to *St. Paul*, Col. ii. *St. Epiphanius*, Hæres. 30. calls it *Inhumanation*, because the divine Word has taken the human Nature. But the most common Name is that of *Incarnation*; because that Name expresses above all others the ineffable Love of God for us Men, in not thinking it beneath him, to assume our vile and abject Nature, and to have in common with us, what we have in common with the most despicable Animals.

The *Incarnation* may be considered in two Manners, either *in fieri*, i. e. as it was to happen; or *in facto esse*, i. e. as it has happened.

The *Incarnation*, considered *in fieri*, is commonly defined, *An Act whereby human Nature is united to the divine, in an Union of Suppositum*. It is said, 1. *An Act*, because the *Incarnation* thus consider'd, is a certain Operation *ad extra*, and consequently common to the whole Trinity; whence it appears, that it is something transitory, and should rather be called *Union*, than *Union*. 2. *Whereby human Nature is joined to the divine Word*; to shew in what consists the Mystery of the *Incarnation*. 3. *In the Union of the Suppositum*; to signify more expressly that the divine Word has taken human

Nature, precisely considered, without Personality; whereby it happened, that there are two Natures subsisting in the divine Word, by a single Personality.

The *Incarnation* considered *in facto esse*, is commonly defined *the Union of the divine Word with the human Nature, in the Unity of the Suppositum*.

It is said *Union*, because it is a Conjunction of several Things, whence results an Unity. Of the *divine Word*, i. e. of the second Person of the blessed Trinity, which perfects and terminates entirely the human Nature, viz. as to acting what she would act, if there was a Personality. Of the *human Nature*, to give to understand, that human Nature was taken alone, without its Personality.

Note, That we can infer from what has been above-mention'd, that the Mystery of the *Incarnation* consists entirely in the divine Word having taken the human Nature alone, and not the Personality; tho' we must not imagine, that when it is said that the Word has been made Flesh, he has took the Flesh only, and not the Soul; since it is certain, that he has taken the entire human Nature, viz. the Flesh and the Soul.

Note also, That before I proceed farther, I must explain some Terms or Expressions, without which it is impossible to understand all that I am to say throughout the Course of this Treatise; v. gr. I understand by *Suppositum*, an individual, compleat, and uncommunicable Substance; called *Suppositum*, either because supposed join'd to Essence, which cannot subsist by itself, nor without it; or because supposed as well united with Accidents, whereof it is the principal Subject of Inhesion, as to universal Substances, whereof it is the principal Subject of Predicate; as it appears in the Example of *Peter*. Because there are in *Peter*, superior and substantial Degrees; and the same Degrees are predicated of *Peter*; since *Peter* is a Man, an Animal, living, a Body and a Substance. By being *in concreto*, an individual, compleat, and incommunicable Substance of an intellectual Nature. By these it is easily infer'd, 1. That five Things are requisite to constitute a Person, viz. that it be a Substance, an intellectual Substance, individual, compleat, and separately subsisting. 2. That all Accidents are excluded from the Ratio of Person, all *Supposites*, which are not intellectual, all universal Substances, the Parts of a Substance, either metaphysical, as the Genus and Difference; or physical, as the Matter and Form; from it is also excluded all substantial Nature, which does not subsist by itself, but in its Suppositum; for as

such it is not incommunicable to another as to its Supposite. 3. What is Personality, which is commonly called the last Complement of an intellectual Substance. 4. What is Hypostasis and Subsistence, which is nothing else than the Term of a substantial Nature, which perfects it entirely, and renders it incommunicable to another. 5. That Subsistence, Hypostasis, Personality, is not the Existence of the Substance; because it's Existence is not like inherent Accidents, but is distinguished from them. Thus the Subsistence is distinguished from the Existence of the Substance, as it appears in the Example of the Humanity of Christ, which has its proper and created Existence, though it wants its proper Subsistence, and subsists by another. 6. That Subsistence, Hypostasis, Personality, is not an Accident super-added to a particular Substance; because of a substantial Nature and Subsistence, is formed a Substance by itself, which can be placed in the Category of Substance; but of a Substance and an Accident is not formed one by itself, but only one by Accident; therefore it is clear, that Subsistence, or Hypostasis, or Personality, is not an Accident, nor an Assemblage of Accidents. These previously known,

I'll pass to the first Question, which I propose to myself on this important Subject, which is, *If the Mystery of the Incarnation can be proved and demonstrated, either impossible or possible?*

I answer the first Part of this Question, viz. *If it can be proved impossible*, in the Negative; since Demonstration must be of Things which are true; but as there can be no true Principle from which the Impossibility of the Incarnation can be deduced; whereas, on the contrary, the Catholick Faith teaches, that it is possible; therefore that august Mystery cannot be demonstrated impossible.

If it be objected, that the Mystery of the Incarnation can be demonstrated impossible, since it can be demonstrated, that no Nature can be separated from its Hypostasis and subsist; it being demonstrable, that a Nature is in as much Need of its Subsistence, for its Preservation, as of its Existence.

I'll answer, that far from its being demonstrable, that the contrary is plainly proved, since it was in the Power of God to hinder the Production of the human Substance, and substitute the Divine in its Stead. There is, besides, a very great Disparity between Existence and Subsistence; since Existence is the first and intrinsic Modus of Nature, which makes it to be formally and *actu, extra causam*; but the Subsistence does not make the Nature formally *actu*, but renders it only incommutable, that it may be separately, and by itself, and not in another. Hence it appears, that the Nature can be very well understood to exist, though it has no Hypostasis, whereby it is render'd incommutable to another.

To the second Part of the Question, I answer, that *the Mystery of the Incarnation cannot be proved and demonstrated possible, by any natural and positive Reason*; because the Scripture teaches us in several Places, that this Mystery is hidden and inenarrable. *Isa. liii. Who can recount his Generation?* Which Passage must not be understood of the sole eternal Generation of the Word, because the ancient Fathers understood it likewise of the temporal one, by his taking the human Nature; and particularly St. Chrysostom, in the Homily on the Feast of St. John Baptist, and St. Leo, *Serm. 3. de nativ. Christi*.

I prove my Answer by the Scripture, the Councils, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Matt. xvi. Flesh and Blood have not revealed it to thee, but my Father, &c.*

By the Councils, particularly the Eleventh of Toledo, c. 1. *de confess. fidei. The Pregnancy of the Virgin (says he) cannot be discovered by our Reason, nor proved by Example; for if it could be discovered by Reason, it could not be marvellous; and if by Example, it could not be singular.*

By the Fathers, especially St. Augustin, in his Epistle to Volusian, where he speaks thus; *If we search here with our Reason, it is not a marvellous Mystery, if we ask, for an Example, it is not singular; let's give something*

to God which is above our Apprehension; for in those Things the Reason of the Operation is the Power of him that operates.

By Reason, because if it could be naturally known, and positively proved, it would proceed either because it could be known immediately in itself, or in another, which is impossible. Not the first, because the Scripture insinuates the contrary, when it says, that this Mystery is hidden and inenarrable; not the second, because if it could be known in another, it should be known in him either as in the Cause or in the Effect; which cannot be done in either of those two Manners, and consequently it can be neither proved positively, nor demonstrated. Not in the first Manner, since there is nothing in Nature which is the natural Cause of that Mystery, or which requires naturally its Dispensation and Consummation. Nor in the last, because there is no Effect purely natural, which seems to have naturally any necessary Connexion, with the Mystery of the Incarnation, to shew positively that it is necessarily possible.

But notwithstanding, the Mystery of the Incarnation can be proved possible against the Jews, Hereticks, and Infidels, or Pagans. And this in a different Manner, according to their different Sentiments.

To prove it positively against the Jews, who are the most obstinate of them all, though they live still in Expectation of the Accomplishment of this Mystery. I'll make use of their own Arms against them; and search in the Old Testament, which is their Oracle and their Guide in religious Matters, my strongest Proofs.

I'll take the first Proof from *Genes. xlix.* where Jacob giving his Blessing to every one of his Children in particular, speaks in these Terms, *The Scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a Law-giver from between his Feet, until Shiloh come.* Whence it is easy to shew that the Messiah is come, if I can prove that that Prophecy has been entirely accomplished, for the Jews have never pretended that it was a false one; but it is certain, that this Prophecy of Jacob has been accomplished, since it is certain, that for these thousand seven hundred and forty-three Years past, none of the Hebrews has governed their Republick either as a King, a Chief, or legitimate Governor; whereas on the contrary, they have always been either captive or vagrant throughout the whole World. For don't we read in *Josephus, lib. 14. antiq. Jud. Olympad. 114.* that Herod who was a Foreigner, had been made King of the Jews by the Roman Senate, some Time before the Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ? But as Herod being an Idumean born may be contradicted with some Appearance of Reason, since the Scripture says nothing of it, I am rather of Opinion, that in this Place we must take the Prediction of Jacob for the whole Judaick Nation, which had been preserved in that Tribe ever since the Transmigration of Babylon, the other Tribes having been destroyed and dispersed. Therefore the true Sense of this Prophecy would be that the Jews should continue to be a particular People to have Kings, Dukes, and Pontiffs to govern them according to their ecclesiastical and political Laws till the Birth of the Messiah.

Some pretend that this Prophecy of Jacob ought to be interpreted of Nebuchodonosor, who was deprived of the Kingdom of Judah, and not of the Messiah. But this cannot be for several Reasons; because, 1. Several of those Things said in that Place, of him who was to be sent, can by no Means be applied to Nebuchodonosor, v. gr. Jacob praises him who was to be sent, and calls him the Expectation of Nations. But who could believe that Jacob intended to praise the Destroyer and Tyrant of his People, who was besides mortally hated by all other Nations? Likewise, in the same Place Mention is made of an Ass, and of the Colt of an Ass, of Wine to wash Cloaths with, and of the Blood of the Grape to wash the Pallium. But these cannot be understood of Nebuchodonosor, nor of any other Duke or Prophet but Christ; who, according to the Scripture, entered Jerusalem, alternately mounted on an Ass, and on its Colt, and who washed his Cloaths in Blood, when he died for the Redemption of Men, &c. 2. Because the Power of governing and judging the People of Israel, was not entirely taken from the Tribe of Judah by Nebuchodonosor, but remained in it even during the Time of the Captivity of Babylon: For there was then a supreme Council called Sanhedrim,

Sanhedrim, which had both the civil and ecclesiastical Power, could punish the Guilty and absolve the Innocent, as the *Rabins* themselves are obliged to confess.

It may be objected to this, that we have no greater Reason to say, that Christ is come, after the Scepter was transferred from the Tribe of *Judah* to *Herod*; than when the *Maccabees* were in Possession of that Scepter, because neither *Herod* nor the *Maccabees* were of the Tribe of *Judah*, *Herod* being a Foreigner, as already observed, and the *Maccabees* of the Tribe of *Levi*; and that as it is certain that the *Messiah* did not come when the Scepter was in the Hands of the *Maccabees*, we are not to say, that he came when *Herod* received the Kingdom of the *Jews* from the *Romans*.

I answer, that there is a great Difference between *Herod* (who was neither of the Tribe of *Judah*, nor of any other of the Children of *Israel*) and the *Maccabees*, who were of the Tribe of *Levi*, between which and the Tribe of *Judah* there was a great Affinity, and which had besides this singular Privilege, that those of that Tribe could marry in that of *Judah*, which was forbidden to all the other Tribes, as may be seen in the last Chapter of *Numbers*.

The second Passage of the Old Testament, which I borrow to prove that the *Messiah* expected by the *Jews* is come, is taken from the ninth Chapter of the Prophet *Daniel*, for there the Angel *Gabriel* foretells the Coming of the *Messiah*, after seventy Weeks, which, in whatever Manner they be explained, must be elapsed; whence it follows, that the Christ, promised in that Place to the Prophet by the Angel, is come. The Words of the Prophet *Daniel* are these, *Seventy Weeks are determined upon thy People and upon thy holy City, to finish the Transgression, and to make an End of Sins, and to make Reconciliation for Iniquity, and to bring in everlasting Righteousness, and to seal up the Vision and Prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy:—Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the Commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven Weeks; and threescore and two Weeks the Street shall be built again, and the Walls, even in troublesome Times. And after threescore and two Weeks the Messiah shall be cut off, but not for himself; and the People of the Prince that shall come, shall destroy the City and the Sanctuary, and the End thereof shall be with a Flood, and unto the End of the Wars Desolations are determined. And he shall confirm the Covenant with many for one Week; and in the midst of the Week, he shall cause the Sacrifice and the Oblation to cease.*

We learn from this Text of the Scripture, that He, mentioned in it by the Angel, is the *Messiah* expected by the *Jews*; which can be proved in two Manners, viz. 1. Negatively, shewing, that all the Things mentioned in the Text can be attributed to no Body else but the *Messiah*: For if they could be attributed to any Body else, it would be either to *Cyrus* King of *Persia*, or to *Hyrcaus* the *Maccabee*, or to *Zerobabel*, as some *Jews* have falsely imagined. But to none of those three can be applied these Things contained in that Text: Not to *Cyrus*, because he permitted the Temple to be rebuilt, 2 *Paralip. c. ult.* Therefore it cannot be said, that by him the Abomination of Desolation mentioned in the Text, had been introduced in the Temple, and continued in it to the End; nor to *Hyrcaus*, because under him there was no Abomination of Desolation, and the Number of the seventy Weeks was not accomplished; nor lastly, to *Zerobabel*, for the same Reasons above-mentioned.

2. It can be proved positively, viz. by shewing, that all this Text is understood, *ad literam*, of the *Messiah*, even by the *Rabins*, and other Doctors of the *Jews*.

It may be objected, that the End of the Weeks fixed by the Angel in the Prophet *Daniel*, for the coming of the *Messiah*, could not fall on that Time. We say, that the Christ promised to the *Jews*, and expected by them, came; and that therefore it can be proved by that Text, that the *Messiah* promised and expected by the *Jews*, is come.

I answer, that suppose that by those Weeks are understood Weeks of Years, i. e. seven Years for each Week, as they really are to be understood (since we find no other Weeks in the Scripture but Weeks of

Years, and Weeks of Days; and the *Jews* themselves confess easily, that we are not to understand in this Place Weeks of Days, otherwise they would be obliged to confess likewise, that the *Messiah* is already come: it is easy to conclude that the last of those Weeks of the Angel, fell on that Time Christ was crucified; for those seventy Weeks make up the Number of 490 Years, and began the twenty-second Year of the Reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, sixth Emperor of *Persia*: In which was given that publick and solemn Edict obtained by *Nehemiah*, for the Reparation of the Walls of *Jerusalem*, and for which *Nehemiah* is said to have rebuilt the Walls of the City; but from the twenty-second Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to the Time of the Passion of Christ, whom we believe the *Messiah* promised to the *Jews*, and expected by them; there were about 490 Years elapsed: Therefore it is evident, that the seventy Weeks fixed by the Angel in *Daniel*, were accomplished; and consequently that the Christ that we believe had been promised to the *Jews*, and, we say, was killed in the Middle of the last of those Weeks, and to whom we apply all that was foretold by the Angel to *Daniel*, is come.

If I be asked, why by those Weeks are not rather understood Weeks of *Olympiads*, or of *Jubilees*, or of *Centuries*? I'll answer, that I have satisfied that Question, when I have said, that neither the Scripture nor the *Jews* used those Sorts of Weeks; and had no Knowledge but of Weeks, either of Days, *Levit. xii. Num. xxiii. Deut. xvi.* or of Years, where the Celebration of the holy Year of the *Jubilee* is mentioned: *You'll reckon* (says God) *seven Weeks of Years*, i. e. seven Times seven Years, which together make up forty-nine Years, and you'll keep the fiftieth Year.

But why (say you) are those Weeks said to have begun rather at *Artaxerxes* than at *Cyrus*, who, as it appears *Paralip. c. ult.* and *Esd. lib. i. c. i.* had permitted before *Artaxerxes*, the Instauration of the Temple?

I answer, that it is not without Reason I have said, that those Weeks began in *Artaxerxes* and not in *Cyrus*, or even *Darius's* Time; since the Angel in the above-quoted Place of *Daniel* insinuates, that they'll begin when there will be an Edict for rebuilding the Walls of *Jerusalem*, and not when there would be an Edict for repairing the Temple; which Edict for repairing the City of *Jerusalem* and rebuilding its Walls, was given by *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, not by *Cyrus*, who only permitted that the Temple should be rebuilt; which is easily confirmed by these Words of the Angel in the Passage above quoted, *The Street shall be built again, and the Walls, even in troublesome Times*; for whether those troublesome Times be understood of the great Affliction of the People, or of the Shortness of Time, they very well become the Time of *Nehemiah*, who obtained from *Artaxerxes* the Liberty to rebuild *Jerusalem*; for while he was rebuilding the Walls, the Incursions of the Enemies were so frequent, that the Workmen were obliged to work with one Hand, and have their Sword in the other; as it appears *Esd. lib. 2. c. 6.* where we read likewise, that the Walls were perfected in a very short Time, viz. in the Space of about fifty Days.

All this I have said of the seventy Weeks of *Daniel*, viz. that they began at the twenty-second Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and ended at the Passion of Christ, is confirmed by the Number of *Olympiads* being conformable to my Supputation: For between the twentieth Year of *Artaxerxes* and the Passion of Christ there are a hundred and twenty-two *Olympiads*, which are equivalent to seventy Weeks of Years; therefore the twenty-second Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* falls on the eighty-first *Olympiad*, and the Passion of Christ on the two hundred and third *Olympiad*. Observing however that the twentieth Year ought not to be reckon'd from the Time *Artaxerxes* began to reign alone, at his Father's Death; but from the Time he was proclaimed King while his Father was yet living.

If it be objected that before *Artaxerxes* a great Number of *Jews* had returned into their Country, and built some Houses; which is a Sign that the Edict mentioned in the Prophet *Daniel* is not of *Artaxerxes*: I'll answer, that it is very true, that before *Artaxerxes* some *Jews* had returned into their own Country, and even built some Houses,

some Houses, but those Houses were but a Heap of Stones laid upon one another in Haste, and without any Order, so that they could not properly be said to have rebuilt the City, since they had not re-edified the Walls and Towers to shelter themselves against the Insults of their Enemies; as *Nebemiah* did by the Authority of *Artaxerxes*.

The third Place of the Scripture, whereby it can be proved that the *Messiah* expected by the *Jews* is come, is taken from the second Chapter of the Prophet *Haggai*, *Yet once it is a little while (says the Lord) and I will shake the Heavens and the Earth, and the Sea and the dry Land. And I will shake all Nations, and the Desire of all Nations shall come, and I will fill this House with more Glory than the first was.* There is no doubt of this Place being understood of the coming of the *Messiah*; and as there the *Messiah* is said to come after a little Time, it follows hence, that he is really come a long while ago; since there are more than two hundred Years elapsed from the Time of *Haggai* to ours: For from that Passage it easily appears that he was to come, and is really come after a little Time; that he was to come while the Temple was yet standing, otherwise what is said in that Passage could not be true, *viz.* that the Glory of the second Temple would be greater than that of the first. But it is certain, that *that* second Temple which was built after the Captivity of *Babylon*, was destroy'd several Centuries afterwards; therefore, &c.

The fourth Passage of the Scripture, whereby it can be proved that the *Messiah* promised to the *Jews*, and expected by them is come, is taken from the third Chapter of *Malachi*, where we read these Words, *Behold I will send my Messenger, and he shall prepare the Way before me; and the Lord whom you seek, shall suddenly come to his Temple, even the Messenger of the Covenant whom you delight in.* I prove that this Place relates to the Coming of the *Messiah*, either because mention is made in it of his Precursor, who is call'd Messenger, because he was really the Messenger of Christ, as it appears from the first of *St. John*, Chapter second; or because *Jesus Christ* came to the Temple of *Jerusalem* for the first Time, the fortieth Day after his Nativity; and the second when he was twelve Years of Age, *viz.* when he was found by his Parents disputing with the Scribes and Doctors of the Law.

This Coming is confirmed by all these Passages and Oracles of the Prophets, which have been accomplished in Christ, whom we believe to be the *Messiah* promised to the *Jews* and expected by them. For,

1. His Origin and Birth from the Race of *David*, and from the Root of *Jesse*, was foretold *Isa. xi.* and we read *Psalms cxxxii.* that such Prophecy has been accomplished.

2. His Nativity was foretold *Isa. vi.* and we read it was accomplished from the Virgin *Mary*, *Matt. i.*

3. The Adoration of the *Magi* or Kings, conducted by a Star, was foretold *Isa. lx.* and is found accomplished, *Matt. ii.*

4. The Name of *Nazarene*, which had been foretold, is found accomplished, *Matt. ii.*

5. The Coming of the Precursor foretold, *Isa. xl.* is seen accomplished, *Matt. iii.*

6. The Ministry of the Angels foretold, *Psalms xci.* is read accomplished, *Matt. iv.*

7. His Conversation in *Galilee* foretold, *Isa. ix.* is read accomplished, *Matt. iv.*

8. The Vocation of his Disciples foretold, *Isa. viii.* is seen accomplished, *Matt. x.*

9. The Operation of his Miracles foretold, *Isa. xxxv.* is found accomplished, *Matt. xi.* and elsewhere.

10. His meek and modest Conduct foretold, *Isa. xlii.* is seen accomplished, *Matt. xii.*

11. His parabolical Learning, or Manner of teaching in Parables foretold, *Psalms lxxviii.* is read accomplished, *Matt. xiii.*

12. His great Beneficence in feeding the People, foretold *Ezek. xxxiv.* is read accomplished, *Matt. xiv.*

13. His Detestation of Hypocrisy and bad Doctrine, foretold, *Isa. xi.* is read accomplished, *Matt. xv.*

14. The Institution of the August Sacrament of his precious Body and Blood, foretold, *Psalms cx.* in these Words, *Thou art a Priest for ever after the Order of*

Melchisedech, who, according to *Genes. xiv.* offered Bread and Wine, is read accomplished, *Matt. xxvi.*

His Passion foretold, *Isa. xliii.* and read accomplished, *Matt. xxvii.*

16. His magnificent Resurrection, foretold *Hosea vi.* and *xiii.* is found accomplished, *Matt. xxviii.* *Mark xvi.* *Luke xxiv.* *John xx.*

17. His glorious and triumphant Ascension, foretold *Psalms lxviii.* is found accomplished, *Mark xvi.*

18. There is an infinite Number of Prophecies in the Old Testament of the promised *Messiah*, which we read accomplished in the New, in the Person of Christ whom we believe to be that *Messiah* promised to the *Jews*. Even *Josephus* himself mentions those Things which are said of *Jesus Christ*, *lib. 18. antiq. jud. c. 5.* where he recounts several of the Miracles of *Jesus Christ*, which we employ to prove his Divinity, and which the *Jews* could not consider as Prodigies, *v. gr.* the Resurrection of *Lazarus*.

It may be objected that the *Messiah* promised to the *Jews*, was to deliver them from Servitude, which has not happened yet; and therefore is a Mark that the *Messiah* is not yet come.

I answer this by a Distinction, *viz.* that he was to deliver them from the Servitude of Sin, of Death, and of eternal Damnation; but not from the Servitude of Princes.

Another Objection is, that the Coming of the *Messiah* was to be magnificent and glorious, according to the Prophecies; whereas that of *Jesus Christ* was very mean, being born in a Stable, and in want of all Things; therefore he is not the *Messiah* promised to the *Jews*.

I answer, that the second Coming of *Jesus Christ*, mentioned *Matt. xxv.* is to be magnificent, but not the first; since he is come rather to be judged and suffer, than to judge.

Note, That we are to prove next the Existence of the Mystery of the *Incarnation* against the Hereticks, in which we'll make use of both the Old and New Testament, since they admit both; and there are in both a great Number of Passages which prove the Truth of the *Incarnation*, as its having been actually accomplished; but as I have already employ'd against the *Jews* all the Proofs the Old Testament could furnish me with; to avoid a Repetition I'll content myself with making use in this Place of those taken from the New Testament.

We read expressly in the first Chapter of the Gospel of *St. John*, *that the Word has been made Flesh*; and lower in the same Chapter, *The only begotten Son, who is in the Bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.* And it is scandalous and ridiculous to say, either that Christ is not a true God, or not a true Man; since nothing is more express and clear in the Scripture, than both his Divinity and Humanity.

That Christ is a true God appears from the Beginning of the first Chapter of the Gospel of *St. John* already quoted; *In the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.*

His being a true Man appears likewise from these Texts, *John viii.* *But now you seek to kill me, a Man that has told you the Truth.* And chap. x. *For a good Work we stone thee not, but for Blasphemy, and because that thou being a Man makes thyself God.* And to the *Philippians*, chap. ii. *Who being in the Form of God thought it no Robbery to be equal with God; but made himself of no Reputation, and took upon him the Form of a Servant, and was made in the Likeness of Men; and being found in Fashion as a Man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto Death, &c.* If he was not a Man and had no Flesh, he could not have died.

Lastly, that he is the Son of God, is evident from *Matt. xvi.* *Thou art Christ the Son of the living God.* *Luke i.* *Therefore also, that holy Thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.* *John xx.* *But these are written that you might believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.*

This is confirmed, 1. By the Authority of the ancient Bishops of *Rome*, particularly by Pope *Vigilius*, *lib. 2. cont. Eutych.* where explaining these Words of the Apostle to the *Philippians*, already quoted, *Who being in the*

Form

Form of God, thought it no Robbery to be equal with God; but took upon him the Form of a Servant, &c. speaks thus, *It is surprising that some are afraid to say that there are two Natures in Christ, when St. Paul says that there are two Forms.* And St. Leo, *Epist. 97. to Leo Augustus*, expresses himself in these Words, *Therefore let Nestorius be anathematized, who believes that the blessed Virgin Mary is only the Mother of a Man, and not of God; making thereby one Person of the Humanity, and another of the Divinity.* And likewise St. Gregory, *lib. 8. moral.* delivers himself on that Subject, in this sublime Manner. *How could that same Christ be other from the Father, and other from the Mother? He is not other from the Father, nor other from the Mother; but is eternal from the Father, and temporal from the Mother; he who has made, and he who has been made: He himself the Author of the Work, and himself the Work of the Author; remaining one from both and in both Natures, without being confused by the Union of the two Natures, or made two by their Distinction.*

2. The same Sentiment is confirm'd, likewise, by the Councils, particularly that general one of *Chalcedon*, assembled against *Eutyches*. In the first Action thereof, Anathema is fulminated against those who should say, that there is but one Nature in Christ, resulting from the divine and the human. Whence the Fathers of the Council profess, that they believe, that the same Lord *Jesus Christ*, is as perfect in his Humanity, as he is in his Divinity, that he is truly God and truly Man, &c. By that of *Ephesus*, where *Nestorius* was condemned, and likewise by the second of *Constantinople*, *can. 3.* *Whoever*, say the Fathers of the Council, *endeavours to introduce in the Mystery of Christ, two Subsistences, or two Persons, let him be Anathema.*

Note, That though the Possibility of the Mystery of the Incarnation, can be proved positively, by the Scripture, against the *Jews* and Hereticks, because the *Jews* and Hereticks admit the Scripture; it cannot be proved thus against the Pagans, who reject both the Old and New Testament as fabulous; therefore it cannot be proved against them but negatively, *viz.* by resolving the Arguments, whereby they endeavour to shew the Impossibility of that Mystery; therefore there is another Manner to attack them; which is as follows:

1. Several Absurdities, Impieties, and the Ridicule of their false Religion, and false Worship, must be shewn them, to excite within them some Scruples, and Doubts about that Religion. The better to succeed therein, it must be exposed to them, that an Idol is nothing but a Piece of Wood, of Stone, or the like, without Life; and though made with Eyes, and Ears, can neither see nor hear. But what if they were to answer, that they do not respect that Stone or Wood, but only the Persons represented thereby, *viz.* *Jupiter, Mars, &c.*? Then they must be answered, that those Persons are unworthy of that Worship, which is only due to the true God; since they were once but mere Men, who had no Divinity at all: But on the contrary, several of them had abandoned themselves to an infinite Number of Disorders, and Crimes, *v. g.* to Theft, Librerty, Adultery, and the like; and what is worse still, several of them had approved, and give a Sanction to those Crimes; as is plainly seen in all the Pagan Histories. Acting thus with them, they may be rendered more docile, and more solicitous of their Salvation.

2. When the Pagans begin to doubt of their Religion, then they begin, likewise, to be capable to hear the Mysteries of ours, and the Dogma's which are proposed to them, having previously insinuated and shewed them that Christianity is free from Idolatry and Error. All our Mysteries and Dogma's are not to be proposed to them at once; but only the most essential ones, and afterwards those which are less essential, *v. g.* first, the Mystery of the Trinity; secondly, that of the Incarnation; and this by Degrees, according to their Capacity, and good Disposition.

3. When a Mystery is to be proposed to them, *v. g.* that of the Incarnation, it must be proposed to them, as probable, or agreeable to Truth, by this or the like

like Argument. That must be esteemed possible, by natural Reason, and in the Judgment of prudent Persons, which cannot be refuted by any opposite Reason; or which is neither absurd, nor impossible; but the Incarnation of the divine Word is so; therefore it must be esteemed possible.

Note, That of several Arguments which may be used to prove the Mystery of the Incarnation to the Pagans, the following are the most common.

The first Argument is taken from the Miracles of Christ, related only in the Gospel, in which the Pagans have no Faith; but likewise in their own Histories; since *Plutarch*, and several other Pagan Historians, take Notice, that Christ at his coming into the World, had silenc'd the Oracles of their Gods. *Pblegon*, the Chronologer, and Freedman of the Emperor *Adrian*, *lib. 13. de temp.* mentions that extraordinary Eclipse, which happen'd at Christ's Death upon the Cross; and which *Tertullian* says in his *Apologetick*, was also inserted in the *Roman Archives*.

The second Argument is taken from the Manner whereby the whole World was converted to Christianity; which is also a Miracle; since it was not done by Force of Arms, nor by the wisest and most powerful; but only by twelve Men of no Reputation, most of them Fishermen; and that not by Caresses, Flattery, or Promises of Honour, Preferments, &c. but rather by persuading to abandon Friends, Parents, Relations, to despise Pleasure, Riches and Honours; to profess Poverty, Chastity, Humility, to suffer the greatest Injuries with Patience and Resignation, to do good to our Enemies, to avoid all Sorts of Sins; as *Pliny*, who was a Pagan Author, witnesses it, *Lib. 10. Epist. 97.* to the Emperor *Trajan*; which being all above the human Strength, it must be inferred, that it belonged to God alone, to use those difficult and extraordinary Means for the Conversion, not of a City or of a Nation only, but of the whole Universe.

The third Argument is taken from what has been foretold of Christ, and which we know to have been in Part accomplished: But all those Things could neither be foreseen nor foretold but by God himself, *viz.* the Devastation of *Jerusalem*, the entire Ruin of the Temple, the frequent Captivities, and innumerable Calamities of the *Jews*, the Predication of the Gospel throughout the whole World, &c. therefore, &c.

The fourth Argument is taken from the infinite Number of Martyrs, of all Ages, Sexes, and Condition; who with a marvellous Constancy, have confessed Christ amidst the most excruciating Torments.

The fifth Argument is taken from the Predictions of the Sybils.

Having thus proved the Possibility of the Incarnation of the divine Word, both positively and negatively, *viz.* positively against the *Jews* and Hereticks, and negatively against the Infidels; I'll pass to the Necessity of that Mystery, asking first, *If the Creation of the World, being supposed, the Incarnation of the second Person of the blessed Trinity had been absolutely necessary, though Adam had not sinned.* Which Question is to be answered in the Negative; against *Lullius*, who maintain'd that after the Creation of the World, the Incarnation had been absolutely necessary, tho' *Adam* had never sinned.

I prove my Negative, by observing, that there is no necessary Connection between the Creation of the World, and the Incarnation, since both depend of the divine Will, and we do not find in any Place of the Scripture, that the World had not been decreed and created, unless the Word had been incarnated. When as it may be said, on the contrary, that though the Mystery of the Incarnation had never been accomplished, the World, notwithstanding, had been perfect naturally, *i. e.* had had all the Perfections both essential and accidental due to it.

The next Question is, *the Sin of Man being supposed, if the Incarnation was necessary to reconcile him with God?*

Note, Previously to my Answer, that something may be said necessary to another, in two Manners, 1. Simply, and absolutely. 2. *Secundum quid*, which Distinction

I have explain'd in my *Treatise of God's Attributes*. These pre-observ'd,

I say, that the Sin or Fall of Man being supposed, the *Incarnation* of the Word, or any other hypostatical Union, was not absolutely necessary, to reconcile Man with God, and repair that Fault. Because God could either refuse to succour Man fallen, or if he was willing to assist him, he could have procured a Reconciliation, otherwise than by Means of the hypostatical Union, v. g. by an Act of a perfect Contrition, or Love of God above all Things. The first Part of my Answer, viz. that God could, if he would, have refused his Assistance to Man fallen, is confirmed by St. *Augustin*, lib. de nat. & grat. c. 5. *The whole Mass*, says he, *deserves Punishment, and if all were condemned to eternal Damnation, they could not be unjustly condemned.* The second Part is also supported with the Authority of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, Orat. 9. in these Terms, *But the Saviour has done this, that's to say, has took the Form of a Servant, though, as God, he could save by his sole Will; as he has formed all Things by his sole Command.* Whence it is not surprising, if the Manner of operating the Reparation of the human Race, is not attributed in the Scripture to Necessity, at least an absolute one, but to Charity and Mercy, according to this, Tit. iii. *He has saved us according to his Mercy.* And John iii. *He has thus loved the World as to give his only Son.* A Benefit, thus granted, supposes in him who grants it, a Liberty of granting it.

For a still stronger Confirmation of this Sentiment, I say, that if the *Incarnation*, or any other hypostatical Union, had been absolutely necessary; it had been to the utmost necessary, in order to satisfy to God, to the greatest Rigour of Justice; which exact Satisfaction was not absolutely necessary for the Reconciliation of Man with God, since God, who is absolute Master, and sovereign Judge of all the Creatures, could forgive the whole Fault gratuitely, and relinquish his Right of Punishment; especially if some Repentance be supposed on Man's Side. Notwithstanding what some of the Fathers say, that Man could not have been otherwise delivered than by the *Incarnation*; for they only understand it in that Sense, and to that End, that there should be a rigorous and perfect Satisfaction; and not all Sorts of Reparation whatsoever. Add, that others of the holy Fathers say plainly, that God could have operated the Reparation of Man otherwise than by the *Incarnation*; particularly St. *Augustin*, lib. de agon. Christi. c. 1. where he speaks thus; *Those are Fools that say, that the divine Word would not have saved us, otherwise than by taking the human Nature, and being born of a Woman, and for us Men; to whom we say, that he could certainly do it: But if he had acted otherwise, that had likewise been displeasing to your Folly.* And St. *Gregory*, lib. 20. moral. c. 26. *Though God could succour us without dying, he would, notwithstanding, succour us in dying.*

But, however, though the *Incarnation* was not absolutely necessary, it was notwithstanding necessary, *secundum quid*, i. e. very convenient; which I prove by the Fathers and by Reason.

By the Fathers, particularly St. *Augustin*, lib. 3. de trinit. c. 10. where he speaks thus; *Let us shew that God, to whose Power all Things are equally subject, had other possible Means to save us; but there was no other more proper to cure our Infirmary.*

By Reason, because the *Incarnation* has render'd us the Road to Salvation, and to the eternal Beatitude very easy; which Road we should follow by the Practice of all Virtues, and by avoiding Evil and doing Good, in which we are marvellously assisted by the hypostatical Union; as it will appear by the Induction. For,

1. Nothing is clearer, as to the Practice of Faith; because a Man may be easily persuaded to believe, that he can become the Son of God, when he knows, that the Son of God has been made, by the *Incarnation*, the Son of Man; as St. *Augustin* insinuates it, lib. 11. de Trinit. c. 2. in these Terms, *That Man may walk with a greater Confidence in the Road of Truth, the Son of God by taking the Humanity has founded and established the Faith of that Truth.*

2. As to the Practice of Hope, it is apparent enough; since by the Benefit of the *Incarnation*, we have a Me-

diator between us and God; whom we know by Faith to be the Object of our Beatitude; as St. *Augustin* teaches it, lib. 13. de Trinit. c. 10. where he speaks thus; *Nothing was more necessary to strengthen our Hope, than to shew us how much God has loved us; and what greater Proof can any Body desire of it, than that the Son of God has not thought it beneath him to take our Nature?* And lib. 11. de civit. c. 2. he expresses himself in these Terms, *If there be a middle Way between him that aspires, and the Thing he aspires at, there is Hope of prevailing, but if there be none, and one is ignorant which Way to walk, it is needless to know where he is to go.*

3. As to the Practice of Charity, the Thing is, likewise, very apparent: For nothing is more capable to excite Men to the Love of God; than to know, that God thus loved the World, as to give his only Son. Whence St. *Augustin*, lib. de catechis. rudibus, c. 4. *There is*, says he, *no greater Invitation to love, than to be prevented by Love; and a Friend is too hard-hearted, who refuses to return Love for Love, therefore if he repented to love him, he ought not to refuse loving him again, after so great a Mystery of Love.* To this may be added, what St. *Thomas* says, that Love consists in a certain Equality; and therefore, those between whom seems to be a very great Inequality, are not fit to be united in Love: Whence it follows, that to establish Love between God and Men; it was necessary that God should be united to Man.

4. As to the Practice of Good, it appears clearly; for in order that Man should operate and promote Good, he must be free from the Consciousness of a past Offence; but he cannot be freed from it, with a greater Certainty, than by God made Man; since himself had said, and confirm'd it by Miracle, that he had the Power to remit Sins, Matt. ix. and since God made Man, has excited us by his Example to operate and promote Good. But nothing is more powerful than the Example of Christ, because the greater is the Goodness of a Person, the more efficaciously are we induced to Virtue by his Example; but no Goodness could be ever so great as is that of *Jesus Christ*; therefore, &c.

The *Incarnation*, is also of a great Efficacy, to engage us to avoid Evil, since by the Mystery of the *Incarnation* of the Word, Man knows so well the Excellence and Dignity of human Nature, as to be afraid of doing any Thing to disgrace it, according to St. *Augustin*, lib. de vera relig. c. 16. and lib. 13. de trinit. c. 7.

Our next Question relating to the same Subject is, *If, at least, the hypostatical Union was absolutely necessary, for the Reparation of the human Race by a rigorous Satisfaction; or whether a pure Man, at least a just one, sufficed for it?*

Note, That before I answer this Question, we must observe, 1. That Satisfaction may be considered in two Manners, viz. either in a wide or strict Sense. 2. That there are two Sorts of Satisfactions, one imperfect, and the other perfect. 3. That our Question will be easily resolved, if we give the Definition of every one of the above-mentioned Satisfactions. Therefore Satisfaction taken in a wide Sense is a voluntary Reddition or Return of an Equivalent, made to a Creditor by a Debtor, of his own proper Goods, which otherwise are not due. It is said a Reddition or Return, either to give to understand that it is an Act of Justice, and that to another; or to insinuate that it is some body's Due properly taken, and has a Relation to something past, for which a Compensation must be made; or to distinguish it from a simple Donation, whereby something is given gratuitly. It is said voluntary, either because an Act of Virtue ought to be voluntary and free; or to distinguish it from a Satisfaction, whereby a Criminal satisfies for his Crime, in undergoing the Punishment inflicted by the Judge. It is said of an Equivalent; for that Reddition, as we have already observed, is an Act of Justice, to which it belongs to return to every one his own, and as much as has been taken. It is said, made to a Creditor by a Debtor, to shew that all Sorts of voluntary Redditions without Distinction, are not a Satisfaction; and that to be such it must be made to a Creditor by a Debtor. It is said of Goods, to insinuate thereby, that

that the Reddition of an Equivalent in Evils, is not a Satisfaction, but a Revenge. It is said *proper Goods*, i. e. of Goods entirely in the Propriety of the Debtor, and to which he has an unquestionable Right. It is said, *otherwise not due*; for if they were already due to another, at least by a Title of Justice, it would be rather a new Injury than a Satisfaction.

Satisfaction, taken in a *strict Sense*, is commonly defined a *voluntary Reddition of Honour and Respect*, for the Compensation of an Injury done to another. This Definition is easily understood by what we have said of *Satisfaction* taken in a wide Sense, from which it differs only, in that the *Satisfaction* in a wide Sense is of Things; and this *Satisfaction*, of Actions. If I be asked, whether this *Satisfaction* in a *strict Sense*, differs from *Restitution* and *Merit*, I'll answer in the Affirmative, that it differs from *Restitution*, for the Reasons already mentioned; and from *Merit*, because *Merit* does not regard formally the Compensation of an Offence, but is ordered towards a Recompense, and tends towards some Good of him that deserves, or from whom he deserves; making him from whom he deserves Debtor of *Merit*, according to the Value and Condition of the meritorious Act; which notwithstanding does not hinder an Action from being under different Considerations, both meritorious and satisfactory.

A *perfect Satisfaction*, is that which has all the Conditions of a *Satisfaction* taken in a *strict Sense*. And an *imperfect Satisfaction*, is that which wants one or more of those Conditions: These pre-observ'd, the first Part of my Answer to the Question is,

That a pure Man, whether he be considered as acting by the sole Strength of Nature, or acting or suffering, by the Succours of a supernatural Grace, can satisfy neither for his Sins, nor for those of others, at least of a *perfect Satisfaction*. Because a pure Man, let him be ever so efficaciously assisted by a supernatural Grace, can offer nothing to God in Satisfaction, which could adequate the Offence offered to him; the Reason is, because a mortal Sin (for we mean no other in this Place) is in some Manner, an infinite Offence; but what can be offered by a pure Man; let the Succours of a supernatural Grace be ever so great, remains always finite, and thus cannot be equivalent or sufficient to repair an infinite Offence; therefore, &c.

I may be asked why that *Satisfaction* made by a pure Man be always finite, and of a finite Value? To which I answer, that the Reason is, because the Value of the Satisfaction results always from the Person who makes it: And as the Person of a pure Man is always finite, hence it is that the Value of his Satisfaction be always finite. Whence it is not surprising if some of the ancient Fathers were of Opinion, that the hypostatical Union was absolutely necessary for a perfect Satisfaction for our Sins; which is declared by St. *Augustin*, in *Enchir.* 108. No Body ought to glory in his Humanity, says he, for we could never have been delivered by our Mediator Christ, if he had not been God.

Note, That I have said in my Answer, 1. At least of a *perfect Satisfaction*, to insinuate thereby that a pure Man, assisted by a supernatural Grace, can satisfy imperfectly for his Sins.

The second Part of my Answer is, that the hypostatical Union was simply necessary for the Redemption of the human Race, by a *condign Satisfaction*. Which is sufficiently proved by what I have said already on that same Subject.

The next Question is, *If Christ has perfectly satisfied for the Sins of Men, as well of those who exist at this present Time, as of those who have been, and are to be?* Which Question I answer in the Affirmative. Because his Satisfaction had all the Conditions of a perfect Satisfaction: For, 1. He has return'd an Equivalent. 2. He has return'd it to another. 3. He has return'd it of his own Goods. 4. He has return'd of Goods, which otherwise were not due. I'll examine these four Conditions every one in particular.

The first Condition, viz. that he has return'd an Equivalent, is evident; since he has return'd much more

than was sufficient to satisfy for the Sins of all Men in general, i. e. as well of those who exist at present, as of those who have been, who are to be, and even of those who are possible. And this appears.

1. From the Scripture, *Rom. v. 15. But not as the Offence, so also is the free Gift. For if through the Offence of one, many be dead; much more the Grace of God, and the Gift by Grace, which is by one Man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many. Ver. 18. Therefore as by the Offence of one, Judgment came upon all Men to Condemnation; even so by the Righteousness of one, the free Gift came upon all Men unto Justification of Life.* We can also quote those Passages of the Scripture, where the Satisfaction of Christ is called *Emption* and *Redemption*; because in *Emption* an Equality of the commutative Justice is observed, which is, to pay as much as is due. *Tit. ii. Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all Iniquity. Heb. ix. But Christ being come an high Priest of good Things to come, by his own Blood he entered once into the holy Place, having obtained eternal Redemption for us.*

If I be asked, why that Name of *Emption* and *Redemption* signifies *Satisfaction*? I'll answer, that Man is as sold by his Sin, and put under the Power of the Devil as a Servant and Captive; and Christ offering his Satisfaction has bought and redeemed him. According to this of the first to the *Corinthians*, chap. vi. *For you are bought with a great Price.* And to this other of the first of St. *Peter*, chap. i. *Forasmuch as you know that you were not redeemed with corruptible Things, as Silver and Gold, but with the precious Blood of Christ.* That this may appear in a clearer Light, we must take Notice of what St. *Jerom* observes on the third Chapter to the *Galat.* where he says, that he may be very well called Redeemer, who has acquired with a new Price what he had lost by some Accident; and he be called a Buyer, who acquires for the first Time a Property of something: Therefore Christ is said to have redeemed us to himself as God, because, before the Prevarication of Adam we were in his Power, and by that Prevarication have revolted against, and been delivered into the Power of the Devil; and he is said to have bought us to himself as Man, because by the same Satisfaction offered for us, he has acquired a certain Right and Power over us, which he had not before as Man.

From the Councils, particularly that of *Trent*, *Sess. 6. c. 1.* where the Fathers declare the Captivity of the human Race; and *c. 2.* their having been redeemed by Christ.

From the ancient Fathers, particularly St. *Chrysostom*, *Hom. in Epist. ad Rom.* where by a Comparison, he explains which, and what had been Christ's Satisfaction, in these Terms; *The Passion of Christ, when compared with Sin, is with respect to it, what the Ocean is with respect to a Drop of Water; or what an Immensity of Talents of Gold, are with respect to Ten Crowns.* And St. *Augustin*, in *Enchir. c. 49.* Christ, says he, has surpassed the Devil, not by an Excess of Power, but by the Truth of Justice.

This I confirm by Reason; because every Action of Christ was of an infinite Value; which infinite Value proceeded from the Dignity of the Person of the Word, hypostatically united to human Nature; which the better to understand, we must observe, that human Nature was the Principle *Quo* of the Actions of Christ; and the divine Word the Principle *Quod*, gave the Denomination, and entire Value to those Actions. And as the Person of the Word is infinite, and identified really with the divine Nature, it is not surprising, if every Action of Christ was of an infinite Value. It is true, that Christ's Actions were finite, according to their physical Entity; and as they were vital Actions, and immanent to human Nature; but it sufficed, that they had a certain moral Infinity, as proceeding from human Nature, not consider'd precisely as such, or as sanctified by the habitual Grace, but as deified by its hypostatical, immediate, and substantial Union with the Word.

It may be asked here, *If Christ's Satisfaction was sufficient, not only to satisfy for the Sins of all Men in general, but likewise for the Punishment due to those Sins?* Which I answer in the Affirmative, and which Answer may be proved by the same Arguments I have used to shew, that

that it was sufficient to satisfy for the Sins of all Men in general. Though we ought not to believe, that more than a sufficient Price, is applied in fact to every Man in particular.

The second Condition, *viz. that Christ has return'd to another* is also evident; because to make Satisfaction to another, even according to the strictest Rules of Justice, there is nothing else absolutely required, but that he who makes the Satisfaction should have a distinct Right and Power, and a Nature freely operating, distinct from the Right, Authority, and Nature of him to whom the Satisfaction is made. But Christ considered as satisfying to God for us, has a distinct Right and Authority, and a Nature freely operating distinct from the Right, Authority, and Nature of God to whom Satisfaction is made. For he has a special Power and Property to himself on his free theandrical Action, on Accounts of their hypostatical Termination, or their Support, which is from the Word alone. For though there be two Natures in Christ, *viz. the divine and human Nature*; he notwithstanding satisfies only by the free Acts of his Humanity, which is there as a formal Principle, or Principle *Quo*; therefore Christ's Satisfaction was sufficiently to another; even according to the strictest Rules of Justice.

To this it may be objected, that no Body makes a Satisfaction to another, who makes it to himself; since there can be no perfect Justice of oneself to oneself, according to *Aristotle, lib. 5. Ethic.* but Christ in his Satisfaction, has satisfied to himself, since he has satisfied to God, and himself is one God with the Father and the Holy Ghost; therefore he cannot be said, to have sufficiently satisfied to another.

I answer, that it is true that Christ has satisfied to himself, but considered according to different free Natures, and distinct Right and Power; and not considered according to the same Nature, the same Right, and the same Power. Hence he may be said to have satisfied to another, not to himself; and even in all the Rigour of Justice. Which the better to understand, we must observe, that when one and the same *Suppositum* has two entire and free Natures; then though he be but one in Reality, he is notwithstanding accounted double virtually, and the Distinction of Rights and Powers is sufficient to establish a Title of Justice properly said. And it is certain from what we have said, that one and the same numerical Suppositum of the divine Word, terminates two different entire and free Natures; that the same Suppositum is virtually double, and that those Natures have distinct Powers and Rights, which they can dispose of at their Pleasure, so as to contract a mutual Obligation. Therefore it follows, that if Christ has satisfied to himself as God; he can also be said to have satisfied to another; for he has satisfied to himself as God, by the human Nature perfected by a divine Hypostasis; whence it happened, that Christ was together accepting, and together offering, though in different Respects; for he accepted as God, and offered by his Humanity, whereby he was inferior to himself with Respect to the divine Suppositum, and to the divine Nature.

It may be objected, besides, from *Aristotle's 5 Ethic. 6.* that there is no Justice properly said of the Son to the Father, because a Son is not different from his Father, but rather a Part separated from his Father; but Christ is the true Son by Nature of the eternal Father; therefore between Christ and the divine Father, there can be no Justice taken in a strict Sense; since he is no other than the Father himself.

I answer, that though this may be true in a civil Society, especially while a Son is an Infant, and not yet emancipated; it is false, when we speak of Christ the Son of God, for the Reasons heretofore mentioned. Whence it is not surprizing if Christ be said to have satisfied to himself, and to the two other Persons of the blessed Trinity, and to have reconciled the human Race with God, according to this of the second to the *Corinthians*, Chap. v. *That God was in Christ reconciling the World to himself.*

We are certain of the third Condition, *viz. that Christ's Satisfaction was of his proper Goods*; that's to say, of Goods which were not under the Command of God,

if they be considered as offered by Christ; because Christ has satisfied by satisfactory Acts of his Humanity, inasmuch as those Acts were supported by the Personality of the Word; but those theandrical Acts, thus considered, were so far the Property of the divine Word, considered as incarnated, that they were not all under the Command of any of the two other Persons. Notwithstanding that those Actions, with Regard to their Entity, are under the Authority of the three Persons. For it suffices, that under another particular Title, they be proper to Christ, and that by Reason of that Title, Christ offers them in Satisfaction for the Sins of all Men in general; for if it was otherwise, there would be no greater Reason to say that the Son of God is born, has suffer'd, and is dead; than to say it of the two other Persons. And as it is certain from the Scripture, that the Son alone was incarnated, has suffer'd alone, and is dead alone; it is likewise certain, that those Actions are not only of the Humanity, which is the formal Principle thereof, but also of the Suppositum, accomplishing and perfecting that Nature, and which is their Principle *Quod*; and there being Actions of two Suppositums, it follows that they are proper to *Jesus Christ*.

Note, That from this I'll pass to the Causes, either external or internal of the *Incarnation*; beginning by the *external Causes*, which are two in Number, *viz. the efficient and the final*. The efficient being distinguished into two, *viz. physical and moral*; of which I am to speak first.

Our first Question, on this Subject is, what could be the physical efficient Cause, either particular, or instrumental, of the Mystery of the *Incarnation*?

Note, It is not asked, in this Place, if the divine Word has a Cause, since it is certain that he has none; for though he acknowledges the Father for his productive Principle, he notwithstanding does not acknowledge him as a Cause. Neither do we want to know, if the human Nature of Christ, has an effectual Cause, since it is certain, that it has such a Cause, since Christ does not differ in that from other Men but by certain Privileges and Gifts; but it is asked if, and which is the effectual Cause of that Union, which is between the divine Word and human Nature, in the Mystery of the *Incarnation*; if it be God alone, or if the Creature has likewise some Part in it, and in what Manner? These pre-observ'd,

I answer, *that God alone, and no Creature, can be the principal effectual Cause of the Incarnation*. Because the Work of the *Incarnation* is as much above a natural Strength, as the Work of the Creation; whence it is not surprizing, if it be attributed to God, in a most particular Manner; by the Scripture, particularly this of *Jer. xxxi. For the Lord has created a new Thing in the Earth; a Woman shall compass a Man.* And *Luke i. The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee.* These are the Words of the Angel *Gabriel*, answering to the Question of the blessed Virgin *Mary*, who asked him, how that could happen, that she should conceive, and be the Mother of the Son of God.

It may be asked, *If the whole blessed Trinity is the principal efficient Cause of the Incarnation?* Which I answer in the Affirmative, and which the Words of the Angel *Gabriel* seem to indicate, according to the Observation of *St. Bernard*, who says, that thereby the three Persons of the Trinity are design'd. The *Father*, by these Words, *And the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee.* The *Son*, by these, *Therefore also that holy Thing which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God.* And the *Holy Ghost*, by these, *And the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee.*

This Sentiment is also confirm'd by the Councils, particularly that of *Lateran*, under *Innocent III. cap. firmiter*. And likewise by the Fathers, particularly *St. Augustine, in Enchir. c. 38.* therefore, &c.

The physical and instrumental efficient Cause of the *Incarnation*, was the blessed Virgin alone. Because she alone has contributed to that august Mystery, as the physical Instrument of the efficient Cause thereof.

We'll ask next, *If there was a moral and meritorious*